# THE USE OF RHETORICAL FRAMES TO CREATE HOPE DURING WARS AND GENOCIDES: THE CASE OF THE YEZIDI WOMEN

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**Title**

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**MASTER OF ARTS**

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## ABSTRACT

Scholars referred to the importance of hope communication during natural disasters. However, we rarely applied hope to the case of wars and genocides. This study investigates how women talk to their captors during wars, and genocides might help to create more hope. I applied Kenneth Burke's comic frame to the narrative stories of the Yezidi women to investigate the process of building hope in their dialogues with their captors. After identifying texts and analyzing them, I learned that there is a significant connection between the comic frame and the process of building hope during wars and genocides. Besides the comic structure and the amount of violence it brought upon the Yezidi women, the tragic frame also sometimes helped those women to create some hope.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I present this work to my Yezidi community, who always inspired me with hope and life and always encouraged me to go one step beyond my abilities to achieve this effort. I dedicate this work to the suffering of those Yezidi men, women, children, and their families who went under the savage attacks of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). I also present it to the Yezidis who have lived in the refugee camps since 2014. Hopefully, this study might help them learn how to build more hope and resiliency to rebuild their lives and community. Some individuals built a sense of hope and community in my life, and I see I owe them an acknowledgment.

I dedicate this achievement to my father's soul, Khider Haider Shalal, who taught me the meaning of hope in life. Of course, I would not achieve this effort without my family's unmounted support and patience. I dedicate this achievement to my mother, Ghazala Ibrahim Darbas, who spent all her life caring for my family and me. I dedicate this achievement to my wife, Zaman Sabri Alo, and her constant support and patience with me. Without her, i would quit

at any point. It is dedicated to my children (Chira, Heleen, Dasin, Halbin, Mithra, & Lavzh), whose presence in my life always inspires me more to walk towards achieving my goals in life. I sometimes blamed myself for spending their time on this effort but still, and hopefully, all the intentions and positivity out of this level of awareness will help me always to see how better i can serve, support, and help them in their life journey with more love, hope, support and compassion. I also present this achievement to my brothers (Dakheel & Elias) and sisters (Baran, Hore, Base, Nora) and their families, whose presence always made my life more meaningful. It is also presented to the souls of my uncles (Mishko Haider, Shamo Haider, & Kheshman Darwesh) and the souls of my aunts (Nesaf Haider, Sosen Haider, and Mayan Qajo), whose presence in a point of time in my life also shaped who I am today. I dedicate this effort to my aunt, Rashe Berhim and wish her more health and hope in her life. I dedicate this effort to my cousins and their families, who their presence supported me to build more hope and hopefulness in my life. I also present this effort to my community and all people of Khanke city, specifically the people of Kabartu village. It is also dedicated to all my friends who helped and supported me to know the importance of achieving goals in life. Finally, I dedicate this work to my teachers who taught me from primary school, middle school, high school, and university. Thank you for being in my life, helping and supporting me to be who I am today, a person searching for more pieces of hope, love, and rationality in life.

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# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

How do people who go through war and genocides communicate hope? How people communicatively frame what constitutes "hope" during those situations is worthy of study because it offers insight into the rhetorical complexities of building attitudes toward "hope" and "hopefulness" even in the most trying situations. In this study, I will consider the case of women who go through wars and genocides because they are the most vulnerable people who struggle with more consequences (Kaya, 2019), to refer to the idea of building hope.

Women who go through wars and genocides struggle to survive against the violence and humiliation of their enemies (Rashid, 2014). They see themselves as victims suffering the cruelty of the situation (Biswas & Tripathi, 2019). During those times, the enemy might even consider them as the spoils of war and treat them accordingly (Rey, 2016). We consider rape as one of those forms of violence that the perpetrators might use against women captives to punish them.

Rape is one of the most common forms of sexual violence the enemy uses against women during wars and genocides (Rashid, 2014). Although the act of rape during wars and genocide was historically considered abhorrent, despite that the voices of victims were not heard (Cooke, 2019). Since 1990 the acts of rape during war and genocide conflicts have gained more attention and become much discussed internationally (Henry, 2014). The act of rape is sometimes used to impose social hierarchies to control the victims (Rey, 2016). It is also used as a weapon of ethnic cleansing (Cooke, 2019). ISIS used this act of sexual violence against the Yezidi[1] women to force them into Islam (Murad & Krajeski, 2017). As a Middle Eastern extremist Islamic terrorist group, ISIS is known for violating women's rights (Cooke, 2019). Under the reign of this

[1] Since the 1800s, many foreign travelers, historians, archeologists, and writers have used four spellings to describe a term representing the word Yezidi. These terms are Yezidee, Yezeedi, Yezidi, and Yazidi. The two most common forms used today are 'Yazidi' and 'Yezidi.' In this study, I will use the term 'Yezidi' because of its historical background. Yet, when the authors are speaking, I will keep it to the authors' voice.

terrorist organization, women saw themselves suffering to survive (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017). They had to follow the strict rules of ISIS to avoid punishment (Human Rights Watch, 2015). ISIS had made it up that all women, no matter if they were Muslim or Yezidis, had to be entirely covered in black abayas and niqabs to be in public (Murad & Krajeski, 2017). From their sides, those Yezidi women also defended themselves against the cruelty and humiliation imposed upon them by ISIS (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017).

To better understand how women who go through wars and genocides build hope, I will investigate the case of the Yezidi women and how they talked to their captors to create hope. In their conflict with ISIS, many Yezidi women saw themselves struggling in their dialogues with their opponents (Murad & Krajeski, 2017) to create and sustain hope. To better understand how those women attempted to express the sense of hope in their language and dialogue, I will apply the rhetorical theory and method of Kenneth Burke’s comic frame to the narrative stories of the Yezidi women to investigate how those women rhetorically framed hope.

I will apply the rhetorical theory of Kenneth Burke's comic frame to the narrative stories of the Yezidi women with ISIS as an example of the genre and how we communicate hope in that genre. By studying the accounts of the Yezidi survivors, I hope to draw some conclusions that might help our readers better understand how people, specifically women, must consider how they talk in their dialogues with their captors to allow better them to create hope during critical times of wars and genocides.

To make this study real and the argument more rational, I must first learn and combine some parts. For this purpose, I will examine the collaboratively authored texts of two books about the Yezidi genocide to investigate how we can frame hope rhetorically during wars and genocides. These two collaborative books are 'The Last Girl by Nadia Murad and Jenna Krajeski'

and 'The Girl Who Escaped ISIS by Farida Khalaf & Andrea Hoffmann.' By highlighting and analyzing some texts from these two works, I might be able to investigate the case better to learn more about hope, hopefulness, and hopelessness. It might also highlight some considerations of how others in similar situations can use the outcomes of this study as a vehicle for better-communicating hope in such a similar critical situation.

This study is structured as follows. First, I will discuss some of the existing academic literature on hope. Next, I will review Kenneth Burke's rhetorical theory and method of the tragic and comic frames. I will then use Kenneth Burke's comic method and apply it to these two collaborative books to investigate how people rhetorically build hope during times of wars and genocides. To better address the research issue, I believe it is important to know who Yezidis are and how their crisis with ISIS might also have some historical background.

**Background Context**

The purpose of discussing the history of the Yezidi community and their struggles in this section is to identify and clarify how others constantly targeted this community. At the same time, the Yezidis were continually adopting diverse ways and means to protect themselves from others. A detailed historical background of this community will allow us to see their struggle and the factors that added to their suffering. Understanding their history and struggles will allow us to see why others always targeted Yezidis. It will also help us to see how Yezidis adapted to accommodate their wild environment better. To clarify the point, let us see who Yezidis are and what their struggles are.

The history of the Yezidi community and religion is like a broken series of an old chain (Sleiman, 2007). The only way to know the whole truth about this community is to find those lost chains (Kreyenbroek & Rashow, 2005). In her book 'The Last Girl, Nadia Murad described

her faith, Yezidism, as like an ancient tree with thousands of rings of old stories and traditions with a long history of tragedies (Murad, & Krajeski, 2017). The depth of this civilization and nation always created controversial arguments about its origins.

There have always been controversial arguments about the origins of the Yezidi community. Some scholars believe that Yezidism is an ancient indigenous ethnoreligious community (Ali, 2019; Hosseini, 2020) that their history and civilization go back to the Mesopotamian times and beyond (Sleiman, 2007), with their ancestral roots mainly in Iraq, Turkey, and Syria (Ali, 2019). Other scholars think of Yezidism with an ancient Iranian root, and some connect it to Mithraism or even an offshoot of Islam (Kreyenbroek & Rashow, 2005). Hosseini supports the Mesopotamian origin of Yezidism and describes the history of the Yezidi traditions, rituals, and beliefs as an ancient mosaic piece whose history at least goes back to 6000 years ago (2020). In another paper that was a thesis for a master's degree about the crimes perpetrated on the Yezidi community by ISIS, Dinnayi dated the history of the existence of the Yezidi community back to 4750 BCE which predated the Ibrahimic faiths (2019). Some scholars even stress the influence of Gnosticism, particularly Manichaeism, and the idea that 'human beings contain a piece of God (the highest good or a divine spark)' on the Yezidi religion (Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005).

As a religion, Yezidism is like a hierarchical system of faith. The Yezidi hierarchical belief system consists of Xweda or Xwede (Azda) 'God', Haft Sur 'seven Angels,' and Xwdan 'gods and goddesses' (Dinnayi, 2019; Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005; Sleiman, 2007). Yezidism believes that Xude (God) is the Almighty Creator, and there is no other power beyond Xude (Hosseini, 2020). Here, the Yezidi religion, opposite to other Ibrahimic religions, believes in the dualism of the power of both "good" and "bad" from one source (God), and all individual human

beings and creatures have this duality of both forces in them (Dinnayi, 2019; Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005; Sleiman, 2007). Salih also confirms the same idea by stating that according to the Yezidi faith, God is the source of everything, and everything contains a part of the source (2013).

In the Yezidi belief, Xude created the universe first and then made Heft Sur 'Seven Angels' from His Almighty Ultimate Light and Power and descended and manifested in various forms and shapes of incarnations (Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005). Xude created Heft Sur 'Seven Angels' from His Ultimate Light and Tawuz Malak is one of them (Kreyenbroek & Rashow, 2005). God considered Tawuz Malak as the Archangel (Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005).

In Yezidism, the concept of Tawz Malak, the chief angel, is the second crucial holy figure in the Yezidi faith hierarchy, following the power of the Almighty Creator, Xude (Roberts, 2016). In opposite to Ibrahimic religions that look at one angel as an evil competitor to the will of God, Yezidism believes that all the Heft Sur 'Seven Angels' are good and the source of the power of 'good' and 'bad or evil' is within human beings (Dinnayi, 2019). According to Kreyenbroek & Rashow, Yezidis believe that Tawuz Malak is an echo of Xude's power and His Ultimate Light on earth (2005). Wessam Jahwar, a famous Yezidi writer, in an article written in Arabic on his social media (Facebook) says that Yezidis describe Tawuz Malak and other angels as a Light from a more significant Ultimate Light, which he again refers to Xude's Power and The Image of The Ultimate Light (Jahwar, 2018/07/27). Furthermore, Pir Khider Sleiman, a known Yezidi writer, confirmed the same idea by stating that God created Tawuz Malak (Archangel) from his Ultimate Light and Quality (Sleiman, 2007).

Sleiman also confirmed that Yezidis believed in the reincarnation of Holy Beings and the human spirit from one body to another until it reaches higher levels of transcendentalism and transforms into the final light (2007). According to this philosophy, the image of the

reincarnation process of heavenly light through the human soul as a part of the celestial perfection of God's Ultimate Light and Quality arranges the Yezidi religious hierarchy into a system of layers of Xudans or Khas (Holy Beings of the similarly elevated status) and Babachak (human being of virtuous deeds and with good faith who live on earth) such as saints in Christianity (Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005). According to Yezidis, this category of Xudans (Holy Beings) plays an essential role in their religious philosophy and community life (Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005).

Yezidis have a system of Xudan or khas (gods and goddesses) for representing each natural phenomenon in the universe, such as Sheshms (god of Sun), Pirafat (goddess of flooding), Khatona Fakhra (goddess of birth (laboring), MalakFakhradin (god of Moon), Sheikh Abros (god of thunder & lightening), and others (Sleiman, 2007). Besides the incarnation of God's light in the role of Xwdan (Holy Beings), Yezidi also venerates the role of babchak (good human beings (saints)) and their mission in the community, and one of those babchaks is Sheikh Adi (Hosseini, 2020; Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005; Sleiman, 2007).

Sheikh Adi is one of the main religious characters in the Yezidi spiritual hierarchy (Sleiman, 2007). Yezidis believe that through the reincarnation (rebirth) of the holy spirit of heavenly Ultimate Light, Sheik Adi by his deeds, is considered a venerated spiritual human being (Hosseini, 2020). Sheikh Adi took Lalish, one of the Yezidi most ancient holy temples, as his eternal destiny pilgrimage (Hosseini, 2020). Although some local and foreign writers and scholars tried to distort his origin, ancestors, and works, Yezidis consider him a survivor and reformer who put Yezidism in a new frame by re-arranging and re-organizing the belief upon the ancient principles and with some recent changes (Salih, 2013). According to Kreyenbroek & Rashow, although Sheikh Adi died, devotion to his goodness still united his community (2005).

During his time, Yezidis also had more harmony in their community and more authority and power over their territories (Sleiman, 2007).

In all those stages mentioned above, Yezidis are trying to retain and search the mental map of their faith through investigating their historical events and religious texts, hymns, and their social and cultural rituals and traditions to incorporate them into a more rational world view for surviving (Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005). The investigation of such facts through fairly writing about the history of Yezidism is sacred work and always needs to be appreciated. Despite that we always see some scholars and writers trying to Fish in a murky water

Some historical works and studies about the Yezidi religion, culture, and community are sometimes biased. These works, whether written by Middle Eastern or Western writers or scholars, have some layers of biases, discriminations, and distortion of facts. Some local non-Yezidi writers attempt to change the history of the area for religious, political, national, and ethnic purposes and gains. Even some Yezidi writers who have affiliations with some political parties, such as Kurdish parties, also attempt to melt Yezidism into the Kurdish pot. The western writers, of course, fall into that mistake by citing some local writers to learn and write about Yezidis and Yezidism. Because of these biases, we sometimes find it hard to see some studies that define Yezidis, their religion, and history without making misconceptions and misinformation about this community. I was looking for articles to write about the background of the Yezidi community for this study, and i saw an academic genocide perpetrated against Yezidis. The Yezidi community seems to suffer even in the future because of some biased writers (Yezidis, non-Yezidis, or even westerners) who wrote about them. Some of these writers consider Yezidis as devil worshippers. Others refer to them as Arabs or Kurds only to distort the history and civilization of this Mesopotamian indigenous minority. The biased works of some of

these writers create seeds of hatred against the Yezidis. I am a Yezidi student writing this study and hope to refer to some of these misconceptions, misinformation, and mistakes and hopefully without promoting any acts of hatred and hate. This distortion is one of the points that makes Yezidis always suffer from their surroundings. However, the real issue is what some surrounding forces and communities believe and feel about Yezidis! Some extremist and fanatic groups always persecuted and targeted Yezidis for their unique faith and their unique ancient history.

Some extremist and radical Islamic groups would always see Yezidis as a non-Ibrahimic polytheistic faith and consider them unbelievers who should not be protected (Al-Dayel et al., 2020). According to Moradi, & Kjell, the Ottoman empire considered Yezidis as renegades and devil worshippers who must be converted to Islam or be eliminated (2016). The depth of those rooted historical misconceptions, misinterpretations, and racist biases would always incite and agitate more people to turn against Yezidis (Ali, 2019a; Minwalla et al., 2020). For those reasons, forces such as the Ottoman empire, the Persian empire, Arabs, Kurds, and others targeted Yezidis for various reasons such as religion, nationality, ethnicity, and others (Ali, 2019; Hosseini, 2019). Furthermore, they were always using Islam as an umbrella for their purposes, and the goal always was to melt the Yezidis by converting them, eliminating their ancient historical identity, and changing their demography (Ali, 2019; Hosseini, 2019). These acts of incitements would always bring up massacres and genocides on the Yezidi community (Ali, 2019a; Minwalla et al., 2020).

Some of these surrounding fanatic forces brought an unknown number of Firmans (genocides), massacres, and mass graves upon Yezidis throughout their history (Ali, 2019). Historically the number 72 genocides and persecution campaigns have a symbolic meaning that reflects how much suffering the Yezidis have endured and faced by their surroundings (Ali,

2019; Schmermund, 2018). These 72 campaigns of official fatwas (acknowledged by interpretations from Sharia law) have wounded memories in the mind of every individual Yezidi (Hosseini, 2020).

The history of this community, as we referred to, is full of tragedies and calamities. One of those calamities happened during a campaign by Badra-Aldeen Lu'lua, the mayor of Mosul in 644 H (hijri calendar) against the Yezidis in Sheikhan district (the area between today's two known northern Iraqi cities of Mosul and Duhok), and the mayor killed hundreds of Yezidis and even exhumed Sheikh Adi's bones from his tomb and burned them (Kreyenbroek, & Rashow, 2005; Sleiman, 2007). In another campaign by Ottoman Shah Ahmed against the Yezidis of Sinjar district (northwest of Nineveh province), the shah killed more than sixteen thousand Yezidi men, took their women as prisoners of war, and destroyed their villages (Sleiman, 2007). Between 1831-1834 a Kurdish prince called Mohammad Al-Rawandouzy brought a campaign on Yezidis of Sheikhan, killing thousands of their males, and kidnapping thousands of Yezidi girls and women (Ali, 2019a; Sleiman, 2007). Yezidis again saw themselves targeted by another campaign by another Ottoman General, Omar Wahby Pasha, in 1892, who wanted to convert Yezidis to Islam (Sleiman, 2007). Omar Wahby Pasha used the Muslim religious leaders (Mullas) to issue Fatwas (legally acknowledged interpretations from the Quran) to claim that Yezidis were unbelievers and this act again incited and planted hatred and malice toward Yezidis by some of their Muslim neighbors (Sleiman, 2007). Even today, the same extremist and political ideologies still target the Yezidi community.

During the Al-Baath regime, Yezidis and other Iraqi minorities were displaced and forced to leave their villages into a newly built collective of villages and towns called mujamma'at (Sleiman, 2007). The Al-Baath regime Arabized the Yezidi areas and intentionally called Yezidis

Arabs to change their identity (Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017; Murad & Krajeski, 2017; Sleiman, 2007). Saddam Hussein, Iraqi president from 1979-2003, had tried to oblige Yezidis to say that they were Arabs. However, later the Kurdish Regional government and Kurdish political parties did the same work by pressuring Yezidis to say that they are Kurds and claiming that Yezidi areas such as Sheikhan and Sinjar districts in the plain of Nineveh province are parts of Iraqi Kurdistan (Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017; Murad, & Krajeski, 2017).

The areas in the plain of Nineveh province between Mosul and Duhok cities are historically known as the areas of minorities such as Yezidis, Assyrians, and others (Kruczek. 2021). Since 2003, these areas have been considered disputed areas between the Central Iraqi government (CIG) and the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) (Ali, 2020; Kruczek. 2021). According to that, the Kurdish authorities, specifically the Kurdistan Democratic Party (PDK) through the KRG dominated the whole Yezidi areas in both of their districts in Sinjar and Sheikhan. KRG through the Kurdish Army, peshmerga, was providing security to the Yezidi areas (Hosseini, 2020; Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017; Kruczek. 2021; Murad, & Krajeski, 2017). For the sake of building the dream of the Kurdish nation and country over the land of minorities, the Kurdish government and political parties would always do their best by attempting to melt others into their national ideological pot, and this again would add another layer of suffering to the Yezidi burdens till today (Ali, 2020; Kruczek. 2021).

On the other hand, after 2014, Yezidis realized the importance of claiming their distinctive identity as the only way to lessen their suffering and stop their persecutions (Ali, 2020). Yezidis claim that the main reason that ISIS quickly controlled the Sinjar area was that the Kurdish Peshmerga misled them about the threat and abandoned them when Yezidis came under attack (Toorn, 2017). According to Khalaf & Hoffmann, when ISIS controlled most parts

of Nineveh province, the Yezidis asked the Peshmerga to equip them to help protect the area (2017). Unfortunately, the Kurdish government and Peshmerga leaders refused that demand by claiming that they had tens of thousands of Peshmergas in the area who would protect the Yezidis until the last drops of their blood and did not need Yezidi civilians' support and help (Kruczek, 2021). One of those leaders was Sarbast Baiberi, head of the KDP's Branch 17 in Sinjar, who told the people of Sinjar not to worry because they would defend them until the last drops of their blood, but unfortunately and according to various sources Sarbast Baiberi and his men were among the first to flee Sinjar (Toorn, 2017). The Peshmerga suddenly and without any notification left the armless Yezidi civilians of the Sinjar district to face their fate with ISIS (Kruczek, 2021). The Kurdish peshmergas and leaders withdraw without a fight, without shooting a bullet, and without warning the local population (Toorn, 2017).

On August 3rd of 2014 and after Yezidis refused to convert to Islam, ISIS committed a genocide against the Yezidi community in the Sinjar district by attacking their villages, killing their men and boys, and kidnapping and later sex enslaving thousands of Yezidi women (Hosseini, 2019; Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017; Stohl & Stohl, 2017). ISIS killed about 3100 Yezidi men and kidnapped about 6,800 Yezidi women, and even today, close to 3,000 Yezidi women's destiny is still unknown (Hosseini, 2020). Furthermore, we believe that the number of victims is still more than described above.

The attacks were designed to destroy the Yezidi community through mass executions, rape, conversion, and indoctrination of children into fighters (Minwalla et al., 2020). After two weeks of occupying the Yezidi villages, ISIS told the people of Kocho village, that the only way to survive was to convert to Islam (Murad, & Krajeski, 2017; Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017; Kaya, 2019). After the people of Kocho refused to convert to Islam and on August 15th of 2014; ISIS

committed a massacre by shooting most of Kocho's men and kidnapping their women (Hanley, 2018). The nature of their heinous atrocities against the Yezidi women made some of them defy shame by raising their voices and shouting their suffering stories to the international community (Cooke, 2019). These women spoke to mourn their suffering and their dead mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, and other community members (Murad, & Krajeski, 2017; Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017). Therefore, some of them decided to share their narratives to describe their suffering and what ISIS did to them. (Eliza, 2016).

Yezidi women used different means and ways to share their stories. They started to share their narratives via different means such as social media (Facebook), YouTube, or even through writing articles and books to talk about their stories (Hosseini, 2019). Nadia and Farida are two women who decided to raise their voices by sharing their narrative stories in collaborative works with foreign writers. This paper will analyze the texts of their collaborative books to investigate the way in which those women talked to their captors to frame hope rhetorically. First, we must know what hope is and how we create hope in similar situations.

# CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

## Hope Communication

Hope communication during wars and genocides is a concern many of us might wonder about it. We might ask ourselves how to act or react if we are stuck in such a situation. One specific example would be the case of the Yezidi women with ISIS. ISIS attacked the Yezidi community in Iraq, and later, we heard stories of Yezidi women describing their crisis with ISIS militants and how those women were suffering. My curiosity, in this case, motivated me to investigate how people who go through wars and genocides talk with their captors to build hope. I will analyze the texts of their dialogues to see how those Yezidi women talked to their captors to build hope. For studying this case, I must first explain what hope communication means? Before discussing what hope means, we must also know its opposite counterpart (hopelessness).

Hopelessness is a negative assumption we might adopt when we think we cannot change the outcome (Miller et al., 2014). Negative experiences sometimes make us believe that the result will be negative (Henry, 2004). It sometimes might push individuals to abandon their plans, believing they cannot achieve the goal (Henry, 2004; Miller et al., 2014). Hopelessness sometimes might create a more negative and destructive communication that results in withdrawing and abandoning our goals, plans, and decisions (Miller et al., 2014). This hopelessness was why some Yezidi women abandoned their plans and instead attempted to commit suicide, and others surrendered to their new fate of converting to Islam and becoming wives of ISIS militants. One of the best examples would be Katherine, Nadia's niece, who tried many times to run away, but unfortunately, after failing, she finally surrendered to her new fate by marrying an ISIS militant. On the other hand, despite all the evilness that Pandora released from the jar sent from Zeus to punish the entire human race, there was also a tiny creature at the

bottom of the box whom we call hope to counterbalance all humanity's evils (Meyer, 2010). The same tiny creature called hope helped many of those Yezidi women defy their captors' cruelty and later survive.

Hope is a psychological concept that consists of a positive thinking process of successful agency (successful goal-directed determination) and successful pathways (successful planning of ways) for achieving our targeted goal (Henry, 2004; Horton & Wallander, 2001; Cheavens et al., 2006). Peterson & Mckenna-Buchanan also defined 'hope' as a positive motivational state that considers energies and plans to achieve the goal (2015). Hope consists of three elements: goal, agency, and pathways (Snyder, 2002). According to Sparks, Hefner & Rogeness, hope is a life force that moves us toward achieving our significant future goals (2015). First, let us spend some time referring to what goals, the first element of hope, means?

People usually think about achieving goals with positive and desired outcomes and forestalling those with a negative impact (Cheavens et al., 2006; Snyder et al., 2000; Snyder et al., 2000). According to Snyder et al., "goals are defined as the targets of mental action sequences, and they provide the cognitive component that anchors hope theory." (2000, p. 250). We can classify goals as short-term and long-term. They also can be classified according to their significance, simplicity, and possibility (Grewal & Porter, 2007). Snyder (2002) categorized goals into two general types: positive goals and forestalling goals. Cheavens et al., (2006), later went into more detail about categorizing them into four types: "approaching goal (moving toward the desired outcome); forestalling negative outcome goal (deterring or delaying unwanted occurrences); maintenance goals (sustaining the status quo); and enhancement goals (augmenting an already positive outcome)." (p. 136-137) "By forestalling goals in strong forms, we attempt to stop something before it happens." (Snyder, 2002, p. 250) "In its weakest forms, we attempt to

delay the unwanted outcome." (Snyder, 2002, p. 250). This knowledge of goals in this study will hopefully help us better see those Yezidi women and their plans and attempts during their crisis and how they put efforts into achieving them, whether they were positive goals or forestalling goals. To better determine the case, we must also know about the level of the other two elements of hope: agency and pathways.

High hope people are more flexible in using alternative agencies and pathways to achieve their goals than others (Snyder et al., 2000). According to Henry, successful interaction of an elevated level of the two elements of hope (agency and pathways) makes the person more flexible and the goal more possible (Henry, 2004). Individuals with elevated levels of agency and pathway are also more resilient to adopting alternative ways of achieving goals (Snyder et al., 2000). In contrast, individuals with either a low level of both elements of hope or even a low level of one of them might struggle to balance the process of achieving the goal (Snyder et al., 1991). According to Merolla et al., no matter how hard and challenging the situation is, there are always agencies and alternative pathways toward achieving positive outcomes (2017). This type of knowledge of how to balance the level of hope elements helps individuals to be more aware and capable of the process of building more hope.

It is crucial to equip ourselves with elements of hope to help us balance our decisions and plans during our crises (Merolla et al., 2017; Snyder et al., 2000). According to Snyder et al., people with balance in their hope elements are more flexible and resilient to shift their motivation and change to adopt new alternative ways to achieve the goal (2000). For example, while facing impediments, people with a high-level hope can produce better alternative routes, make better changes in their plans and channels, and be more resilient toward shifting their motivation to the new appropriate ways (2000). On the other side, people with an imbalance in at

least one of these two interrelated components of hope (agency and pathways) might stop or have a tough time achieving goals and might even quit chasing them (Henry, 2004). Hope is not only a psychological concept but also a cognitive way of thinking and communication function.

Hope communication also enhances agency and pathways toward the goal (Kam & Merolla, 2018). Through sustaining agency and pathways, hope communication helps the person be resilient and determined to follow their meaningful goals through different pathways (Davis et al., 2013; Kam & Merolla, 2018). It also helps us to realize our unique talents and strengths for building and developing more hope toward plights and stressors that arise in our life (Kam & Merolla, 2018). Through essential daily life lessons, we strengthen our ability to communicate better to achieve our goals (Kam & Merolla, 2018).

The life experience of always attaining goals is important to reinforce building more hope in planning for our future purposes (Merolla et al., 2017). According to Snyder, the socialization process from early childhood to later periods in life is important to help individuals equip themselves with more hope (2002). The daily life socialization efforts and support from our social network members help us build more hope and resilience to survive later during our adversities (Kam & Merolla, 2018). One of these social relationship circles is the parent-child hope communication process. The parent-child relationship is a strength-based and constructive form of family positive communication grounded in hope theory (Synder, 2002). It can positively contribute to the family's constructive relationship (Merolla & Kam, 2018). Besides social relationships, communication contexts can also help individuals build more hope in their life.

For creating and sustaining hopefulness, individuals also need to know the importance of taking collective and comprehensive actions in multiple communication contexts (Snyder &

Feldman, 2000). One form of communication context is positive communication. Positive communication may act as a form of hope communication in many situations as long as it promotes the core components of hope theory (goal, agency, and pathways) (Kam & Merolla, 2018). Positive forms of communication protect, help, and support individuals against life challenges by motivating them to adopt more positive changes in their behavior (Beck & Socha, 2015). Positive communication consists of two forms: Supportive communication and confirming communication (Kam & Merolla, 2018). The supportive and confirming communication messages also share some standard features with hope communication (Kam & Merolla, 2018). Supportive communication from our close social circles during crises, copying, and resilience following trauma is another vital form of hope communication (Snyder, 2002; Merolla, 2015).

Supportive communication from our social circles (caregivers, teachers, significant others, peers, Etc.) helps sustain and foster hope in our lives (Merolla et al., 2017). It allows individuals to enhance self-esteem and look for better solutions to their crises (Merolla et al., 2017; Merolla & Kam, 2018). Studies also proved that socially supportive communication interaction messages help cancer patients cope and adapt to accepting the new status of their sickness (Sparks, 2003). Hope and supportive communication may also co-occur (Merolla et al., 2017; Merolla & Kam, 2018). This form of communication helps people to better deal with their crises. Supportive communication also does lead to communicating confirming messages to maintain hope.

Confirming positive communication messages also helps create more hope in a person's life (Kam & Merolla, 2018). Confirming communication consists of accepting messages (messages that show that an individual is valued, cared for, and not judged) and challenging

messages (messages that push an individual to adopt a specific healthy behavior) (Dailey et al., 2016). Confirming messages also motivate and encourage individuals by highlighting their unique, capable, and valuable abilities to do better (Merolla & Kam, 2018). These positive (supportive and confirming) messages help individuals grow up and develop a more agentic self-concept (Little et al., 2006). The forms of positive communication will help us see how the Yezidi women supported each other to remain hopeful. Besides the awareness of these forms of positive communication (supportive and confirming) messages and social relationships, we also need communication skills to communicate our needs and necessities (Beck & Socha, 2015).

Communication competency is another context that adds to creating more hope in people's lives (Snyder & Feldman, 2000). Communication competency helps us create a more effective relationship and more successful and appropriate ways of communicating our concerns and issues (Sparks et al., 2015). According to Sparks, the way we communicate with cancer patients is essential to support them in the difficulty of their new life journey (2003). It helps to carefully select the right messages to communicate better to maintain the situation (Sparks et al., 2015; Snyder & Feldman, 2000). According to Sparks et al., the continually positive change in social relationships across a lifetime helps individuals build more skills to better exchange messages with the growing community relationship (2015). Competent communication, in our case, will allow us to see how those women were talking to their captors to create more hope in their lives. Social relationships support and communication contexts of positive communication and communication competency help individuals communicate hope better during critical times.

When terrible things happen, we build hope through communicating and connecting to manage and facilitate the situation (Beck, & Socha, 2015; Vangelisti, 2015). We also manage our crises by cultivating hope in our lives long before disasters strike (Snyder et al., 1997; Merolla,

2015) to act with more resilience to manage disasters and traumatic events (Merolla, 2015). In critical times of crisis, the way we communicate messages with others is also vital for creating and sustaining more hope (Sparks et al., 2015).

To summarize, we learned about hope and its elements. We also learned about social relationships and communication contexts in helping individuals build hope in their lives. More specifically, we saw the role of hope communication during critical times of natural disasters, such as cases of cancer patients and other illnesses. We also saw how some studies applied the concept of hope communication to various contexts, yet none of them have explored hope communication during wars and genocides. More specifically, none used the rhetorical frame to refer to the process of communicating hope during wars and genocides.

In this study, I will use rhetorical frames to investigate the process of communicating hope during wars and genocides. I will investigate how Kenneth Burke's comic frame might help women create hope during wars and genocides. I will refer to the case of the Yezidi women with ISIS to see how those women created hope in their jails using different rhetorical frames. To specify the case, I am analyzing texts from these two collaborative books about war and genocide that are built on accounts of survivors to identify how those women used to talk in their dialogues with their captors to create hope.

## CHAPTER THREE: DATA METHODOLOGY

### Texts/Data

To find an answer to our research problem about hope during wars and genocides, I will use the case of the Yezidi women with their captors from ISIS militants. Hopefully, this specific case will help us learn more about people who go through wars and genocides and how they act to communicate hope. To better investigate the case, I will use texts from two collaborative books written by Yezidi women who went through the crisis with ISIS and authored by foreign western writers. These books are *The Last Girl by Nadia Murad and Jenna Krajeski and The Girl Who Escaped ISIS by Farida Khalaf & Andrea Hoffmann.*

For this research study, the rationale behind using the narrative stories of these two collaborative books, *The Last Girl by Nadia Murad and Jenna Krajeski and The Girl Who Escaped ISIS by Farida Khalaf & Andrea Hoffmann*, is the amount of direct dialogue recounting within them between the Yezidi women and their ISIS captors. The stories are also full of direct texts that reflect hope, hopefulness, and hopelessness. They also contain a direct use of Kenneth Burke's comic and tragic rhetorical frames that reflect their crisis and decisions to build hope. The characters of these two collaborative books describe what happened to them, their families, and their community during the ISIS attacks. They also explain how they created, maintained, and communicated hope despite unbearable suffering. Another reason for adopting the case of the Yezidi genocide is that barely any communication studies have ever targeted this specific issue of this community to generalize it to a more inclusive issue of wars and genocides.

Another reason for considering these two books for our data analysis is the idea of the collaboration of authors and coauthors among the survivors (victims), interpreters, and western writers to depict the idea of hope better and professionally in their narratives. Western writers

successfully listened to those Yezidi women and stories to better describe their cases and the idea of building hope during those times. These western writers' efforts helped those women recite their narratives more consciously to reflect the idea of building hope. It also helped them reflect much evidence of reasons to resonate their stories with a universal standard of the same type of crisis (genocide) stories. These two stories have many communication pieces of hope, hopefulness, and hopelessness.

***The Last Girl by Nadia Murad and Jenna Krajeski***

The Last Girl is a collaborative book by Nadia Murad and Jenna Krajeski. The book talks about Nadia's life story of captivity and her fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. The publishing happened in November of 2017 by Tim Duggan Books, an imprint of the Crown Publishing Group, a division of Penguin Random House in New York in the United States. Nadia Murad is the main author, storyteller, and character. The copyright belongs to 'The Nadia Initiative,' a non-profit organization in the United States. The foreword is by Amal Clooney, an international Human Rights lawyer who represented Nadia Murad in her UN legal action against ISIS commanders.

The book has some statements from the authors and a foreword copyrighter. In one statement on a plain page after publication, the author says that she wrote the book for every Yezidi. Her narrative story starts with a couple of joint pages of a drawn image of a map of the Sinjar area and its mountain in Iraq. The purpose of the images is to help make her narrative less abstract by better clarifying facts and describing the area where Yezidis of Sinjar live and the locations of the political factors around them. On the back cover of her book, Nadia referred to the last moments of the people of Kocho while they gathered in the school. She said, "if those

Kocho women knew of what was about to happen to their men, no mother would have let her son or husband go." (Murad & Krajeski, 2017)

In the book's foreword, Amal Clooney refers to what happened to Nadia, other captives, and the Yezidi community when ISIS attacked them on August 3rd of, 2014. Amal Clooney also mentions her first conversation with Nadia in 2016 and how they met. From that time, Amal Clooney decided to represent Nadia and her case to the international courts and community to ask for justice for Yezidi women and their genocide. Nadia co-authored this work with another editor called Jenna Krajeski.

Jenna Krajeski is an international journalist, writer, editor, and reporter who worked in the Middle East, Europe, and African countries such as Turkey and Egypt (Jackson Institute for Global Affairs, 09/12/2021; Pulitzer Center, 09/12/2021; The Fuller Project, 09/12/2021). In Egypt and from 2010 to 2011, Jenna was an editor and reporter for the English language version of the Egyptian newspaper 'Al-Masry Al-Youm' (Pulitzer Center, 09/12/2021). After the fall of the Egyptian regime and in 2011, Jenna moved to Istanbul, Turkey, as a part of a project by Pulitzer Center working on crisis reporting (Pulitzer Center, 09/12/2021). There she focused on the Kurdish minority of Turkey, Iraq, and Syria and the political process in Turkey (Pulitzer Center, 09/12/2021; The Fuller Project, 09/12/2021). Jenna is also a reporter with *The Fuller Project* and an activist defending women and minorities and their rights (The Fuller Project, 09/12/2021). She also works as a supporter of female trafficking and exploitation (The Fuller Project, 09/12/2021). Krajeski is the co-author of a forthcoming book about Congo, Rwanda, and the refugee crisis (Jackson Institute for Global Affairs, 09/12/2021; Pulitzer Center, 09/12/2021; The Fuller Project, 09/12/2021). She is the co-author of this work, *The Last Girl: My Story of Captivity and My Fight Against the Islamic State.*

We also must know more about this work before indulging in more details of its content. At the time that this book was published, Nadia Murad, the main author of the book, did not speak English at all. Although it is not mentioned anywhere in the book, Nadia Murad recited her story to Jenna Krajeski through an English interpreter. This fact is essential to know because it changes the balance and shows the real author of the book. It also helped me to see some tiny issues and gaps where Krajeski's voice was loud in some places.

This collaborative work successfully recited the essence of Nadia's story with ISIS. Despite that, in some places in the book we see Krajeski's voice echoing. I can see how Jenna's perspective of her previous work for the Kurdish cause sometimes negatively impacted Nadia's story. On page 4 in her book, Nadia talks about how others persecuted Yezidis because of their religion and community identity. By saying that both the Arabs and Kurds were asking them to deny their Yezidi heritage and conform to Kurdish or Arab identities. On page 34, Nadia again states that she considers herself nothing but Yezidi. Yet we saw that the claimed co-author, Jenna Krajeski, sometimes tried to defend her previous perspective of the importance of the Kurdish cause. On page 9, Krajeski resembled Nadia, like Kurdish females from Turkey and Syria fighting for their rights and cause. On pages 31-32, the claimed co-author stated that many Yezidis consider themselves Kurds. Her previous perspective of defending Kurds sometimes took her away from her focal point of writing about Yezidis and their genocide.

On page 37, Jenna Krajeski hallucinated by forgetting that she was writing about the Yezidi genocide. Instead, she talked about the Kurdish-Iraqi Baath Regime conflict and how Saddam had been targeting Kurds for decades. She even went into detail to talk about the military campaigns that the Iraqi Army brought upon the Kurds and how the Kurds were always

defending themselves against the Al Baath regime. She also referred to the coalition between the American and Kurds in 2003 and the process of liberation.

Pages 39-47 show two opposite arguments, one by the author and another by the co-author. The claimed author, Nadia Murad, referred to some reasons behind the genocide by saying that after the fall of the Iraqi regime and the replacement of Arab Sunni policemen and politicians with Kurdish policemen and politicians in the area, a gap of mistrusting started to grow between the Arabs and Yezidis in the area. On page 41, Nadia again said that what broke the relationship between the Sunni of the area and Yezidis was how the Kurdish peshmerga controlled the area. Furthermore, the way they were interrogating Sunnis at their checkpoints in the Sinjar area. She also emphasized how Sunnis in the area after the fall of the Al-Baath regime lost their salaries and jobs when the Americans came and dismantled Saddam's institutions from the area and how that was another reason behind the Yezidi genocide. Nadia provided more reasons for what deteriorated the relationship between the Yezidis of Sinjar and their Sunni neighbors and why some Sunnis started to support ISIS against their neighbors. On page 47, Nadia again referred to the deteriorated relationship by saying that the new tension between the Yezidis and the Sunni Arabs was because of the Kurdish influence and ongoing radicalization in the Sunni areas.

On the other side, we still saw Krajeski singing in another valley by supporting the Kurds and their attitudes in the area. On pages 39-40, I see the coauthor referring to Sinjar as other Iraqi areas and because of its natural gas as a disputed territory and how Kurdish political parties consider Sinjar part of their greater Kurdish homeland. She even claimed that the Kurds consider their nation without Sinjar as incomplete, and Saddam was wrong to call Yezidi Arab because they had always been Kurds. Here I see the coauthor not as a writer but as a Kurdish activist and

politician because of her perspectives. She does not know that even the areas that she calls Kurdish areas (Kurdish-inhabited areas) at a point in time were Yezidi and Assyrian areas. On pages 40-41, Krajeski claimed that the Sinjar area under Kurds' ruling improved. On the same page Nadia referred to how Yezidi workers in the Kurdish area were complaining about racism and how Kurds were looking down on them. Nadia referred to her brother, Saoud, and his story while working in Kurdish areas. Saoud told his family that Kurds look at them as dirty people. By the way, Saoud is right because none of the Yezidis even today in 2022 could open a restaurant in Kurdish areas or any other Muslim areas in the Middle East because they do not eat Yezidi food by considering it haram and not halal.

The co-author kept manipulating the facts by playing more politics. On page 42, she said that the new constitution gave more power to the Kurds who demanded that minorities be part of the government. She forgot what Nadia said about how Yezidis struggled even in Kurdish areas. On page 247, the coauthor is trying to even falsify the facts about the Yezidi genocide and their suffering by claiming that the Kurdish-inhabited area welcomed Yezidis and built camps specifically for the Yezidis. She forgot that Nadia said the Kurdish government left the Yezidis alone when ISIS attacked them. Krajeski returned and said that the Kurdish Democratic Party KDP had established an office devoted to helping free Yezidi sabaya. She said that those intentions from the Kurds were an attempt to repair their relationship with Yezidis after betraying them by leaving them alone to face ISIS. This statement reminds me of a proverb in Iraqi culture that killed someone and later walked to his/her funeral! Because of the PDK party and Kurdish Peshmerga forces and their actions when ISIS attacked the Yezidi of Sinjar, some Yezidi villages were annihilated and wiped out. So how would PDK or even the Kurdish government repair the relationship! Would they bring those Yezidi people back? It is a genocide

and every person and party involved in this massacre in a point of time need to be questioned by the local and international Courts.

At the end of the book, Krajeski indulged herself more in politics and support of the Kurdish cause. On page 254, Jenna starts to talk about the Kurdish celebrations. She also talked about how Saddam Hussein attacked Kurds with military campaigns. On page 258, Jenna talks about the Iraqi Kurdistan map and territories. She mentioned Iraqi Kurdish cities such as Duhok, Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, and Halabja. She also talked about Iraqi Kurdistan's independence and conflicts among Iraqi Kurdistan's political parties. Those facts sometimes turned Nadia's book away from its original goal of reciting her story and what Yezidis went through when ISIS attacked them. I am from Nadia’s community (Yezidis) and know what happened during those days. I know my responses might get me into a little bit of hate saying and be seen by some as so, but as a student researcher, i must tell the truth and the reality. Despite this subjective perspective from Jenna Krajeski, the co-author of this book, the book was successful in describing the crisis of those Yezidi women and their families in ISIS captivities. The book consists of some chapters and many pages.

The book consists of 306 pages, three parts, and each part consists of 10-11 short chapters. The book's first part discusses Nadia's life, dreams, and community. She is from a village called Kocho in the Sinjar District, south of the Sinjar Mountains in the northwest of Nineveh province in Iraq. Murad describes her life by saying that she grew up in Kocho, her town, with her mother, two older sisters, and eight older brothers. She also talks about her nieces, nephews, and friends who impacted her life. Nadia also talks about her Yezidi community and their lives, struggles, and suffering.

In part two, Nadia recited her story and how the Islamic State enslaved her. In the beginning, she describes how ISIS gathered the people of her village in the school. Murad also mentioned that ISIS separated their men from their families and later took them away, and not so far later, they heard shooting rounds. After shooting their men, ISIS took the women by cars and trucks to Mosul and other places under their control. Nadia then talks about her story of selling and raping her by different fighters. Although ISIS warned them of the consequences of running away, Nadia finally found an excellent opportunity for her freedom.

In Part three of her book, Nadia talks about her running away opportunity and how she later ended up knocking at a door of a Muslim family in Mosul and asking them for help. The Muslim family allowed her into their house. They later managed a way to take her to the North of Iraq. Finally, Nadia met with one of her surviving brothers and her Yezidi community. At a point, Nadia decided to share her story with others.

Nadia decided to raise her voice. She decided to inform the world about what happened to her and other women from her community by ISIS. As a reason for her cause, the United Nations appointed Nadia as the first Goodwill Ambassador for the Dignity of Survivors of Human Trafficking of the United Nations in 2016. The same year, she won the Council of Europe Václav Havel Award for Human Rights. Again in 2016, the Sakharov Foundation announced Nadia as the co-receiver of their Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought with Lamiya Haji Bashar. Her book, The Last Girl, eventually led her to be awarded jointly with Denis Mukwege, for the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize. In 2019, Nadia was honored with Bambi Award from Germany. Today, Nadia is the executive director of a non-profit organization called "Nadia Initiative," Through this role, she is doing her best to serve and rebuild her Yezidi community back in Iraq. She recently received an honorary doctorate from the University of

Chapman in Southern California for her work on behalf of survivors of sexual violence and the Yazidi community.

***The Girl Who Escaped ISIS by Farida Khalaf and Andrea G. Hoffmann***

*The Girl Who Escaped ISIS* is a collaborative book by Farida Khalaf & Andrea Hoffmann. The book talks about the life and story of Farida Khalaf during her captivity by ISIS. Farida published her book in 2017, and it has two authors: Farida Khalaf and Andrea G. Hoffmann. The book was originally written in German and later translated into English by Jamie Bulloch in the same year.

Jamie Bulloch is a historian and has been working as a professional translator for the German language since 2001 (Vereingtes Konigreich, 09/19/2021). He is the writer of *Karl Renner: Austria: The Peace Conferences of 1919-23 and their aftermath*. Jamie Bulloch also translated three other books into English: *Ruth Maier's Diary by Ruth Maier, Kingdom of Twilight by Steven Uhly*, and *The Girl Who Escaped ISIS by Farida Khalaf, and Andrea G. Hoffmann* (Vereingtes Konigreich, 09/19/2021).

Andrea C. Hoffmann is the co-author of the book. She is an author and a journalist specializing in the Middle East and the situation of women in Muslim countries (Hoffmann, 09/19/2021; Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017). At the end of the book, Andrea C. Hoffmann started to talk about her journey to the refugee camps in Iraq and how her magazine's editorial department sent her to write about some of those survivors (Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017). She is interested in the cases of Human Rights violations toward women in conflicts and works to give more voice to women's issues (Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017). Andrea learned about Farida Khalaf, and her story from a social worker and later met her at one of the refugee camps in the north of Iraq (Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017). She convinced Farida of the importance of sharing her story. Farida later

started to recite her story in her Yezidi language, and a young girl was doing the translation between Farida and Andrea Hoffmann (Khalaf, & Hoffmann, 2017).

Khalaf and Hoffmann published their book in 2017. Farida is the main author, character, and storyteller in the book. In this book, Farida shared her story to let the world know what ISIS did to her life, family, and community. The book consists of 225 pages in nine chapters. In a note published in this book, Hoffmann talks about an inner struggle that Farida faced and how she finally overcame her concerns and started speaking to the media.

The book was named "Best Book of the Year" by the New York Post. The cover has an image of Farida with a quote from SUNDAY EXPRESS (UK) saying, "A shuttering, brave, enraging book but also a stirring story of survival." There are quotes from famous authors, scholars, writers, and media entities reflecting their points of view on Farida's story in the first two and a half pages. Among these quotes is one by Frank Heinrich, speaker of the German parliament's Committee on Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid, saying that the "memoir of the young Yezidi women is full of hope." He also states that Farida's story is "An amazing story that hurts and encourages everyone never to keep quiet or give up." The two following pages later, there is a grey map of Sinjar district and Kocho village in the northwest Nineveh province in Iraq and the surrounding areas. On another page, there is a statement from the author declaring that her real name is Farida Khalaf, while the other characters' names in her book, except the public names, are changed. Later, in another two and a half pages, Farida tells us how her father trained her to use AK-47 for emergencies and crises. She thought that by referring to a crisis, her father meant if a burglar broke into their house. Nevertheless, now she understands why her father was concerned about training them.

The book sheds light on Khalaf's Yezidi community's suffering through their living history among the Muslim community. Khalaf talks about terrorists and the advance of ISIS in Iraq and later arrives at her Sinjar district and finally at her village of Kocho. Furthermore, she talks about how this act negatively impacted and changed their lives upside down. Farida also talks about her story of being sexually enslaved, and while trying to run away, Farida always would end up being caught and tortured. She finally managed a plan with five friends and survived by escaping from their captors. After rejoining her community, she shared her story of violence and humiliation to let the world know what ISIS did to them, their families, and their community. Despite being one of the best books to describe the suffering of the Yezidi women with ISIS, there are some facts that we must know about this collaborative work.

We must know some factors about this work to help us better understand the case. First, Hoffmann was sent by the editorial department of her magazine in Europe to write about the Yezidi women case. In the refugee camp, Hoffmann searched for Farida and later encouraged her to share her experience as a prisoner of ISIS. She was trying to persuade her to accept the idea of authoring a book about her life experience in ISIS captivity. Hoffmann later found a young Kurdish interpreter to help with the translation. In her interviews, Hoffmann herself said that the longer the interview was, the more distressing it was for Farida. This means that she was all her efforts to get more out of her questions directed at Farida.

There was another fact identified on page 222, when Hoffmann was referring to the details from her interview of how the horrors inflicted on Farida impacted her psychology, she identified that the book was drafted by her in Europe when Farida was still in Iraq. Although the book shows that Farida is the main author of this work, Andrea Hoffmann is the author of the book, and she takes the credit for this work. She drafted this book while she was in Germany.

Hoffmann also said that when Farida came to Germany through a program for helping those survivors, Farida was uncommunicative and did not respond to her phone calls. Hoffmann claimed that Farida's acts were related to the idea of still mourning her family loss and was still under posttraumatic depression. Hoffmann also said that Farida was still in her social isolation when the book was published. She said that Farida, at that time, denied any interviews and did not want to see her photo on the book's cover. Hoffmann said she always encouraged her to come out of her isolation to meet with the publishing house and journalists. However, Farida did not contact her until the summer of that year to show her agreement. From the first day of sending her to the refugee camp, Hoffmann insisted on the idea of pushing to publish the work. She inserted herself in Farida's narrative, claiming she was suffering like her and always encouraging her. These two collaborative books of the narratives of two Yezidi women are selected to refer to our research problem and, hopefully, some workable solutions.

These two stories might help answer the research problem of people who go through wars and genocides and how they create hope using rhetorical frames. In this research, I will use these two narrative stories to analyze their text content through a rhetorical tool to investigate how those women built, maintained, and communicated hope despite their daily suffering in captivity.

**Kenneth Burke's Tragic and Comic Frames**

People who might go through critical times of wars and genocides might use rhetorical means to create hope. I will refer to Kenneth Burke's rhetorical frame of comic to see how how people talk to their captors might help them create more hope during wars and genocides. I will also briefly refer to how the tragic way of acting with their captors might also sometimes help people to create hope. To investigate that, I will first refer to these rhetorical frames and later use the comic frame as a method for analyzing these two collaborative books.

Kenneth Burke says that people use rhetorical frames to reflect their experiences, attitudes, and motives (Carlson, 1986). He also says that rhetorical frames help us assess and understand the rhetorical processes surrounding our lives and environment (Muddiman, 2007). According to Burke, knowing these rhetorical frames is essential to determine and evaluate people's attitudes and behaviors (Carlson, 1986; Kephart III, 2004). Comic and tragic frames are two of Burke's most prominent rhetorical structures.

According to Burke, tragic and comic devices help people understand the rhetorical meaning behind the symbols (Muddiman, 2007). These rhetorical constructions help us structure arguments, analyze, and communicate ideas, knowledge, and attitudes (Kanol, n.d.). According to Christiansen & Hanson, the knowledge we attain will allow us to use these frames better to support some perspectives and abstain from supporting others (1996). Carlson also elaborates on the same idea by saying that interpreting and assessing these rhetorical constructions (comic and tragic) will determine whether we might collaborate or oppose the perspective (1986). This assessment process might help us better see the situation; according to that, we might react. These two frames will help us see how rhetorical structures create hope during wars and genocides. After generally referring to the function of these rhetorical frames, it is time to introduce them in detail. First, I will talk about the tragic frame and its aspects.

### *Kenneth Burke's Tragic Frame*

The tragic frame is a rhetorical construction created by Kenneth Burke, and it consists of two elements: Cosmic power and social change through violence. First, I will explain what cosmic power means. I will also refer to accepting and rejecting this power and its impact.

*Cosmic Power*

The tragic frame refers to superhuman or inhuman forces such as fate, destiny, death, God, and others as motivating factors (Burke, 1984; Kanol, 2020). Cosmic power sometimes creates restrictions and limits that force us to accept it as an unavoidable reality (Burke, 1984; Christiansen & Hanson, 1996). Through acceptance, the cosmic power forces a sense of limitations on people (Burke, 1984) by minimizing their accustomed way of thinking (Burke, 1973). We can sometimes call it a rejection frame because of a lack of understanding of attitudes (Smith & Voth 2002). The structure might also create obstacles such as fear, discrimination, hatred, and religious sanction (Christiansen & Hanson, 1996). Fear makes people careful to avoid any sign of punishment (Burke, 1984). However, sometimes people rebel for the sake of making a social change.

*Violence*

The tragic frame considers social change impossible without committing violence (Carlson,1986). According to Smith & Voth (2002), we might use violence and punishment to make a social change when other ways do not work. This tragic interpretation occurs when we believe that the actions of others might destroy our existing social system or they try to rebuild a new opposing one (Carlson,1986). For this reason, we might push for an already existing social order and force others to accept it (Carlson, 1986). Because of that, Burke always advises us to choose the comic frame even during the most challenging situations because only the comic structure can protect us from our tragedies (Christiansen & Hanson, 1996).

### *Kenneth Burke's Comic Frame*

The comic frame is Burke's favorite structure, consisting of five elements: Logic, quirks and foibles, rationality, social order, and civil disobedience. First, I will refer to the logic of the comic frame.

#### *Logic*

Unlike the tragic frame, the comic frame attempts to change the case using reason (Christiansen & Hanson, 1996). It develops causality to shape the plot, not by calling upon some as superhuman and others as subhuman, but by organizing the events depending on the available information about the situation (Burke, 1984). The frame also attempts to shame and blame the issue and asks for a change based on the idea of logic and reasoning (Burke, 1984; Christiansen & Hanson, 1996; Muddiman, 2007). No matter how we pretend, the frame also considers us imperfect human beings with issues and problems (Carlson,1986).

#### *Quirks and Foibles*

The comic frame helps us better recognize our quirks and foibles better to understand the case (Kanol, 2020). This frame also looks at an error as a genuine part of the truth that no matter how much we know, we still do not know everything and still have quirks and foibles that we need to correct (Burke, 1984). Burke also supported the idea by asking us always to recognize our mistakes and look for better ways to deal with our opponents (1984). We must carefully consider our social ills and use the logic of reason to correct them without causing any evil intention (Carlson, 1986). According to Burke, when we understand our mistakes, we might act with more rationality (1984).

*Rationality*

Unlike the tragic, the comic frame promotes rational discourse rather than violence (Smith & Voth 2002). Rationality helps people better see and understand their mistakes and how to deal with them (Burke, 1984). It also helps individuals be more conscious and aware in their dialogues while dealing with others (Smith & Voth 2002). The use of consciousness in dialogues helps us to better present and solve our issues (Muddiman, 2007; Smith & Voth 2002). It helps us use full consciousness to observe ourselves while acting (Burke, 1984; Desilet & Appel, 2011). The comic frame's rationality also helps us better understand the social order.

*Social Order*

The comic frame helps us better understand the importance of social order and how we must act toward respecting that (Burke, 1984; Carlson,1986). Here I am trying to refer to how those women were aware of the importance of their Yezidi social order and the importance of respecting Islam's social order. The importance of the social order motivates people to work carefully through crises to protect the essence of their group (Burke, 1984; Christiansen & Hanson, 1996). The frame attempts to build a more constructive social environment through positive behaviors with others to protect the main goal (Gandhi, 2001). The main goal in this case for those Yezidi women was to carefully create more hope of protecting themselves and their identity while talking to their captors. Otherwise, direct harmful attempts to oppose their opponents might upset the enemy and bring more violence and restriction to those women, negatively impacting their Yezidi hierarchy (Carlson, 1988). Despite that, individuals might still make errors and need to justify their mistakes and consider correcting them (Carlson, 1986). The goal is always to decrease social tension by correcting errors and supporting the convergence of views (Carlson, 1988: 1986) for our mutual social necessities and needs (Burke, 1984). Here I

mean decreasing the idea of violence and opposing Islam for those women to navigate the case better to build more hope for themselves. Of course, we must carefully navigate the system and adopt nonviolent and peaceful changes to lessen the harm (Carlson,1986).

*Civil Disobedience*

Civil disobedience is another concept that Gandhi adopted to teach his people how to fight for their rights (Carlson,1986, Gandhi, 2001). I will add some pieces of civil disobedience to the equation of the comic frame to the situation of captives during wars and genocides in the hope of learning how to act and talk with our opponents to build more hope. Gandhi encouraged his people to react nonviolently to their opponents (Roberts, 2016). According to him, the nonviolence of civil disobedience is one of the most successful ways to adapt to deal with our issues (Gandhi, 2001). The nonviolent and peaceful acts we consider in our acts with others will help us compromise the issue (Gandhi, 2001; Heisenberg, 1968). Civil disobedience in our acts will help us better assess and understand the case and act more flexibly to find ways to manage an agreement with our opponents (Gandhi, 2001). Despite some obstacles and barriers we might face with this element, we still hope that some of its acts might help us plan a way of talking to our opponents to create more hope and walk toward our freedoms (Roberts, 2012).

To summarize, we use rhetorical frames to reflect on our life experiences, attitudes, and motives and, at the same time to assess and understand others' lives too. We referred to Kenneth Burke's tragic and comic frames and their uses. Knowing about our tragic and comic frame methods, I will now apply the comic frame to the case of the Yezidi women to see how they used the frame to create hope in their crisis.

Now that we understand how Kenneth Burke's tragic and comic frameworks work, the next section of this study delves into how to use the comic frame to analyze the texts of the

Yezidi women's narrative stories. Identifying and later analyzing specific texts will allow us to rhetorically describe how people, specifically women, talked to their captors to create hope during their captivity crisis. We might also state that some people might use different rhetorical frames in their conversations with opponents to create hope during wars and genocides. I will investigate how using the comic frame in their conversations with their captors allowed those Yezidi women to build hope in their crisis better. The goal is to help readers see how we can use the comic frame while talking to our opponents to create more hope. To work toward that, I will apply Burke's comic frame to the narrative stories of these two Yezidi women to see how they talked to their captors, which allowed them to build and maintain more hope. The study aims to answer the research problem of how people talk with their captors using the comic frame that might allow them to create hope.

# CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS

People who go through wars and genocides might use rhetorical frames while communicating with their opponents to create hope. To answer the issue of how people talk to their captors during wars and genocides to create hope, I will analyze texts of two collaborative works written by two female survivors of their crisis with ISIS. Analyzing texts from their narrative stories using rhetorical frames will help understand how people might create hope from their dialogues while talking to their captors.

For our method, we are using Kenneth Burke's comic frame to investigate how people talk with their opponents and how that might help them create hope. In this study, Burke's comic frame will help us see how those Yezidi women rhetorically created hope while having dialogues with their captors. While moving towards that, we must know that the Yezidi community had always suffered to build and sustain hope in their lives due to their life's difficulties. Before further analyzing our present case of Yezidi women with their captors, I will first talk about their life difficulties, the sense of always trying to protect their community and the acts that made them vulnerable to ISIS attacks.

## Background: Building Community in/around War

The Yezidis learned to deal with contemporary issues and concerns from their past. As a minority in the Middle East, Yezidis always had difficulties finding ways to protect their community. Those experiences helped them know how to better deal with their community's contemporary issues and the idea of constantly educating their generations about their crises and concerns. Yezidis would always build more awareness among themselves and their generations through their dialogues. Farida and her grandfather confirmed the idea by talking about the persecution of Yezidis throughout their history:

> Our history is persecution and suffering," my grandfather told me. "They have all persecuted us: the Muslim Kurds, the Iranian shah's governors, and the Ottoman sultans. They massacred and butchered us on seventy-two occasions. How many times have they stolen our women, driven us from our homeland, forced us with raised swords to renounce our religion?" Graded stroked my head with his large, coarse hand while I listened to these gruesome stories from the past. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 4-5)

Farida's grandfather told her that the surrounding communities have always persecuted the Yezidis. He also referred to how they massacred and butchered Yezidis on several occasions. Farida's grandfather also told her their enemies always stole their women and took their lands from them. According to him, the reason was always to force the Yezidis to renounce their religion and convert to Islam.

Nadia also referred to the same idea by stating how their surrounding Arab Sunni Muslim neighbors were always looking for opportunities to attack them. She referred to a couple of accidents in her village of Kocho before being attacked by ISIS. Nadia said the kidnappers took two farmers from her village and later asked for a ransom to release them. She also said that the kidnappers demanded their families to join their kidnapped members by converting to Islam; otherwise, they would kill them:

> Two farmers disappeared from the field in our village, and later the kidnapper asked for a ransom to release the two farmers. Or come here with your children so you can convert to Islam as families" Otherwise, they said, the men would be killed. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 6)

Nadia also referred to another accident later when they kidnapped Nadia family's shepherd called Nishan. Nadia said those events created more panic among the people of Kocho

village. Later in her book, Nadia emphasized that ISIS confirmed those acts of kidnapping and stealing were all related:

> You say we came out of nowhere, but we sent you messages," he said, his rifle swinging at his side. "When we took the hen and the chicks, it was to tell you we were going to take your women and children. When we took the ram, it was like taking your tribal leaders, and when we killed the ram, it meant we planned on killing those leaders. And the young lamb, she was your girls. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 14)

Those types of acts and experiences always created more awareness among Yezidis. That awareness helped them be more cautious about managing their lives in such a wild and unstable environment. Farida's grandfather referred to that attentive concern by telling his granddaughter the idea of how important it is that they should always be aware of their surroundings:

> Beware these people, my little one," he said, "for they call us Ibadat al-Shaytan: those who worshipped the lord of hell. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 5)

The sense of awareness was increasingly repeating itself in these two narrative stories to reflect the idea of a lack of trust in the situation. Lack of trust made Farida's father train his growing children to learn how to use AK-47. He asked Farida and her adult brothers to promise to protect themselves and their mother if anything happened to them. Farida thought her father meant if a thief broke into their house, but now she knew what her father was trying to tell them. Farida's father tried to remind his children to be aware of their surroundings. He was cautious of what might happen to them at any time by their neighbors.

Yezidis would always be victims of some extremist ideological groups in their surrounding neighborhood, who would always demand Yezidis renounce their religion and announce themselves into Islam. Nadia referred to how Yezidis always tried to accommodate

their environment and compromise their rights to protect their community and survive. Nadia said that the way the Yezidis dealt with their concerns and issues in the past with others later made them accept the less. Accepting the less, according to Nadia, made Yezidis more vulnerable to the greed of others. Accepting the less made Yezidis accept such wrong acts of their neighbors not eating their food. According to Nadia, her community was supposed to consider such wrong acts cautiously. Nadia also believes that those tiny pieces of discrimination would later cause a lot to her community. This issue is always the reason for the Yezidis' suffering and genocides. It is again the leading cause of what ISIS brought upon them:

> We would, over generations, get used to a small pain or injustice until it became normal enough to ignore. I imagine this must be why we had come to accept certain insults like our food being refused; that probably felt like a crime to whoever first noticed it. Even the threat of another firman (genocide) was something Yazidis had gotten used to, although that adjustment was more like a contortion. It hurts. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 15)

Despite their awareness of their suffering, Yezidis were also building their community. They would continually adjust to their difficulties by building and creating more hope in their lives. They have always walked toward building more connections and relationships with their surrounding communities to the point that their 72 historical tragic genocides and massacres did not stop them from dreaming and hoping to improve their lives. Nadia referred to the idea of how Yezidis and other minorities have always adjusted to their threats to survive. Despite their constant struggles, they always built pieces of hope in their lives by building more trust with their neighbors. The lack of stability in the country would also put more pressure on the process of living together and tolerance toward such minorities as Yezidis in the area:

> Life went on, Iraqis, particularly Yazidis and other minorities, are good at adjusting to new threats. You must be if you want to try to live something close to normal life in a country that seems to be coming apart. Sometimes the adjustments were relatively small. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 10)

The idea of the country coming apart always negatively impacted the lives of minorities in Iraq. The lack of stability in the country always added more suffering to the existence of such minorities as Yezidis. We can also see how instability even today is creating more issues for the minorities of Iraq. Their life is more impacted by political conflicts and struggles to the point of an unknown future. Despite that, Yezidis would always build more relationships and connections with their neighbors to lessen the impact.

The Yezidis learned that the best way to adjust and protect their community is to build more relationships and connections with their neighbors despite their struggles. The Yezidis made Kiriv bondage (brothers in blood or Godparents) with the Sunni Arabs community from the surrounding villages for more tolerance and living together. For the same reasons, the Yezidis were also building more friendships with their neighbors of Muslim Sunni Arabs:

> We had close ties with Sunni Arab families, particularly the Kiriv, whom we considered bonded to our families, and our isolation taught us to treasure these connections while our poverty told us to be practical above all else. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 39)

As we see from the above quote, their struggles and the process of building connections with their neighbors were not the only sufferings that Yezidis faced in their lives. More importantly, the Yezidis were also suffering by going under the cruel burdens of poverty in their areas. Through these two narrative stories, we see the idea of poverty and how people spent hours fetching some fruits and vegetables to survive. Despite their suffering, the Yezidis were

still fighting the hardship of their life. They were hopeful and always looking to make their life better. Their passion and hope to survive made them always fight their poverty and other difficulties of life.

Live difficulties were another obstacle for Yezidis, but it did not stop them from building more hope in their lives. As people of villages, Yezidis always had to work harder in the hope of constantly changing their life for the better. They always had dreams and goals and hoped to achieve them. Nadia said that years of working on the farm made her a stronger person. Although the Yezidi community is among the poorest communities in Iraq, they never stopped fighting their harsh conditions to survive. They were building an impossible piece of hope and change in their lives by always motivating themselves to make more:

> Yazidis are among the poorest communities in Iraq, and my family was poor even by Kocho's standards, particularly after my parents separated. For years, my brothers dug wells by hand, lowering themselves delicately into the wet, sulfurous ground inch by inch, careful not to break a bone. Along with my mother and sisters, they farmed other people's land, taking only a small percentage of the profit for the tomatoes and onions they harvested. The first ten years of my life, we rarely had meat for dinner, living on boiled greens, and my brothers used to say they bought new pants only when they could see their legs through the old ones. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 19)

Here I see a couple of ideas that promote more hope and balancing emerging from this above quote. First, there is the idea of being resilient and determined to improve their case to survive. Those people were fighting their poverty to survive. Second, I also see the social part and the idea of building hope gradually by supporting each other as a family (mother supporting

her kids, brothers supporting their brother and sisters, and sisters supporting their mother, brother, and sisters).

Nadia referred to other life issues and difficulties negatively impacting their lives. She referred to the idea of how her parents' divorce impacted their family and life. Because of that, her brothers saw themselves at an early age working on digging wells by hand to survive. They were also working on a farm for other people. Because of their life difficulties, Nadia said that they would only get new clothes when their clothes were no longer usable. Despite that, we see how those people were always fighting their life difficulties by slowly walking toward their goals of staying hopeful. These struggles and challenging ways of surviving always helped Yezidis to learn the intricate ways of turning and dividing the impossible difficulties of life gradually by separating them into layers of impossibilities that attained tiny pieces of possibilities:

> We measured our lives by harvests and by Yazidi holidays. Seasons could be brutal. In the wintertime, Kocho's alleyways filled with a cement-like mud that sucked the shoes off your feet, and in the summertime, the heat was so intense, we had to drag ourselves to the farm at night rather than risk collapsing under the sun during the day. Sometimes harvests would disappoint, and when that happened, the gloom would stretch on for months, at least until we planted the next round of seeds. Other times, no matter how much we harvested, we didn't make enough money. We learned the hard way by lugging bags of produce to market and then having customers turn the vegetables over in their hands and walk away-what sold and what didn't. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 22)

In addition to the surrounding conflicts with their neighborhoods, Yezidis were also suffering from poverty and other life difficulties. Despite that, they would always defy their challenges to survive. It took them more time and effort to plant their farms and later harvest

them. Sometimes their harvest would disappoint them, and they had to plant another round of seeds to survive. They were building complex pieces of hope out of hopelessness.

The Yezidis fought their life hardship to create more hope out of hopelessness. Nadia referred to how their whole life was related to planting seeds and what comes out of those seeds. They sometimes even had to wait for two seasons to make some money. She also described the situation in a more humorous way for survival by referring to the low prices of their product and the way people were handling their products:

> Anyone whose survival is directly linked to the number of tomatoes grown in one year or the amount of time spent walking their sheep to better grass can understand why he wanted (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 17)

Nadia also illustrated their suffering by referring to how the number of tomatoes in a year and the times of walking sheep to grass were helping them survive. Those people were suffering and barely surviving, yet they were hopeful and did not stop dreaming. They always believed they could change their lives and build more hope through hopefulness. By supporting each other, the Yezidis did not allow their difficulties to stop them from enjoying their simple life:

> Still, no matter the hardship, I never wanted to live anywhere other than Kocho. The alleyways may have filled with mud in the winter, but no one had to go far to see the people they loved most. In the summer, the heat was stifling, but that meant we all slept on the roof, side by side, talking and laughing with neighbors on their own roofs. Working on the farm was hard, but we made enough money to live a happy, simple life. Most importantly, I would never have left Kocho because my family was there. We were a little village ourselves. Kocho was where my mother, Shami, like good mothers everywhere, devoted her life to making sure we were fed and hopeful. It's not the last

> place I saw her, but it's where she is when I think about her, which I do every day. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 24)

We learn more about hope through our social connections. Here is a reference to the importance of social life in building hope. Nadia described her nostalgia for her previous life, family, and community despite their poverty and life challenges. For Nadia, her village Kocho despite the difficulties of winters and summers, and her mother Shami, are the symbols of hope in her life. Like Nadia, Farida also referred to the importance of social relations to build more hope.

Farida mentioned the importance of her social circles for building more hope in her life. During the summertime, her mother would teach her to make various dishes to prepare Farida for her life. Here we see the importance of parent-child hope communication for building more hope in people's lives and how that later makes them more resilient in their crises. Social life relationships are an essential element in the process of building hope through which we provide help and support to each other to survive:

> During the summertime I was also helping my mother with cleaning, washing, chopping wood, or weeding. But most of all I loved cooking for the family. Mom began teaching me at a young age how to prepare a variety of dishes so that later on my husband would be pleased with me, as she put it. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 16)

The above illustrates the image of the parent-child relationship that promotes building hope. Farida's mother was helping her teenage daughter learn how to build hope in her life by learning essential life skills of a young girl growing toward a more mature independent person. We also see that providing some communication contexts, such as positive and competent

communication in their relationship, builds more hope in the individual's life. Farida's mother used communication contexts to help her daughter be more hopeful in her life.

Positive communication and competent communication also add to the process of building hope. The positive, supportive, and confirming messages are also reflected in a statement by Farida by giving a flower to her friend, Nura, and telling her that keeping her friend's flower would help her to do better at her final math exam:

> Your roses are even more beautiful this year," Nura said. I broke off a yellow flower and placed it in her math book. "So, you'll be able do the next test blindfolded," I promised her. She plunked a flower too and put it in my book. "Even if you don't need it, it'll remind you of me." Shortly the math teacher came to the class and told us to put our math books away. When Nura held out her book the pressed lily fell on the floor. The color of my friend's face turned from white to bright red. She hurriedly picked up the flower and put it on the desk. I took the flower she'd given me from my book too, before handing it in, and placed it right beside hers. "Nothing can go wrong now," I whispered to Nura. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 12)

Those teenage girls were still young and learning hope from their families (parents), school, and friends. Farida's flower exchange with Nura symbolizes the importance of social life and communication contexts in building hope by motivating people to move toward their goals. It was a way to support her friend, Nura, who needed hope to do good on her final math test. It also reflects how those teenagers, despite their difficulties, were always hoping for more in their lives. Farida was hopeful of being a math teacher one day. The math teacher would always turn to her if no one else in the class could solve the math problem:

> At school they called me "Calculator." My math teacher gave me this nickname because I was the cleverest in the class. Whenever Mr. Siamand gave us a problem and none of my classmates could solve it, he would finally turn to me. "So, Farida, what do you think?" he asked, "Would you show others to do it?" "Of course," I replied, striding confidently toward the blackboard. With a stick of chalk, I wrote up the individual stages in solving the problem, while explaining long-windedly how to get from one stage to the next. Behind me I could hear my classmates grumbling. They were annoyed that I was better at math than them, especially the boys. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 10)

All these tiny dreams and pieces of hope shattered when ISIS attacked the Yezidis of Sinjar and their areas. The process of building hope for the Yezidi family and community was like a necklace chain of beads. They struggled to collect pieces of those beads all their lives to create a beautiful necklace, but unfortunately, that chain of beads broke, and those pieces of beads shattered again, this time into more broken tiny pieces of beads (hopelessness). The only hope then was to protect themselves against their enemy's goals. When ISIS started to attack and control the Sunni areas in the middle of Iraq, Yezidis asked the Kurdish Peshmerga (Kurdish Army) leadership to equip Yezidis to protect their areas against ISIS. Unfortunately, the Kurdish leadership refused to do so:

> The Kurdish Peshmerga were guarding our areas and when ISIS got in the situation, Ahmed Jasso's brother, Naif tried to convince Kurdish authorities to let him form a Yazidi peshmerga unit, but he was ignored. No one offered to train the Yazidi men or encourage them to join the fight against the terrorists. Instead, the peshmerga assured us that they will be protecting us. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 9)

Yezidi leaders such as Ahmed Jasso asked the peshmerga to allow them to establish a Yezidi military unit in the area. The peshmerga ignored the order and assured them they would protect them and their area. When ISIS started to attack the Yezidi areas, the Kurdish peshmerga (forces) who claimed to protect the area turned the Yezidis down.

The Kurdish peshmerga drew away from the Kocho village the night before the attacks happened in the town. In the morning, the people of Kocho were surprised at what the peshmerga did by leaving the area and making Yezidi face their new disaster alone. Drawing away made Yezidis of Kocho confused and hopeless about the issue. The village people considered the Kurdish Peshmerga no better than the Iraqi Army, who drew away from Mosul city a month before and left the civilians there to face a disastrous fate:

> They've gone!" A voice echoed around the village before sunrise the following morning. Someone was running through the streets crying, "The Peshmerga have gone! They've abandoned us!" "My mother put her head into her hands. "The Peshmerga are no better than the Iraqi army. They have left us at the mercy of the enemy," my father said angrily. "Two hundred and fifty men were stationed in the Sinjar area. But every single one of them cleared off overnight, making room for the terrorists. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 36)

The news about peshmerga drawing from the area shocked the Yezidi community. It made them wonder about the consequences that it might bring to them. Nadia described the event as a shock that made Yezidis further hopeless. This irresponsible act was the beginning of hopelessness for the Yezidis of Sinjar and villages like Kocho. The drawing of the peshmerga forces meant the world's end for them. They were in fear, hopeless, and unaware of what might happen:

> We were even more shocked, though, by the Kurds who had sworn to protect us. Late at night, without any warning and after months of assuring us that they would fight for us until the end, the peshmerga had fled Sinjar, piling into their trucks and driving back to safety before the Islamic State militants could reach them. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 57)

The Kurdish peshmerga greatly favored ISIS militants to control the area by drawing away. The Yezidis would always keep asking why the peshmerga forces would abandon them in the middle of the battle without warning. The Yezidis claimed that if the peshmerga told them about the crisis, they would leave the area ahead of being attacked by ISIS. The drawing of peshmerga was one of the factors that made Yezidis easy prey when ISIS attacked their areas:

> What we couldn't understand, though, was why they left without warning us or taking us with them or helping us to get to safety. Had we known they were leaving, we would have gone to Kurdistan. I am almost certain that Kocho would have been empty by the time ISIS arrived. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 57)

Besides the drawing of the Kurdish peshmerga, the Arab Sunni Muslim neighbors' support of ISIS was another factor that made the Yezidis even further suffer and more hopeless. The support from the Arab Sunni Muslim neighbors by joining ISIS and blocking Yezidis from running away made Yezidis suffer and become more hopeless. Some Sunni also went silent and showed no help or support towards their Yezidi neighbors when ISIS attacked them. Some Arab Sunni Muslim families even had a Kiriv (Godfather) relationship with some Yezidi families but still abstained from helping them:

> We soon learned that many of our Sunni Arab neighbors welcomed the militants and even joined them, blocking roads to stop Yazidis from reaching safety, allowing the

> terrorists to capture all non-Sunni who failed to escape from the villages closest to Kocho, then looting the vacant Yazidi villages alongside the terrorists. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 57)

These acts brought a disaster to the Yezidi community and specifically to such villages as Kocho. Between night and day, Yezidis saw themselves controlled by the black banners of ISIS around their areas and villages. From then on, the Yezidi people wondered what might happen to them and their families and how they might find excuses and ways to avoid ISIS's plans. From the beginning of the crisis, ISIS demanded that Yezidis convert to Islam, join their militants, or accept their fatal fate. On their side, the Yezidis used several ways to prevent a disaster, but ISIS would never listen to them. When Yezidis refused to renounce their community, ISIS used violence by killing all their men and kidnapping their women.

We referred to some quotes from these two collaborative books to reflect how the Yezidis were always building hope in their community. Despite their poverty, Yezidis always put more effort and time into their farms and work to survive. They were also managing their life despite their constant issues with their surroundings. We brought the case to the point of ISIS kidnapping Yezidi women after killing their family members. The point is to identify some factors that led to their easy prey to ISIS. From here on, I will apply the rhetorical frame of Kenneth Burke’s comic to those Yezidi women's case to investigate how those women talked to their captors to create hope.

In their captivity, the Yezidi women used different attitudes and behaviors in their dialogues and conversations with their captors to create hope. Kenneth Burke's rhetorical frame of the comic might help us better understand the situation and how they built hope from their dialogues with their captors during those critical moments.

## The Comic Frame

The comic frame is Burke's favorite frame in describing the only hope of rebuilding and changing society (Carlson, 1988; Smith & Voth, 2002). The frame always prefers a hope of change over the consequence of the tragic frame (Muddiman, 2007). Burke advises us to use this framework to solve our issues and concerns no matter how severe or critical the situation or the case seems (1984). Carlson (1986) also emphasizes the same idea by considering the comic frame preferable during crises and disasters. This frame will help us be more aware of how we talk to our opponents to create hope in our captivities during wars and genocides. Hopefully, the case of the Yezidi women during their crisis with ISIS will help us see how they talked to their captors allowing them to build more hope. The outcomes of this study might also help us see how important it is to use this rhetorical construction during wars and genocides to better negotiate for our rights to build more hope. The comic frame consists of elements that we must consider separately to analyze better and interpret the texts of our narrative stories of Nadia and Farida to understand the case.I will first look at how those Yezidi women used logic in talking to their captors to create hope.

### *Logic*

The comic frame considers logic through reasoning as essential for persuasion, cooperation, and change (Burke, 1984). The frame attempts to identify the issues and asks for a change action based on the idea of logic and reasoning (Burke, 1984; Christiansen & Hanson, 1996; Muddiman, 2007). The Yezidi women considered this frame to convince their captors of their rights. They adopted this fact to convince their captors that considering them as sabaya (sexually enslaved women) and owned by militants is wrong. When Jamal, the Libyan militant,

tried to sell Besma to another militant called Fahad, she opposed and said that she did not belong to any one of them:

> Go to Fahed," Jamal told her. "You belong to him now." But she refused. "I do not belong to him and never belonged to you either," she protested bravely. "You have got no right to sell me. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 154)

Besma used logic and reasoning to reject the idea of being owned by another human being. She refused what Jamal, a militant, told her about selling her to Fahad. She protested bravely and peacefully by telling her owner, Jamal, that she did not belong to him or anyone else. Besma was not the only woman suffering from their controversial dialogue with those militants. Farida went through the same case with her owner, Azzad, who asked her for marriage. Farida also rejected his offer by telling him that she did not belong to him or any of them:

> I do not belong to you nor any other man," I repeated. "I will never belong to any of you, no matter what you do to me. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 161)

Farida used the same reasoning process trying to convince her captors of her rights. She did not accept the idea of belonging to anyone under any consequences. Those women did not accept their captors' claims of owning them, but they were still usually peaceful in their acts.

The logic of the comic frame advises the victims to avoid violence toward their perpetrators (Burke, 1984). Some women sometimes prefer to respond with silence and other peaceful responses to avoid more violence. They adopted peaceful reactions to stop their captors from violating their rights. In a couple of statements, Farida and her friends described how the ISIS militants were shamelessly dealing with them:

> They pranced through the room, ogling us shamelessly. We tried as best to hide our faces beneath the veils and scarves we had brought with us. "What are you doing?" they barked

> at us. "You are not Muslims. Why are you hiding?" "Because you are defiling us with your gazes," the young woman sitting next to Evin muttered. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 67)

When ISIS militants were shamelessly gazing at them, the Yezidi women hid their faces beneath their veils and scarves. ISIS shouted at them and asked them to uncover their faces. The Yezidi women responded by saying that their gazes make them cover their faces with their veils and scarves. The militants responded by claiming that only Muslim women wear veils and scarves; since they were not Muslims, they should not cover their faces! Here we see ISIS militants using the cosmic power of the tragic frame to deal with women who were not Muslim. The Yezidi women reminded the militants of the importance of respecting women and their rights according to the Middle Eastern culture, whether they were Muslims or not. However, those militants would always claim their rights as new masters over those women and disregard their opinions and rights. ISIS militants considered themselves the master race and the Yezidis as subhuman to justify their act of enslaving them.

ISIS considered their state and cause as true and just and others as not. The militants asked the Yezidi women to become Muslims and fight for their noble cause by announcing Islam. They also asked them to accompany their militants in their jihad and fight for their noble cause. While those militants considered their state true, pious, and just, the Yezidi women were using logic in their arguments to turn those captors down.

The Yezidi women were more logical and reasonable in their responses to their captors and senseless acts. They asked them if their state was true and pious, set them free, and let them go and join their families. The women said that the speaker was the only person who was excited by his appeal:

> Join us, become Muslims!" he exclaimed again. "Accompany our men in jihad. Become the wives of warriors fighting for a noble cause: a state ruled according to the laws of Islam. A truly pious and just state. The only person excited by this appeal was the man himself. He appeared to believe what he was saying so dramatically. "If your state is so pious and just, then set us free! Let us go back to our families, where we belong!" I demanded. He flashed his eyes at me. "You may visit your families any time you wish. But first, you have to acknowledge Islam. For in our state, we accept none but Muslims as citizens. If you fail to do this, you will not enjoy any civil rights. And we'll treat you like slaves. We'll sell you on the market. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 68).

The comic frame uses logical reasoning to promote societal change rather than punish people (Christianson & Hanson, 1996; Muddiman, 2007). It also develops causality to shape the plot, not by calling upon some as superhuman and others as subhuman (Burke, 1984). Instead, it focuses on following an internal reasoning process of organizing events from the available information about the situation (Burke, 1984). The ISIS militants were forcing those Yezidi women by demanding them to convert to Islam to be able to visit their families. ISIS also claimed that they do not accept anyone as citizens except Muslims in their state, and if those women failed to announce their Islam, they would not enjoy any rights in their state. Instead, they would be considered sabaya and sell them in the slave market. ISIS militants were putting those women between two hard choices: converting to Islam or accepting to be sabaya. On their side, some Yezidi women reminded ISIS militants of their Islamic religious rules and laws and how Islam promotes freedom of religion, not compulsion. Farida referred to a couple of verses and quotes from the Quran to affirm her statement:

> “The second surah says: “There shall be no compulsion in the religion.” Are we supposed to learn this by heart but ignore its meaning? What kind of ridiculous piety is that?” The man seemed slightly rattled. Evin backed me up, citing another place in their holy book. Right at the end, in the 109th surah, it says, “For you is your religion and for me is my religion.” Pointing to the sentence, she said, “Here it is in black and white! What gives you the right to assume your religion is the only true one when your prophet says otherwise?” (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 151)

Farida reminded her captors that Quran says that there is no compulsion in the religion, and Islam is open to that. Evin confirmed her friend’s statement by referring to another quote from the Quran that says, for you, it is your religion, and for me, it is my religion. Those Yezidi women were trying to convince their captors of their wrong acts. They were also referring to respecting their rights. The point was that those women were slowly trying to change their captors’ way of dealing with them. The comic frame is not about whether to choose this or that. Instead, the comic frame is about the right choices, the better alternative forms, and the freedom in selecting the choices. The Yezidi women were trying to convince their captors of their errors.

The Yezidi women always tried to convince those militants of how mistaken their view was about others. They always made attempts to prove how wrong those militants were in their way of treating them. Those women constantly attempted to refuse unfair acts of humiliation from their captors. Their efforts would sometimes upset the militants, and in consequence, the militants would sometimes punish them severely:

> The men voiced their wishes and preferences candidly. In conversation, they'd frequently reassure each other that they were justified in enslaving us because, as non-Muslims, we were not their equals as people. As pious Muslims, they were the master race, and we

> were subhuman. And in a group where everyone thought the same way, perhaps they believed this to be true after a while. We, however, made every effort to upset their view of the world. What you're doing is wrong," we told them. "Your religion does not allow you to kidnap and sell women." "Only Muslim women enjoy our protection," they'd reply. "Infidels like you have no rights at all. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 79)

ISIS militants were justifying their unethical acts of violating the rights of those women by claiming that others were not equal to them and that enslaving those women was their right. They also considered their philosophy as pious and themselves as the master race, and Yezidi women as subhuman and infidels. Those militants considered that false and fake reality as a new truth and pushed it on those Yezidi women. While ISIS was establishing this as a fact, the Yezidi women were using logic to make peaceful efforts to prove them wrong.

The Yezidi women always reminded them of their unethical acts of violating their rights. They told their captors that the act of kidnapping people was wrong, and their religion did not allow them to do so. Here we see those women using the logic of the comic frame to defend the laws of Islam against what their captors were claiming. Nevertheless, ISIS would refuse all attempts and still respond by saying that only Muslim women enjoy protection in their state. Both groups were arguing and providing reasons for their arguments, but the Yezidi women and their arguments were more logical, more reasonable, and more ethical and right. With logic in their arguments, those women would maintain hope and become more optimistic in their attempts to make the correct change and plant seeds of doubt in the mind of their captors.

By the time the Yezidi women learned more about the situation and their captors, they became more logical in their attempts and, of course, more optimistic. Farida and some of her friends pretended that they did not speak the Arabic language and would not be able to learn and

memorize their Islamic religious verses. Despite what their captors were planning to convert them, those women used logic and reasoning to make their captors more hopeless in their acts:

> This was always our "homework." We had to learn by heart the sections of text we'd read together. At the next session the teachers would test us, caning anyone who couldn't recite the verses. Usually everyone was beaten, because none of us had any desire to adopt their faith. Given all that we'd had to endure, that really was asking too much (…). But the ISIS men were genuine fanatics; they actually believed that they could summon magical powers just by uttering the surahs, somehow mysteriously drawing us over to their side. Oh, how wrong they were! With everything they tried to funnel into our minds, they were merely fueling our rejection and contempt (…). From week to week the instruction became more onerous, and we were permanently threatened with the cane. "You're so stupid it's exasperating," they bellowed. "Your heads are empty!" (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 153)

At a point in time, Farida and other women with her at the military camp also started to pretend to participate in their opponents' prayers to avoid their violence and, at the same time, to practice their Yezidi religious prayers. They were trying to satisfy their captor to avoid their violence, and at the same time, they were working on the idea of building more harmony and hope among themselves by hiddenly doing their Yezidi rituals to lessen the impact of the Islamic habits:

> As I looked through the window I saw men kneeling on their prayer mats, the men carried out the Islamic rituals in sync. Behind them and slightlyto one side stood the group of girls, strictly covered in black veils. They too were praying in the Islamic fashion. I didn't know what to think of this. Hadn't our fathers and grandfathers exhorted

> us in no uncertain terms never to betray our religion? On the other hand, with their secret prayer in the container, had the girls just proven that our faith was still dear to their hearts? (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 136)

Using logic and reasoning to learn more about their captors, the Yezidi women gradually built pieces of hope. They did not wait anymore for the moon or the loaf of bread to give them hope. They learned more about their captors and their plans, and out of that, they started to build pieces of hope. Using logic and reasoning in assessing their captors and their crisis also helped them overcome their fear.

The use of logic and reasoning helped those Yezidi women get rid of their fear. When they got rid of their fear, they started to build more hope from their conversation with their captors. When Farida and Evin realized that ISIS militants were not serious in their threats to kill them, they started to make more opposing discussions, more attempts to defy them, and more attempts to run away:

> They'd threatened to shoot us if we tried to escape. And we'd believed them. But now it struck me that all their threats had been hollow. They'd never have shot us. We were far too precious goods for that. But fear had prevented us from realizing this. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 88)

At the beginning of their crisis, those Yezidi women were sometimes tragically dealing with their crisis, and their decisions would always bring more consequences. Here we saw those women started to use more logic and reasoning in their way of thinking to act with more patience and more reasonably. They were always in a hurry and in fear of producing hastened plans in the past. Because of that, they would always make mistakes in dealing with their crisis and captors. Those women later reached the awareness that helped them identify their captors' mistakes and

weak points. It even helped them benefit from those mistakes to build their plans out of them and, of course, more hope. The act of logic and reasoning also helped them see the quirks and foibles and know how to fight them in their captors and, simultaneously, avoid mistakes in their own acts.

***Quirks and Foibles***

The comic frame helps us better recognize our quirks and foibles to understand the case and better deal with it (Kanol, 2020). Burke also supported the idea by stating that an error is an essential aspect of our daily lives which we must recognize and always look for better ways to correct (1984). We must carefully consider our social ills and use the logic of reason to correct them without causing any evil intention (Carlson, 1986).

ISIS militants claimed their acts came from interpretations of the Quran that accused Yezidis of being infidels that deserved killing and enslaving. They supported that by referring to a couple of verses saying kill the infidels and take their women. That is why ISIS claimed their ownership of those women and their right to do whatever they wanted with them. They even claimed that the Yezidi women were now sabaya who did not have rights in their Islamic state.

On the other side, the Yezidi women always reminded their captors of their mistakes. They would remind the ISIS militants that what they were doing to them was wrong. They told their captors that their claims of Islam were invalid and wrong. Those women told their captors that they knew good Muslims in their surrounding villages who did not believe in what ISIS was doing. They compared what ISIS was doing and their claims of Islam by reminding them of their mistakes and the reality:

> It was our right to kill them because they were infidels. For that is what it says in the Quran: “Kill the Infidels!” “And take their wives,” another added. “That’s why you

> belong to us now, and we can do what we like with you. You don't have any rights." "That's a lie!" I snarled furiously. "You've made it up." I simply refused to believe that Islam could justify such crimes. "I know many Muslims who will vouch that it isn't true." "But it is true," they insisted. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 66)

The Yezidi women would sometimes go at those militants personally to remind them of their unethical work. They tried to remind the militants of their families and why they would leave their families and parents behind and instead fight for ISIS. They forewarned them of the importance of caring for their families instead of preventing others from their rights. The militants would make fake excuses and respond by saying that their parents were not good Muslims, so they had to leave them. They also claimed they were fighting for a caliphate in which justice would prevail, and everyone would live according to the laws of God.

The Yezidi women would also remind them of their fake laws that do not relate to God's justice or even to Islam's principles. Those words constantly irritate the militants, make them shout at those women, and even threaten them with more violence. When it did not help them to convince those women, ISIS would always force them to follow their orders and rules. The militants would always decide to deal with the case by making those women silent and threatening them with more punishment for not following the orders:

> Sometimes we'd go at them personally. "Why did you desert your families?" we said provocatively. "Why did you go to war to kill people? Doesn't your religion command that you look after your fathers and mothers?" "Our parents weren't proper Muslims, so we had to leave them," they responded, and probably meant it too. "we're fighting for a caliphate in which justice will prevail and everyone will live according to God's laws." "They're not God's laws, they're not even the laws of Islam. You've made them up!"

> “Quiet!” they shouted, threatening us with the cane, their secret educational weapon. “By next time you’ll have learned the ten verses of the second surah by heart. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 152)

Here we see the Yezidi women referring to the mistakes of their captors. They referred to how their captors abandoned their families and instead were interested in killing others and taking their rights. Those women also told the militants that their laws are fake and do not relate to Islam. By referring to their captors’ mistakes, those women were irritating their captors and building more hope in their dialogues. The militants would refuse to listen to those women and their claims, and instead, they would use force to silence them. For that reason, Nadia said that the war was determined by religion and that those militants were merely pawns or garrisons of the newly claimed kingdom.

ISIS determined that those women were only scapegoats in the name of religion. No matter how intentional those women were in dealing with their situation, the act of enslaving and converting them was confirmed ahead of time according to ISIS ideology and beliefs. Nadia claimed that ISIS decided their laws ahead of time, and those militants were only pawns following the orders by attacking Yezidis:

> Attacking Sinjar and taking girls to use as sex slaves wasn't a spontaneous decision made on the battlefield by a greedy soldier. ISIS planned it all; how they would come into our homes, what made a girl more or less valuable, which militants deserved a sabiyya as an incentive, and which should pay. They even discussed sabaya in their glossy propaganda magazine, Dabiq, in an attempt to draw new recruits. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 139)

Nadia mentioned that the act of killing and enslaving the Yezidis was not a spontaneous decision that those militants made during the time of their attacks. Instead, ISIS planned it ahead

of time. They planned to enslave the Yezidi women and the process of selling and buying them among their militants. ISIS published a magazine called Dabiq and referred to all those details. They believed that the idea of sabaya would help them attract more members to their cause and state. That is why those militants would never listen to those Yezidi women and their claims of considering ISIS falsifying the rules of Islam. They were purposely violating their rights as human beings.

ISIS forced those women to follow their orders and rules. They forced them to renounce their religion and accept Islam. They also reminded them that they were nothing but only sabaya (sexually enslaved women). Those women saw themselves spinning in that tragic process with no mercy and help. Despite that, the Yezidi women found nothing more beneficial than using the comic frame to convince their captors of their mistakes.

The Yezidi women referred to the mistakes of their captors and always hoped to change the case. Farida and Evin referred to surahs from the Quran to remind the militants of their mistakes against the Yezidis. These surahs show the opposite of what those militants were doing and adopting. However, we must again know that ISIS was pre-determined, and they showed that through the acts of killing the Yezidi men and enslaving their women ahead of time. ISIS also did not allow anything unless it went under their new laws and rules and the name of Islam.

To show how mistaken those militants were, the Yezidi women would refer to some verses from the sacred book of the Quran to plant seeds of doubts in the minds of their captors. Farida referred to a surah that says there should be no compulsion in religion and asked the militants whether to follow the surah or their claims. Then Evin referred to surah #109 to remind them of the idea of tolerance in Islam. She also asked them to provide evidence to show that Islam is the only true religion:

> Their objective was to proselytize us; mine was to show doubt in their minds about whether they knew their religion by confronting them with the same religious texts they were serving up to us. "Your religion does not permit you to impose your faith on us," I told them through Evin, as we were still pretending that I didn't understand their language. "The second surah says: "There shall be no compulsion in the religion." Are we supposed to learn this by heart but ignore its meaning? What kind of ridiculous piety is that?" The man seemed slightly rattled. Evin backed me up, citing another place in their holy book. Right at the end, in the 109th surah, it says, “For you is your religion and for me is my religion.” Pointing to the sentence, she said, “Here it is in black and white! What gives you the right to assume your religion is the only true one when your prophet says otherwise? (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 150)

The Yezidi women used the comic frame to refer to their opponents' mistakes. They were using the logic of the comic frame to make their arguments by providing evidence. They also referred to their opponents' arguments as fake and have no basis. Those arguments would usually help those women build more hope and irritate their captors toward more uncertainty.

The Yezidi women used logic to refer to how wrongful those militants were acting. At a point in time, Abu Arram sold Farida and Evin as a punishment to Emir Zeyad, the commander of a group called 'The Beasts' and his men. While Emir Zeyad's men were driving those two girls to their camp, Farida and Evin were moaning and suffering in the back of the car while those militants were listening to their religious music! Those militants enjoyed their time and did not care about those women and their emotional status. Farida saw the situation as very sarcastic and fake:

> In the car, the men were listening to an MP3 recording of surahs from the Quran, totally indifferent to our whimpers and moans. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 116)

The Yezidi women also complained about how ISIS used Islamic religious rituals to rape and humiliate them. Farida referred to how those militants faked their religious rituals to legitimize their crimes. The militants were praying ahead of raping the Yezidi women. They even were asking those women to join their prayers before raping them. Farida referred to their attitudes and behaviors as nonhuman and disgraceful even to their religion:

> Each time he would carry out his religious ritual beforehand. This I found especially repellent. How could these oh-so-pious people pass the responsibility for their sordid acts on to their God? These people believed Hell existed, so did they harbor no concerns about being dragged down there and called to account? I couldn't understand how they could view what they did as their religious right. Couldn't they see that by making such claims, they were lying to themselves first and foremost? Their behavior was not in the least God-fearing; it was inhumane and a disgrace to their religion, which they thereby dishonored. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 149)

Farida described her captor's way of praying and raping them as nonethical and immoral. She wondered how those militants could make an ethical and moral sense between those two opposing acts of rape and praying. She reminded her captors of their evil works. She even considered them fake people who lie to themselves and their religion. After Amjed's guards took her to his room, Farida saw Amjed praying, and she said that she remembered her friends discussing how those militants were praying as a spiritual preparation for raping their sabaya:

> He rolled out his mat and got ready to kneel down and pray. I'd heard from my friends that the particularly religious ones commonly did this before taking a woman, thereby

> celebrating their rape as a form of worship. In this moment when his attention was diverted, I tried to yank open the window. Although still not fully, I thought I might be able to save myself by leaping out. But Amjed realized what I had in mind and grabbed me from behind. “Little bitch!” he ranted. “For months you play the invalid and now you want to try some acrobatic tricks. I’ll show you!” He held me tight and cut down his prayer to a few surahs from the Quran, which he muttered in a hurry. Then he was ready. He ripped off my clothes. I resisted wildly. “You will obey me!” Amjed cried, pulling down my veil. I screamed bloody murder. He threw me onto the bed. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 148)

When her captor rolled out his mat and got ready to kneel to pray, she remembered what her friends were saying. Farida heard from her friends that religious men, particularly before taking a woman, would pray. Those militants were celebrating their rape as a form of worship. Farida described her case with Amjed and how he did the same acts before asking her to bed. While Amjed became busy with his prayer, Farida attempted to run away through the window, but Amjed grabbed her from behind. Then he cursed Farida and her games and how she always played to prove invalid, but now she was acting like an acrobat. Amjed cut off his prayer, held Farida tight, and ripped off her clothes. Farida said that she resisted, but he finally put her off to bed.

The ISIS militants used the tragic frame to force their Islamic agenda on those women. While Amjed was praying to convince Farida of the importance of silence and respect, and when she tried to run away to avoid rape, Amjed used more violence to force her to follow his orders and even went further by tearing her clothes and forcing her to bed.

Farida was helping us to see how unethical and immoral those militants were in their acts with those girls. Those unreal and unethical works of their captors would always help the Yezidi women to learn more about their captors. It also motivated them to remain more hopeful and truer in their crisis. Besides their awareness of their captors' mistakes, the comic frame also helped those Yezidi women to become more aware of their mistakes and the importance of better considering them for better outcomes.

According to Burke (1984), no matter how much people know, they still do not know everything and still might have quirks, foibles, and mistakes. The comic frame looks at human beings as imperfect and always having limitations. According to that, people might always make mistakes and always need to find better solutions (Muddiman, 2007). By better understanding our quirks and foibles, we might learn to avoid them in our acts to overcome our limits in the future (Burke, 1984; Kanol, 2020). Some women benefitted from their previous mistakes to better act and dealt with their captors.

Farida and Evin were constantly learning from their mistakes. They learned from their previous mistakes to act more resiliently. They learned how to better deal with their plans and their captors to avoid more punishment and plan for their lives. At the beginning of their crisis, they would always end up being punished by their captors for their acts. Later, they started to work and act more carefully to lessen the consequences and better plan their lives. Amjed, the Azerbaijan militant who owned Farida, planned to leave to another military camp and wanted to take Farida with him. Instead of using violence as usual to prevent that, Farida and Evin were more diplomatic this time in their reaction. They asked Amjed to sell Farida to another militant because they were sisters and could not live away from each other. They did the same act with

another militant called Azzad to convince him to buy Farida from Amjed. Their new way of dealing with the issue helped them at least to stay together:

> One day Amjed told me that he was leaving the camp to go and fight with another ISIS unit in Raqqa (…). At first, I thought I'd be rid of him and was already secretly celebrating. But then it dawned on me that, as his "property," of course I'd be moving with him. "No!" I screamed, kneeling before him. Through Evin, who continued to act as my translator, I let him know that I couldn't under any circumstances go without her. "You know better than all the others that my sister is seriously ill," Evin implored him. "Please let me stay with her. Farida won't survive without me. "I'm not that keen on taking her anyway," Amjed said bad-temperedly. "This girl is really no fun at all; she'd just be a mill-stone around my neck." "Then asked around the camp to see if someone wants to buy her," Evin suggested. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 155-156)

Farida and Evin gradually became more familiar with their captors and tricks of turning those girls down and making them hopeless. They learned more about their captors' tricks and mistakes and benefited from how to react.

Farida and Evin also learned a lot from their previous mistakes while going through that much level of cruelty.They would put the experience they gained from all those quirks and foibles before their eyes while planning to react. When Farida and Evin pushed for a plan to run away, they saw Sumeya and Reva opposing and discouraging them from the act.

Farida, Evin, and other girls in the military camp suddenly saw that some of their friends refused to comply with their plans. It was another limitation that those girls had to deal with it. They suddenly saw Sumeya and Reva refusing to join them in their escape claiming that ISIS would punish their mothers. Farida and Evin had to deal with Sumeya and Reva to convince

them of how mistaken they were and how they must consider the new opportunity to join them. Sumeya and Reva made a mistake by sharing family information with their owners, and that mistake forced them to refuse the new opportunity of joining their friends in their escape. Unlike other girls, Sumeya and Reva did not learn from their previous mistakes instead, they even started to discourage other girls from their plans. In the case of Sumeya and Reva, age might be a factor that did not allow them to be decisive in defying their captors and run away with their friends. Both girls were young, and, adding to that; they were in a demanding situation of being threatened by their captors to punish their mothers if they tried to violate the rules. Farida and Evin tried to convince them not to be intimidated by ISIS plans. They told them they did not know whether their mothers were still in captivity. They also tried to convince them that ISIS's goal behind those attempts was to make them lose heart. After Sumeya and Reva abstained from joining them, the other girls saw that they had to decide for themselves as individuals to accept the level of the risk and its consequences at any level. Farida herself announced that she would not be intimidated by the threats this time:

> But we don't even know if your mothers are still in captivity," Evin protested. "They could be lying to us." "You mustn't believe them," I urged Reva and Sumeya. "They're just trying to make us lose heart." The two girls were not convinced. "But what if they do get our mothers?" Sumeya said. "We can't take the risk." "Yes, we have to take the risk!" I challenged them. We couldn't agree. It was obvious to me that ultimately each of us would have to decide for herself what risk she was prepared to take. I, at any rate, was not going to be intimidated by any threats. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 170)

Sharing information with our opponents is wrong and might have consequences. In their crisis, some of those women later learned how the idea of sharing and giving family information

to their opponents put them and their families under more consequences. Sumeya and Reva made that mistake by sharing their family information with ISIS militants. That mistake later prevented them from joining their friends while planning to run away:

> Reva and Sumeya had made a big mistake. They thought they might be able to tease some news out of the ISIS men about where their families were, so they'd given the soldiers the names of their mothers and siblings. As our enemies were now armed with this information, the two girls were vulnerable to blackmail and so less inclined to create trouble for our captors than the rest of us. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, page 162)

Sumeya and Reva sharing family information with their captors was to tease more news out of those militants about their families. They gave those militants the names of their mothers and siblings, hoping to find out more about them in ISIS captivities. Nevertheless, their opponents were armored with that information and used it against those two girls if they tried to disobey or run away. That information also made those two girls more vulnerable. They started to avoid any trouble for their captors.

The act of sharing their family information with ISIS militants discouraged and restricted Sumeya and Reva from making any further decisions or steps. They not only decided not to join their friends in their plan of escaping but also tried to discourage them from their plans. Sumeya and Reva abstain from violence with their captors to prevent violence against their mothers. Although Farida tried to convince them by saying that this is an opportunity that they must try to consider otherwise, they might spend their whole life enslaved in ISIS captivity:

> I'm not coming with you," Sumeya said, looking shamefully at the floor. "Please understand me; it's too dangerous." I looked at her again. "You're not serious?" "If they did anything to my mom, I'd never be able to forgive myself." "Sumeya's right. I'm not

coming either," Reva announced. Page "They nodded. "It's a reckless plan. I'd advise you to abandon it too. They've set up guards around the camp. And if they see you, they'll shoot," Sumeya warned. "Maybe," I said. "But it's a risk we have to accept, or we'll remain slaves forever. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 175)

When Sumeya and Reva refused to join their plan, Farida reminded them whether they must take the risk or remain sabaya forever. Here we see Farida knowing what she was doing by referring to the two sides of her argument and claims. She was serious and cared about her friends and their destiny. That level of awareness allowed them to arrange a plan and later escape. On the other hand, we saw Sumeya and Reva as two teenage girls who were immature and still making more mistakes. They were still victims of using the tragic frame by their captors. They limited themselves to what their captors' plans for them. From Sumeya and Reva, we learn not to share or give our information to our captors.

We should not share our family information with our opponents. Nadia confirmed the idea of how dangerous it was to give their family's information to ISIS militants by referring to the case of Rojian and her owner (captor). Rojian did not allow Salwan to rape her, and she was always trying to escape. In retaliation for that, Salwan bought her mother and enslaved her too. He humiliated her mother in front of her as a punishment for Rojian's acts:

When Rojian managed to escape, Salwan bought her mother and enslaved her in retaliation. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 143)

We always would see ISIS using punishment with those women for any acts or attitudes those women adopted. Their acts, as usual, would also be immoral toward those women and their families. Here we see Salwan raping and harassing both the mother and her daughter as a punishment for Rojian for not allowing him to rape her.

On the other hand, some women refused to share their family information with their captors. Nadia is one of those women who claimed that she abstained from sharing her family information with her captors. In a couple of situations when militants asked Nadia about her family, Nadia lied to them to avoid letting ISIS know about her family and their location, who also were in ISIS captivities:

> Next he asked, “Are you here with any of your family?” I paused. I didn’t know if they wanted to punish Katherine and the others just for being related to me, so I lied. “I’m here with the other girls,” I said. “I don’t know what happened to my family. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 127)

When ISIS asked her whether she was there with any other family members or not, Nadia was scared that the militants might punish her family members for her acts. She lied and refused to share her family information with her captors. Nadia claimed that she did not know what had happened to them.

On another occasion, when Hajji Salman asked her about her family, we saw Nadia abstained from giving him the family information by claiming that all of them managed to escape except three. Her acts with her captors showed that Nadia was aware of the consequences of sharing information with their captors. Her acts also reflect that Nadia learned from other girls and their mistakes, such as the case of Rojian to prevent herself from the same consequences. Those women, instead of sharing family information with their captors, started to learn how important it was to get information from their captors to be more aware of the whole crisis:

> He paused. “What happened to your family?” he asked. “Almost all of us managed to escape,” I lied. “Only three of us were captured. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 146)

Those Yezidi women realized the importance of getting more information from their captors to understand their crisis and plans better. We saw the idea of getting more information from their captors helped them better understand the situation and plan for their cases. The Yezidi women were also looking for more information and assistance from some ISIS militants that might help them make a better plan. Some of those Yezidi women were thinking of providing themselves to those militants and, in return, getting more information. Farida wondered if one of them could offer herself the needed information in return. Farida later regretted that she thought in that way but claimed that desperation sometimes makes the person produce unthinkable thoughts:

> I saw that it was an absurd plan. We did have nothing to offer them. Nothing apart from ourselves. Did one of us have to offer herself up to pry from them information we needed? I'm still ashamed today that such thoughts occurred to me. But desperation sometimes cause people to come up with ideas that are normally unthinkable. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 168)

We saw how Yezidi women abstained from sharing their family information with ISIS in the above paragraphs and texts. We also saw how they became aware of using strategies to get more information from their captors to better manage their plans and goals. The experience we gain from making mistakes later helps us make better decisions for our crisis.

We must learn from our mistakes to increase our spiritual wealth of experience that might help us later mitigate the difficulties of a new situation (Burke, 1984). Our previous mistakes help us be more conscious while facing future conflicts (Carlson, 1986). It might also help us better accommodate a unique environment (Burke, 1984). The experience of learning from their mistakes helped those women be more conscious of reconsidering their foibles while dealing

with their conflicts. It also helped them build self-awareness to assess their mistakes better, reconsider their attitudes, and be more confident in their actions.

The logical reasoning behind their acts and the idea of learning from their mistakes helped those Yezidi women become more aware of their dialogues with their captors. This learning process also helped them be more rational to avoid the use of violence in their actions and attitudes. It made them more rational while talking to their captor to create more hope.

***Rational Discourse Rather Than Using Violence***

Unlike the tragic, the comic frame promotes the importance of rational dialogue between the parties rather than the use of violence and retaliation (Smith & Voth 2002). It helps us consciously observe ourselves while acting (Burke, 1984; Desilet & Appel, 2011). At the beginning of their crisis, those women were unconscious of their acts, which caused much violence. Nadia and her friends later realized the importance of rationality to survive. They changed their acts, attitudes, and behavior from the violence of the tragic to the rationality of the comic frame. They decided to help and support each other instead of always thinking about committing suicide. They also worked together toward creating an opportunity to escape:

> Quickly, we reversed our pact. We would not kill ourselves; we would help one another as much as we could and take the first opportunity to escape. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 132)

During crisis, rational dialogue through the comic frame helps us better see our mistakes and make better discussions about social imbalance rather than committing violence (Burke, 1984; Muddiman, 2007). At a point in time when Amjed, the Azerbaijani militant who owned Farida, decided to move to another ISIS military camp, he intended to take his sabiyya, Farida, with him. Farida and Evin realized the importance of having a dialogue with Amjed to

compromise. Evin claimed they were sisters and could not be separated unless Amjed wanted to take both together. Otherwise, she asked him to sell Farida to another militant. After convincing Amjed to sell Farida to another militant, Evin told Farida that she would ask Azzad, the friendly militant who would bring food for those Yezidi women in their jail, to rebuy her. The girls had various opportunities to dialogue with Azzad and thought that Azzad was different from the other militants. From their acts, we see how those women started to be more mindful in their dialogues with their captors to compromise for their rights and build more hope:

> I'll put it to him, "Evin said. "I mean, we've got nothing to lose." She was right. Given the alternative of going with Amjed to Raqqa and leaving Evin behind, we could leave no stone unturned. We couldn't allow them to separate us again. I knew that without Evin's maternal care, I wouldn't survive imprisonment, neither physically nor mentally. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 156)

The social imbalance of their situation under the control of ISIS made those women compromise to survive. That social imbalance of having Amjed as Farida's owner and having a right to take her with him anywhere he goes made Farida and Evin more rational in talking with Amjed and later with Azzad. Instead of the whole thing, the two girls were searching for a piece of the solution to save Farida. Farida and Evin realized they would not lose anything in discussing the issue with Azzad. Farida also confirmed that idea by saying it would be better than going with Amjed to Raqqa and leaving her friend behind in all cases. Farida considered Evin not only as a friend but also as maternal care for her who, without her, Farida would have survived her imprisonment, neither physically nor mentally. For Farida, Evin was also the last piece of hope from her previous social life that she wanted to keep.

Evin and Farida finally had the opportunity to discuss the issue with Azzad and asked for his help to rebuy Farida; otherwise, Amjed would take her away. Of course, in the beginning, Azzad worried and wondered if Amjed knew about the idea because it would be risky for him. The girls assured him that no one had any clue about it. Azzad told them that he would think about it, and finally, he bought Farida and claimed his ownership of her:

> "You've always been good to us, Azzad," Evin said, and I saw him blush at her words. This made me happy; although he was a soldier, Azzad had clearly not lost all of his humanity. "Now we need your help." Azzad frowned. Maybe he was worried that we'd ask him to help us escape. That would be terribly risky for him; I knew he couldn't agree to it. "What can I do for you?" he asked cautiously. "You've got to buy Farida back," Evin said. "Otherwise, Amjed will take her with him to Raqqa." Now Azzad stared at us in disbelief. "Does Amjed know of your plan?" he asked. "No, but I think he'd be open to it," Evin said. Azzad turned to me, and I lowered my gaze in shame. "I'll think about it," he promised. "Please don't take too long."Evin's plan actually worked. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 157-158)

Evin again used the rationality of the comic frame in her dialogue with Azzad, reminding him of how helpful he always was with them. In her conversation with him, Evin also used communication contexts such as positive and competent communication to inform Azzad of his honorable deeds for convincing him of the importance of re-buying Farida. She reminded Azzad of how helpful he always was with them. She also told him that they needed him again to save Farida from Amjed. We also see the idea of 'forestalling goals' and how Evin tried to prevent something from happening by trying to find a way to save Farida from her captor, who tried to

take her away. At a point in time, those girls became more rational in how they talked to their captors to build hope.

Those rational and conscious acts of socially imbalanced dialogue showed how those girls started to think more rationally and became more conscious of their dialogues, behaviors, and attitudes. That consciousness saved Farida from moving to another ISIS camp; otherwise, it would impact her plans of later running away and surely would make her lonelier again without her friend, Evin.

The use of consciousness in our dialogues helps us better present ourselves and solve our issues (Muddiman, 2007; Smith & Voth, 2002). The Yezidi women were always looking for better ways to solve their issues. When ISIS militants asked the Yezidi women to renounce their religion and accept Islam or face the consequences, the Yezidi women reminded their captors of a couple of verses from the Quran that show how tolerate Islam is toward others who are not Muslims to impact their decision:

> "Your religion does not permit you to impose your faith on us," I told them through Evin, as we were still pretending that I didn't understand their language. "The second surah says: "There shall be no compulsion in the religion." Are we supposed to learn this by heart but ignore its meaning? What kind of ridiculous piety is that?" The man seemed slightly rattled. Evin backed me up, citing another place in their holy book. Right at the end, in the 109th surah, it says, "For you is your religion and for me is my religion." (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 151)

They were rational and conscious in their attempts to prevent their captors from converting them and, at the same time, from using violence against them. Some of those

women's rationale and conscious attempts reflect how some viewed the comic frame as the best alternative instead of the violence of the tragic frame that would exhaust them.

The rationality of the comic frame also helped those women to better use communication contexts of positive communication messages and communication competence messages in their dialogues with their captor to better express and promote themselves and their arguments to build more hope during their crisis. Evin used that language of competency and positivity to convince Amjed and later Azzad of her claims. She convinced Amjed and Farida that they were sisters and could not live away from each other. Evin even asked whether he must take both or sell Farida to another militant at the Military Camp. After convincing Amjed, Evin went to Azzad and asked him to re-buy Farida. Again, she used competency and positivity in her messages to convince Azzad of the importance of rebuying Farida during those moments. Evin referred to the good side of her captor, Azzad, to convince him. She told him that he was good to them, and they looked at him as a friend and wanted him to help them again:

> "You know better than all the others that my sister is seriously ill," Evin implored him. "Please let me stay with her. Farida won't survive without me. "I'm not that keen on taking her anyway," Amjed said bad-temperedly. "This girl is really no fun at all; she'd just be a millstone around my neck." "Then asked around the camp to see if someone wants to buy her," Evin suggested. Although supposedly I didn't understand a word of Arabic, I gave my friend an angry look when she said this. But then I realized that Evin's strategy made sense. In the logic of these men there were only two possibilities for us to stay together: either Amjed bought Evin-which I considered most unlikely, as he wasn't a particularly rich man and, in any case, he'd had quite enough of me-or he found someone else in the camp to buy me. I was nauseated by the idea of having to put up with another

man, irrespective of who he was. But in principle, Amjed seemed to find Evin's suggestion a good one. (…) "You might find someone interested in Farida," my friend said, looking so mischievous that I was confused. What was she up to? "I've got an idea," Evin whispered to me when Amjed had left. What? "We'll ask Azzad to buy you." "Azzad?" "I'll put it to him, "Evin said. "I mean, we've got nothing to lose." She was right. Given the alternative of going with Amjed to Raqqa and leaving Evin behind, we could leave no stone unturned. We couldn't allow them to separate us again. I knew that without Evin's maternal care I wouldn't survive imprisonment, neither physically nor mentally. (…) "We will run away as soon as the opportunity presents itself," Evin promised. But first, we've got to buy some time." "You've always been good to us, Azzad," Evin said, and I saw him blush at her words. This made me happy; although he was a soldier, Azzad had clearly not lost all of his humanity. "Now we need your help." Azzad frowned. Maybe he was worried that we'd ask him to help us escape. That would be terribly risky for him; I knew he couldn't agree to it. "What can I do for you?" he asked cautiously. "You've got to buy Farida back," Evin said. "Otherwise, Amjed will take her with him to Raqqa." Now Azzad stared at us in disbelief. "Does Amjed know of your plan?" he asked. "No, but I think he'd be open to it," Evin said. Azzad turned to me and I lowered my gaze in shame. "I'll think about it," he promised. "Please don't take too long." Evin's plan actually worked. A few days later, a content Amjed let me know that he was rid of me. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 155-158)

By using those messages in her dialogue with her captors, Evin successfully convinced them of Farida's case. She was competent in her conversations with her captors. She also preferred referring to some positive messages to remind Azzad of how those women consider

him friendly and expect more from him. That same level of rationality helped them later to assess their mistakes better.

The act of consciousness and rationality helps us be more aware of our attitudes and mistakes (Carlson,1986). Those Yezidi women's level of awareness made them more aware of their previous mistakes to reflect on their later acts and decisions. They regretted some of the earlier decisions that brought catastrophes to them and their families, and they hoped to benefit from those mistakes to better react to their captors and their crisis:

> ISIS militant shouted at us by saying that women and children need to go to the second floor and men stays on the first floor. They were still trying to keep us calm. "If you don't want to convert, we will let you go to the mountain," and so we went to the second floor barely saying goodbye to our men whom we left in the schoolyard. I think if we had known the truth of what was going to happen to the men, no mother would have let her son or husband go. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 99)

They regretted the act of allowing ISIS to break the bond of social relationships between them. ISIS separated those women from their men at Kocho school by claiming that if they did not want to convert, they would take them to Sinjar Mountain to join their families. That act prevented those Yezidi women from barely saying goodbye to each other. Nadia said that if they knew that ISIS was lying to them and would kill their men, no mother would let ISIS take her son or husband. ISIS deceived them by giving them empty words and fake promises. The Yezidi women later realized that and regretted how they stayed powerless toward ISIS killing their men.

The consciousness and awareness later cleared up the confusion, vagueness, and uncertainty they went through. Those Yezidi women later started to help and support each other in their crisis. The same awareness and consciousness made Farida and Evin see their unity as

more important than any humiliation their captors used against them. They protected their social relationship against their captors' immoral attempts to deceive and humiliate them. That level of rationality also made those women later get rid of their fear to better plan for their survival.

The same consciousness and rationality helped some women eliminate their fears while having dialogues with their captors. Azzad ordered his men to bring Farida to his room. He told her that he wanted to marry her. Farida refused his offer and told him that she would never marry any of them. She told him that she did not belong to them. She also warned him not to touch her:

> "If you hurt me, I'll kill you," I said slowly and in all seriousness. "Farida," he said, "It's not what you think. I'll marry you." "But I won't marry you! Do you understand? I'm not going to marry any of you pigs! I don't belong to you!" (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 159)

The same rationality and consciousness made Farida defy her captor, Zeyad, knowing he was planning to take her with him to Libya. Farida decided to use all means to prevent Zeyad from touching her:

> "If that little minx speaks even one word of Arabic, I'm going to take her back to Libya," Zeyad said. My heart almost stopped. So, the monster wanted to take me to Libya? Over my dead body, I immediately swore to myself. Only over my dead body would he even touch me again. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 121)

Lamiya Haji Bashar is another survivor who lost one of her eyes (right eye) while attempting to escape from her captors (Robb, 2017, January). After attempting to run away, her captors caught her and took her to a Sharia court (Robb, 2017, January). The judge told her he would cut her off her feet if she tried to run away again (Robb, 2017, January). Lamyia told the judge that if he cut off one foot, she would escape with the other (Robb, 2017, January). She told

the judge that she would never give up till she successes (Robb, 2017, January). The consciousness and rationality made those women more aware of their surroundings and way of dressing.

Those women gradually would become more conscious and more aware of their surroundings and even their way of dressing. At a point in time, that sense of consciousness and rationality helped those women to realize the importance of their Islamic veils and niqabs for their plans to survive and later escape. Farida stated that idea while they were managing to run away. After opening the door of their container to run away, their Islamic clothing was the first thing to consider:

> "We're out!" An overwhelming feeling of joy pulsed through my body, I swiftly put on the Islamic clothing so we wouldn't be stopped and locked up again. "Quick, let's go," Evin urged. "Let's go out of here before Abu Arram. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 113)

They ran away at night and hoped their black veils and niqabs would help them become invisible. Of course, they would also consider them if they ended up in another place that required them to wear those clothes.

The same idea of wearing a veil and niqab helped Nadia successfully walk away from her captor without being recognized by others. Nadia said that Yezidi women made opportunities out of ISIS mistakes. She mentioned that dressing the Yezidi women in abaya and niqab like any other Muslim woman made it impossible to differentiate between a Muslim woman and a Yezidi woman. This way of dressing later helped Nadia to run away and survive:

> All the women were completely covered in black abayas and niqabs; ISIS had made it illegal for a woman to leave home uncovered or alone, so they floated through the streets, almost invisible. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 133)

Nadia also said that ISIS authority ordered all women to cover themselves with black abayas and niqabs. ISIS made it illegal for women to leave home uncovered or alone. That is why we would see Muslim women shopping in the market, and they were almost invisible. Yezidi women used those clothes to identify with their surroundings, and out of that came their plans.

Nadia considered the idea of ISIS giving and allowing them to use veils and niqabs like the other Muslim women outside as a big mistake and a favor to the Yezidi women that they later benefited from to escape. Their conscious acts were helping them to benefit from their captors' mistakes and use them to their advantage:

> ISIS was so calculating when it came to enslaving Yazidi girls, but they made mistakes and gave us opportunities. The biggest mistake they made was dressing us like all the women in Mosul, in the anonymous black abaya and niqab. Once we were in that clothing, we blended in, and with ISIS in charge, men were much less likely to engage with a woman they did not know on the street and therefore were less likely to find us out. Sweeping the staircase, I watched women walking through the city, each one dressed just like the others. It was impossible to tell who might be a Sunni woman going to market and who might be a Yazidi girl escaping her captor. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 168)

The Yezidi women made an opportunity out of the tools that ISIS forced them to create beams of hope. The Yezidi girls never used to wear those veils, abayas, and niqabs to cover their heads and hair. However, ISIS forced those clothes on them as a part of their new identification. Instead of trying to get rid of them, those women consciously used them and made them a part of their plans. They made plans out of those available tools around them.

ISIS used a very calculating system to keep following their Yezidi sabaya, sexually enslaved women. Nevertheless, forcing those women to wear Islamic clothes was a mistake that ISIS committed, and later some of those Yezidi women used it as a part of their escape plans. Nadia said that once they were dressing them in niqabs, abayas, and veils, those women blended in with other Muslim women in the city. She also mentioned that men would never dare to engage with a woman they did not know on the street under their rules. Therefore, they would be less likely to find them. She saw those acts of women in niqabs, abayas, and veils when sweeping the staircase. Nadia saw Muslim women walking through the city, each dressed just like the others and impossible to recognize. The rationality and consciousness helped some of those Yezidi women to learn how to better talk to their captors to create more hope.

***Social Order***

The comic frame helps us better understand the social order and how to act toward that (Carlson,1986). Burke described social order as a human creation we must respect (1984). The Mukhtar of Kocho, Ahmed Jasso, was a known social leader for his respect in his community by helping people and resolving their issues in the village. He was also known for his social relationships with the surrounding Sunni Muslim leaders. Whenever his community was facing an issue with their surrounding Sunni Muslim villages, Ahmed Jasso would invite the Arab Sunni leaders to his village to ask for their help:

> We invited our neighbor Sunni tribe leader to a meal, and there Ahmed Jasso told the Sunni leaders to tell ISIS of who they are and that they mean no harm to them. The leaders shook their heads. "We want to help you," they told Ahmed Jasso. "But there is nothing we can do. Daesh doesn't listen to anyone, not even us. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 87)

During their crisis with ISIS, we saw Ahmed Jasso again inviting the Sunni leaders and asking them to help his community. He told the Sunni leaders to tell ISIS that the Yezidis mean no harm to them. The Sunni leaders shook their heads and told Ahmed Jasso they wanted to help, but ISIS did not listen to anyone, not even them. ISIS broke the social order among communities and even inside the Sunni community.

Muhammed Salam was a powerful Sunni leader in the area.He oversaw several Sunni villages in the region, including the Yazidi villages of Til Banat, Til Ghazeb, Hatemiyah, and Kocho. When the people of Kocho ran away, Muhammed Salam called Ahmed Jasso along the way and asked him to turn around and return to their village. He told Ahmed Jasso that he would make an agreement with ISIS leaders and there would be no harm to them and their families:

> while running away, our mukhtar who was also with us in the convoy received a phone call from Muhammed Salam, a powerful man in the area. As "Emir," he was in charge of a number of villages in our region, including the Yazidi villages of Til Banat, Til Ghazeb, Hatemiyah, and Kocho. "Turn around at once!" Salam ordered our mayor. "You must on no account drive away or you'll pay with your lives. We've come to an agreement with ISIS: if you stay where you are they won't do you any harm." "Are there any guarantees for this?" "You have my word that you'll be safe in Kocho," Salam said. "Now, tell all the villagers to turn back. You won't get very far anyway; ISIS soldiers have set up checkpoints on all roads. If you leave, your convoy will come under fire. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 44)

A couple of days later, Muhammed Salam and his men returned to the Yezidi villages and asked people to give up their weapons as a part of an agreement with ISIS leaders. Otherwise, ISIS might null the settlement and attack them. In the beginning, the Yezidis were not

satisfied with surrendering their weapons, but later they said that a peace agreement is better than fighting. They decided to surrender their weapons to Muhammed Salam and his men:

> ISIS soldiers had formed a ring besieging Kocho. Together with our Arab neighbors they were making sure that no one left the village. Two days after our abortive attempt to flee, a delegation of Arabs came to the village.These weren't ISIS fighters, but Muslims from the neighboring villages of Gheravan, Bikatsh, and Pisik, around a dozen men in total, including Salam. They drove pickup trucks and instructed all the men to assemble in the village square."We have come to an agreement with the soldiers of Islamic State," Salam explained. "They won't attack your village. But you have to give up your weapons. That is their condition." A murmur of discontent spread through the rows of men. "Why should we give up our weapons?" the mayor asked. "We are peaceful people. We only need our weapons to defend our homes and property. But Salam was not allowing any dissent. We 're now going to go from house to house and collect up all the guns," he announced. "I advise you strongly to surrender all your weapons. Otherwise, our peace settlement is null and void-and Kocho will be attacked in the next twenty-four hours. If anybody hides weapons in his house or refuses to give them up, he'll be endangering the lives of everyone else. "The entire village will pay for it."(Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 47-48)

Muhammed Salam returned again after a couple of days and asked the Yezidi people of Hatemiyah, and Kocho villages to renounce their religion and announce their Islam to survive. This time he was acting as an ISIS leader and deceived the Yezidi people from the beginning:

> Salam's minions helped him up onto the rear bed of one of the pickups so everyone could see him. Then he addressed the men of the village. This time he assumed the almost

> conciliatory tone of a preacher: “Today we’ve come here to invite you to believe in the one true God,” he said, and waited for the Yazidi to react. Some shook their heads and whispered to each other. But no one dared protest out loud, as Salam’s men were pointing their rifles at them. “We know that you are devil worshippers,” the Arab continued. “That is a heinous crime. No one on this earth may pay homage to Satan, or Melek Taus, as you call him. You must renounce this false belief and acknowledge Islam instead. Only thus can your souls be saved.” He spoke a while longer and praised the magnificence of his own faith. “In our Islamic State we will not tolerate any infidels,” he said finally. “We will give you three days to make your decision. Otherwise ….” He gave a menacing pause. “Otherwise, we will deal with you in the way that infidels deserve.” (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 51)

Muhammed Salam was a community leader, but unfortunately, he destroyed the social harmony and order in the area with his mistakes and loyalty to ISIS. He deceived the people of Kocho by asking Ahmed Jasso to turn around and get back to their village because ISIS would not hurt them. With that act, Muhammed Salam annihilated the whole village of Kocho.

On the other hand, Ahmed Jasso was famous for solving disputes, but this time it was different. ISIS asked him to decide the fate of his entire village: whether to convert to Islam or take the Yezidi of Kocho to join other Yezidis on Sinjar Mountain. He refused conversion and instead told ISIS to take them to Sinjar Mountain:

> Now he was being asked to decide the fate of the entire village. “Take us to the mountain,” he said. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 101)

Ahmed Jasso refused the idea of messing up with the social order of his community under any consequences. Instead, he hoped to see his community rejoining with other Yezidis on

the Sinjar Mountain. The Yezidi of Kocho defended the social order of their community and asked the Arab Sunni leaders and ISIS to understand their case. The Yezidis consider the social order of their community as an essential element to survive. For that reason, they rejected the idea of conversion, and Ahmed Jasso reminded them of a verse in the Quran that says there is no compulsion in religion. The Sunni leaders said that they would inform ISIS leaders of what Ahmed Jasso said. They also did not listen to Ahmed Jasso when he recited a verse from the Quran. They told him that they knew what is in the Quran better than he:

> Three Days Later, our Mukhtar informed Salam and his men that we refused to become Muslims. “After consultation in the village, we’ve reached the conclusion that we cannot renounce the religion of our forefathers,” he told them. “We beg for your understanding.” “Well, then,” the Arabs replied, “we will notify the ISIS leadership of you decision. We only wanted the best for you.” “May we hope for mercy?” “That will be for the caliph to decide.” “There is no compulsion in religion,” our mayor said, quoting from the second surah of their holy book. But they didn’t want to hear this. “We know what’s in the Quran,” they said. “We know it far better than you do.” (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 54)

When ISIS told the people of Kocho that they would take them to Sinjar Mountain since they did not want to convert to Islam, Hajji, Nadia’s half-brother, was suspicious of their intention. He told his people that ISIS was lying and just wanted them to calm down and not fight back. Unfortunately, his people did not listen to his opinion, and instead, they decided to wait to see what ISIS would do to them:

> ISIS told them if they didn’t convert to Islam, they would take us to Mount Sinjar, but Hajji, Nadia’s half-brother, was sure they were lying. “They just want to keep us calm,”

he insisted. “They want to make sure we won’t fight back.” (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 78)

Even after putting their men in the trucks, ISIS was still lying to the people of Kocho and saying they would take them to Sinjar Mountain. After driving their men not far away, those women heard the shots, and a cloud of dust flew up. Then they started to cry and scream, knowing that ISIS killed their men:

> They put our men in truck and drove them in different directions. Panic had broken out among the women in the classroom. “What’s going on? What are you going to do with them?” they kept asking the Arabs. “We’re taking them to the mountains,” they said without any emotion. But then we heard the shots. In the distance, about a kilometer away, a cloud of dust flew up. “You’re killing them,” a young woman with an infant on her arm screaming hysterically. “You’re shooting them!” (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 59)

Unlike the tragic, the comic frame offers hope to the community because of its social rationality, solidarity, and the common good of the group (Christiansen & Hanson, 1996). Muhammed Salam tried to convince the Yezidi people of Kocho and Hatemiyah villages that ISIS would not attack them if they followed the orders. Later, when those two villages realized that Muhammed Salam was a fake person telling them to convert to Islam, the people of Hatemiyah village unanimously decided to find a plan to run away. They managed to find a way to get through one of the ISIS checkpoints, and the whole villagers successfully fled for their lives. The sense of community made the whole Hatemiyah village risk their lives to avoid the idea of damaging their social order by converting to Islam:

> Some had already phoned Yazidis in Hatemiyah; ISIS had put the same choice to them, and they were planning to flee to avoid having to betray their faith. The village of Hatemiyah rejected conversion too. That same night the inhabitants succeeded in slipping past one of the checkpoints. For the Arabs guarding them this was highly embarrassing; they were livid that the Yazidi in Hatemiyah had escaped their grasp. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 51)

The people of Kocho were planning to take the same step as did the people of Hatemiyah, but ISIS tightened the control around the village. After Hatemiyah people ran away, ISIS decided to tighten the ring around the village to prevent the people of Kocho from escaping:

> They'd also got wind of the fact that we in Kocho were planning something similar. As a punishment and a precaution, they tightened the ring around our village even further. Escape had become impossible." (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 54-55)

The new step of tightening the ring around the village made the Yezidi of Kocho decide to wait to find another opportunity. The people of Kocho were constantly meeting to solve their community crisis. They were hoping to find an opportunity to survive. Even after ISIS killed their men, the women of Kocho village were still hoping to rejoin their remaining people on Sinjar Mountain to protect the social order of their community.

Despite their losses, the social order of their community was still the main hope. The sense of community was more significant than any threat or other form of violence their opponents might commit against them. Despite killing their men, the Yezidi women were still hoping that ISIS would take them to the mountain so that they could join the other Yezidis who had already made it there:

> Already our homes were occupied, and our men were probably dead, but at least on top of the mountain, we would be around other Yazidis. We could find Hezni and start to mourn the people we had lost. After a little while, we would start to put what was left of our community back together. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 110)

They hoped to rebuild their community by rejoining the other Yezidi people on Sinjar Mountain. They wanted to join their remaining families and relatives to mourn their lost family members. They also wanted to reorder the remaining community back together to rebuild their social order. Here we see the importance of community in the process of building hope. Their loyalty to their community was always why those Yezidi women kept fighting for their freedom.

Those Yezidi women always planned to run away, hoping to join their families and community. They were ready to do whatever it took and how much it took to get rid of their crisis. Their love of their community had no borders to a point while they were suffering in their crisis, some of those women still imagined their old life and the sense of community. Their only hope was rejoining their families and community:

> Occasionally, when the time dragged, we'd recall the life we'd left behind in Kocho. "Do you think the roses are still flowering in your garden?" Evin said to me. And instantly I saw in my mind my mother's flower beds and the perfume of the flowers tickled my nostrils. I was overcome by a surge of longing. "Normally they don't come into bloom until August," I said. "And it's not autumn yet." "No," I found this thought comforting somehow. Would we get back home before autumn arrived? Would the roses flower then? "But if no one's watering them they'll have dried up long ago." "Why do you talk like that?" Evin said. "I bet our families have returned to Kocho by now." "Yes, for sure," I acquiesced, thinking of my mother. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 105)

Evin and Farida started to bring back memories of their village life. Evin asked Farida if her roses might still be flowering in their garden. Farida started to imagine the flower beds her mother made and the perfume those flowers provided. Those memories tickled their nostrils. That sense of belonging brought them some comfort. Farida started to wonder if they would ever be able to go back to their families and village. Evin supported her in those moments with positive messages by encouraging her to be motivated and hopeful and saying that their families must have returned to Kocho village by now. Farida affirmed her message and started to think of her mother.

Those two girls referred to the importance of community and the sense of social order in their lives to remain hopeful in their fight with ISIS militants. Their connection to their previous life provided them with beams of hope. The two girls always encouraged each other, using positive messages to keep themselves still hopeful.

The comic frame cares about individuals in society and their acts (Burke, 1984). Nadia referred to different situations where she saw people acting differently towards them. We saw some characters reacting with different attitudes towards those Yezidi women. From the beginning, we saw Muhammed Salman as a fake person who sold empty words to Yezidis. Muhammed Salman tried to convince the Yezidis to stay and later asked them to convert to Islam. As a social community leader in charge of some villages, including some Yezidi villages in the area, Muhammed Salman was supposed to act with more trust and wisdom to build more harmony and tolerance. Instead, he deceived the Yezidi community of Kocho and Hatemiyah villages by easily surrendering them to ISIS.

While among the worst characters who brutally punished the Yezidi girls was Emir Zeyad, a commander of a group called 'The Beasts.' Zeyad did heinous punishments to Farida

and Evin to make them hopeless. He planned to marry Farida and convert her to Islam. By knowing his plans, Farida decided to go under the worst to prevent him from achieving that goal:

> "If that little minx speaks even one word of Arabic, I'm going to take her back to Libya," Zeyad said. My heart almost stopped. So, the monster wanted to take me to Libya? Over my dead body, I immediately swore to myself. Only over my dead body would he even touch me again. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 121)

There was a social identity conflict from the beginning between those Yezidi women and their captors. After knowing of her captor's planning to take her with him to Libya, Farida did her best to prevent him from breaking her social order and loyalty to her community.

While for Nadia, the worst person she ever mentioned who harmed her was Hajji Salman. Hajji Salman enjoyed telling Nadia how he killed her community members and how Yezidis do not deserve to live. He told her that on August 3rd of, 2014, at the beginning of the genocide, he went to Sinjar, Nadia's city, to kill Yezidis. Hajji Salman also mentioned that he saw three men running for their lives, but he managed to catch and kill them. Nadia was feeling sad about what he was saying, but she was also scared and unable to talk:

> "I went to Sinjar on august third, when it all began." He said, relaxing on the bed as if he were telling a happy story. "Along the road I saw three Yazidi men in police uniforms. They were trying to escape, but I managed to catch up to them, and when I did, I killed them." I stared at the floor, unable to talk. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 146)

Hajji Salman also told Nadia that they came to Sinjar to kill Yezidis and take their women and children. He even regretted the idea of how some of the Yezidis made it to the mountain without being killed. Hajji Salman cursed Nadia's home, family, and religion and told

her that he was in jail and was now revenging from infidels. He also described the act of killing Yezidis as a good thing and told Nadia that she should be happy that ISIS erased her community:

> We came to Sinjar to kill all the men," my captor went on, "and to take the women and the children, all of them. Unfortunately, some made it to the mountain." (…) He cursed my home, my family, and my religion. He told me that he had spent seven years in Mosul's Badush prison and wanted to get his revenge against the infidels in Iraq. What had happened in Sinjar was a good thing, he said, and that I should be happy that ISIS planned to erase Yazidism from Iraq. He tried to convince me to convert, but I refused. I couldn't look at him. His words became meaningless. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 146)

Nadia was referring to the idea of how Hajji Salman was targeting the social order of her community. He was enjoying the sense of destroying the Yezidi community and their social order. Hajji Salman tried to convince Nadia that her community was infidels and that she should be happy that ISIS erased them. He attempted to encourage Nadia to convert to Islam. However, Nadia refused his order and considered his words meaningless.

In one way or another, the acts and attitudes reflect the importance of social order and working towards it. The Yezidis suddenly saw themselves suffering after ISIS attacked them. Those unexpected events put their lives in an unfamiliar and uncertain situation. However, step by step, those women started to protect the sense of their community.

The comic frame considers politicians with power and have a role in society (Burke, 1984). With their positive behavior, politicians can create a constructive social environment that might cultivate such qualities as patience, non-violence, self-restraint, truth, and reconciliation (Gandhi, 2001). The Yezidis were aware of their situation and mindful of the difficulties facing

them in protecting their areas and community up to this day. That is why they always compromise to protect their community's social order and rights.

When ISIS controlled their areas, such people as Ahmed Jasso, Mukhtar of Kocho village, did their best to agree with Arab leaders and to protect his Yezidi community. He used all his connections and relationships to solve the issue peacefully. Unfortunately, this time, it did not work. The Arab leaders told him that ISIS did not listen to them:

> We invited our neighbor Sunni tribe leader to a meal and there Ahmed Jasso told the Sunni leaders to tell ISIS of who they are and that they mean no harm to them. The leaders shook their heads. “We want to help you,” they told Ahmed Jasso. “But there is nothing we can do. Daesh doesn’t listen to anyone, not even us. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 87)

Ahmed Jasso fought for his community to convince ISIS to leave Yezidis alone because they do not harm them. He even tried to build a peace agreement between his community, the Arab Sunni leaders, and ISIS to create a sense of understanding toward each other. Nevertheless, ISIS was building a new Islamic social order and already claimed that no one except Muslims could live there in their new caliphate. Another person acting as a politician to protect the sense of community was Evin.

Evin was also doing her best to protect her community and her friends. She did her best to always communicate with her captors to protect her friends. Evin always protected her friend, Farida, from her captors with different means. She was always patient and aware of the importance of events. When Amjed planned to take Farida with him to another military camp, Evin was very diplomatic in her claims and argument to convince Amjed to abandon the idea of

taking Farida with him. After convincing Amjed of her plans, Evin moved to communicate with Azzad to convince him to buy Farida, and she was again successful:

> Through Evin, who continued to act as my translator, I let him know that I couldn't under any circumstances go without her. "You know better than all the others that my sister is seriously ill," Evin implored him. "Please let me stay with her. Farida won't survive without me. "I'm not that keen on taking her anyway," Amjed said bad-temperedly. "This girl is really no fun at all; she'd just be a millstone around my neck." "Then ask around the camp to see if someone wants to buy her," Evin suggested. Although supposedly I didn't understand a word of Arabic, I gave my friend an angry look when she said this. But then I realized that Evin's strategy made sense. In the logic of these men there were only two possibilities for us to stay together: either Amjed bought Evin-which I considered most unlikely, as he wasn't a particularly rich man and, in any case, he'd had quite enough of me-or he found someone else in the camp to buy me. I was nauseated by the idea of having to put up with another man, irrespective of who he was. But in principle, Amjed seemed to find Evin's suggestion a good one. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 155-156)

After convincing Amjed to sell her, Evin moved to talk to Azzad. She was diplomatic with Azzad by reminding him of his work helping them and now wanted him to continue that by re-buying Farida from Amjed. As a militant, Azzad was confused by her words but said he would think of it. He finally bought Farida from Amjed:

> What was she up to? "I've got an idea," Evin whispered to me when Amjed had left. What? "We'll ask Azzad to buy you." "Azzad?" (…) "I'll put it to him, "Evin said. "I mean, we've got nothing to lose." She was right. Given the alternative of going with

> Amjed to Raqqa and leaving Evin behind, we could leave no stone unturned. We couldn't allow them to separate us again. I knew that without Evin's maternal care I wouldn't survive imprisonment, neither physically nor mentally. (…) "You've always been good to us, Azzad," Evin said, and I saw him blush at her words. This made me happy; although he was a soldier, Azzad had clearly not lost all of his humanity. "Now we need your help." Azzad frowned. Maybe he was worried that we'd ask him to help us escape. That would be terribly risky for him; I knew he couldn't agree to it. "What can I do for you?" he asked cautiously. "You've got to buy Farida back," Evin said. "Otherwise, Amjed will take her with him to Raqqa." Now Azzad stared at us in disbelief. "Does Amjed know of your plan?" he asked. "No, but I think he'd be open to it," Evin said. Azzad turned to me, and I lowered my gaze in shame. "I'll think about it. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 157-158)

Evin was using the comic frame to make her bargains. She was reasonable in her claims and able to convince their captors. She used the sense of forestalling goals to prevent Amjed from taking her friend away.

Evin also did her best to protect the sense of community among the Yezidi women in the military camp. She encouraged her friends to do their Yezidi prayers in secret in the container. She was building a sense of hope among her friends. Later, she was heading her friends to join the militants to pray for Islam. When a militant asked Farida to join them, Evin convinced the militant that Farida was still sick and not ready to join them:

> As sunset was approaching the girls stood in a row at the window. Knowing what they were about to do, I burst into tears. I tried to vain to stand up beside them, as was right and proper. My friends raised their hands in prayer. In my seated position I copied them.

> "Amen, amen, amen," we mumbled quietly so that no one outside could hear. "May the lord protect our religion. Our religion will survive." Now the Muezzin was calling the ISIS soldiers to prayer too. The girls scattered. Soon afterward a man banged on the door. "Come on, it's time." He commanded. Wrapping their black veils around their heads they followed him outside. Evin explained to the man that I was too weak to take part in the obligatory prayer. He glanced at me and nodded. "But as soon as she's recovered, she's joining in," he said. "Of course," Evin assured him (…) As I looked through the window, I saw men kneeling on their prayer mats, the men carried out the Islamic rituals in sync. Behind them and slightly to one side stood the group of girls, strictly covered in black veils. They too were praying in the Islamic fashion. I didn't know what to think of this. Hadn't our fathers and grandfathers exhorted us in no uncertain terms never to betray our religion? On the other hand, with their secret prayer in the container, had the girls just proven that our faith was still dear to their hearts? At any event, I was glad that I didn't have to stand out there with them. Not yet. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 136)

Evin was a source of hope for Farida that she was attached to from her past. Farida always listened to Evin and her ideas and opinions during their crisis. They were the final pieces of support for each other, and Farida cannot imagine herself without her. Evin told her friend that no matter what happened, she should not be hopeless and should never give her captors power over her. She told her to remain hopeful in her fight with her captors:

> "If Zeyad tries it with me again, I'm going to kill myself," I told her. "You can't!" she implored. "You promised!" "If you're not with me anymore it doesn't matter, does it?" "Evin if I'm not with you, you must never give this man power over your life like that.

No matter what he does. We'll find a way out of here. I promise you." (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 127)

Despite the cruelty of the situation, Evin and Farida would always find their unity a source of staying hopeful. Their unity was helping them to support and help each other to survive. They were the last pieces that reminded them of their earlier life. A life that those two girls were two normal young girls with a home and family:

> On the other hand, we were the last tie for each other to our former world. The world in which she and I had been normal young women with a home and family. I was afraid of going mad if I lost Evin as well. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 126)

When ISIS militants took Evin, Farida became hopeless and out of energy. She felt lonely and more desperate. She saw her presence as a source of comfort and motivation to remain steady in her fight:

> The idea of being separated from Evin was a nightmare for me. Amid all the horror we were experiencing, her presence afforded me some comfort, at least the last I had. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 126)

When they took her away, Farida started to cry and felt lonelier than ever in her life. They took the piece that she needed the most during her crisis. She described the act of her captors taking her friend as an act of losing everything in her life:

> I kept crying when the men were long out of earshot. "Evin! Evin!" I felt lonelier than I'd ever been in my life before. Now they'd taken away the last thing I had. I felt as if someone had pulled a plug out of me and all the life that I'd once possessed had been released. There wasn't a spark of energy left in my body, nor of hope. Everything was lost. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 127)

Their friendship reflects the importance of social life construction. The moment we lose this part, we lose joy in our life. Farida described the idea of separating her from Evin as a nightmare. She said that Evin's presence provided her with some comfort despite all the suffering, humiliation, and punishment. The moment they took Evin away, Farida was more desperate and hopeless. She attempted to commit suicide to get rid of her suffering:

> At night Galib entered our room with another ISIS member and told Evin to get up and grabbed her hand. I started crying when he pulled her away from me. “Evin!” I sobbed. “Let me stay with her!” she begged. “Farida needs me.” Galib laughed. “at this very moment there’s someone else who needs you even more.” “Evin!” I kept crying when the men were long out of earshot. “Evin! Evin!” I felt lonelier than I’d ever been in my life before. Now they’d taken away the last thing I had. I felt as if someone had pulled a plug out of me and all the life that I’d once possessed had been released. There wasn’t a spark of energy left in my body, nor of hope. Everything was lost. The only thing I wanted was to put an end to it all. I wanted to die. This time, however, the desire did not come from desperation to escape some concrete threat. It was far too late for that anyway; everything had already happened. Now I just wanted peace, I wanted to remove myself from a cruel world I’d fallen into. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 127)

Social relationships from their previous life were a source of hope that motivated them to resist their captors and remain hopeful in their crisis. Farida was hopeful while having Evin around her. After they took Evin from her, Farida was lonelier and hopeless.

The sense of community was an important source of hope to survive. Nadia thanked God that she was with her siblings. The presence of her siblings in her life during her crisis gave her a bit of strength she needed to stay hopeful and not lose her heart to ISIS. Of course, remaining

hopeful and united would always irritate ISIS militants. They would always do their best to break that relationship. When a militant called Hajji Salwan attempted to own Nadia and take her with him, Nadia's sisters and nieces did their best to protect her against her captor. That act irritated her captor and other guards to the point of starting to beat them to break that unity:

> Nisreen, Rojian, and Kathrine draped their bodies over me trying to hide me, but he didn't go away. "Stand up," he said. When I didn't, he kicked me. "You! The girl with the pink jacket! I said, stand up!" we screamed and huddled together more tightly, but this just provoked Salwan even more. He leaned down and tried to pull us apart, clunching at our shoulders and arms. Still, we held on to one another as though we were one person. Our resistance made him furious, and he yelled at us to stand up, kicking at our shoulders and hands. Eventually, the struggle got the attention of a guard, who came over to help, beating our hands with a stick until the pain was so great we had to let go of one another. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 138)

Nadia also referred to one of the girls in her jail and the sense of loneliness, saying that not everyone was lucky to be with their siblings in those moments. She was crying and saying she did not have anyone to support and comfort her, referring to the importance of a sense of social life during the crisis to survive. That is why when those women were together, they were more hopeful and more supportive:

> We sat quietly, stunned, and terrified. I thanked God that I was with Katherine, Nisreen, Jilan, and Rojian. Their presence gave me the small bit of strength I needed no to completely lose my mind. Not everyone was so lucky. One girl had been separated from everyone she knew back in Kocho, and she started weeping uncontrollably. "Each of you

has someone, but I have no one," she said, wringing her hands in her lap. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 133)

When Evin and Farida met again at the military camp, Farida could barely crawl from the torture she received from Zeyad. After attempting to commit suicide, Zeyad put her on a table and electrocuted all of her body. He tortured her till the blood started to flow beneath her dress. His brutal actions caused her unendurable pain till she passed out:

> Zeyad laid me across a table and got someone to fetch some electric cable. Then he flogged me as hard as he could. “You devilish whore!” he berated me. “Did you think I’d let you play games with me? I’ll show you!” He flogged my back until the blood started to flow beneath my blue dress. A group of about twenty men were standing watching. They were egging him on and accompanying his violent rage with cries of Allahu Akbar! “Go on, show her!” they shouted. Show her how we treat people who pray to Satan!” Zeyad was beside himself. He kept thrashing me ever more wildly. Sometimes he used the cable, then the pole with the hooks he’d brought with him. He abused my entire body, not sparing my legs or head either. He whacked my face with the pole, injuring my left eye so I couldn’t see out of it anymore. I think he wanted to kill me, or at least he didn’t care whether or not I survived. I still bear the scars today of his inconceivably brutal actions. Eventually, when the pain became unendurable, I passed out. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 130)

Here we see how their captors were irritated to see those women still fighting for their life. Although they were sometimes desperate and hopeless in their acts, those women made their captors hopeless in their demands. They refused to follow their orders and some preferred death over listening to their captors.

Despite its importance, the social order might have flaws and sometimes develop problems (Carlson,1986). The Yezidi women considered this aspect to differentiate between the wrong acts of ISIS and their claims of representing Islam. Farida referred to the idea of how those militants would make mistakes under the name of God and their Islamic religion by forcing others into their faith:

> These young boys were utterly naïve and blinded. Even when they beat us after such shows of defiance, so we wouldn't dare repeat them, they believed they were serving their God and doing good. When will they finally wake up, I wondered. They were very serious about trying to make us convert to Islam, which is why they weren't just content to force their prayers on us. They took great pains to turn us into Muslim women, giving us religious education twice a week. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 150)

Farida referred to the young ISIS militants and their way of forcing their religion on those Yezidi women. She described those boys as naïve and blinded to using violence to prevent those women from their rituals. Those young militants even believed they were serving Islam and God's moral good by their acts. They were serious in their acts of converting those Yezidi women into their religion. To force their social order on those women, ISIS militants later created a religious class twice a week to force their social identity on those women.

The Yezidi women referred to the idea of how those militants were using force to convert them into their religion. Nadia said that ISIS was legalizing their punishment and humiliation of those Yezidi women by citing medieval Islamic laws. She said that ISIS must know that its act of rape was not as original as its members thought, but rather it was used throughout history as a weapon of war:

> Sabaya can be given as gifts and sold at the whim of the owner, "for they are merely property," the Islamic State pamphlet reads. It also says that an owner can have sex with a prepubescent slave, it says if she is "fit for intercourse," and if she is not, "then it is enough to enjoy her without intercourse." Much of this is supported with verses from the Koran and medieval Islamic laws, which ISIS uses selectively and expects its followers to take literally. It is a horrible stunning document. But ISIS is not as original as its members think it is. Rape has been used throughout history as a weapon of war. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, page 139)

We see Nadia referring to the idea of sabaya and the act of rape that those ISIS militants were considering in their Islamic State pamphlet. They looked at women as mere property that they could own. They also put rules for buying, selling, and gifting those women and later raping them. ISIS laws permitted the owner to have intercourse with their captives if they fit for intercourse. This rule applies if they are adults. However, if they are not fit for intercourse, then it is enough for the owner to enjoy them without intercourse. Nadia said that the violence that ISIS was using was supported by some verses and surahs from the Quran and medieval Islamic laws. Of course, ISIS used those laws selectively to push for their agendas. Despite their controversial arguments with ISIS militants, we saw the Yezidi women defending the name of Islam against what ISIS was adopting.

Nadia was referring to respecting Islam as a religion with its social order, but at the same time, she referred to those above mistakes that ISIS militants committed under Islam. She addressed ISIS's wrongful acts and compared them with those in wars and genocide. Nadia reminded her captors of the mistakes they were committing under the name of Islam. On the

other hand, we saw those militants falsifying the rule of Islam to cover and justify their evil works.

In another situation, when Lamia, one of Nadia's friends from Kocho, and her captor (owner) Nafah, visited her and Hajji Salman, and after they left, Hajji Salman saw that Nadia's expressions changed. She was happy to see her friend. Hajji Salman wondered about Nadia's behavior and attitude. When he asked her for a reason, Nadia put all the blame on him. Nadia reminded him of how he put her in a closed room and how he was raping her. She reminded him of violating her rights and standing against her will. She also reminded him of what he did to her community by killing them. Nadia told him that those acts made her sad and hopeless:

> When Lamia and Nafah left we went upstairs and Hajji Salman told me that "this is the first time I've seen your expression change at all," he said to me when we reached my door. I turned to him. I didn't pretend not to be angry. "What do you want my face to look like when you look me up and do things to me that I don't want? I said back. "You'll get used to it," he said. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 171)

Here we see Nadia referring to the importance of social order in a person's life. Despite her suffering, she was happy to see a member of her community. Then we also saw that when Hajji Salman asked her about her new behavior, she reminded him of his mistakes of raping and punishing her under the claim of trying to convert her to Islam. We saw Nadia referring to ISIS's errors in building their social order. Building their social order for ISIS was through destroying others. Nadia even reminded Hajji Salman of what he did to her community by killing them. Again, she saw Hajji Salam as a person working to destroy her community's social order. How did he want Nadia's face to look while committing all those wrongful acts against her will? Of course, those acts made Nadia sad and hopeless. Despite their suffering, some of those Yezidi

women were still hoping to make some changes in their captors' attitudes, behaviors, and acts to lessen their suffering.

We sometimes might accept the prevailing social orders but hope to make some changes through positive attitudes to acknowledge the errors (Carlson, 1988: 1986). According to Burke, by possessing knowledge, we possess power that helps us act of more mature social efficacy to transcend and accept occasions to change the rules of a game for the best of all (1984). The hope is always to decrease the social tension and support the convergence of views between parties (Carlson, 1988: 1986).The Yezidi women referred to the prevailing status of Islam in the hope of changing the violent attitudes of their captors. Those women referred to the laws of Islam to remind their captors of how their acts contradict their Islamic morals and laws. They were trying to say that although they are Yezidis, they still respect and know Islam and Muslims:

> "That's a lie!" I snarled furiously. "You'vemade it up." I simply refused to believe that Islam could justify such crimes. "I know many Muslims who will vouch that it isn't true." (…) In reality, however, they must all have been aware they were committing a crime, because neither Islam nor any other religion in the world endorsed the trade of abducted women. (…)"Your religion does not permit you to impose your faith on us," I told them through Evin, as we were still pretending that I didn't understand their language. "The second surah says: "There shall be no compulsion in the religion." Are we supposed to learn this by heart but ignore its meaning? What kind of ridiculous piety is that?" The man seemed slightly rattled. Evin backed me up, citing another place in their holy book. Right at the end, in the 109th surah, it says, "For you is your religion and for me is my religion." Pointing to the sentence, she said, "Here it is in black and white!

> What gives you the right to assume your religion is the only true one when your prophet says otherwise?" (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 66, 79, 150)

The Yezidi women referred to Islam and the Quran surah to remind their captors of how wrong their acts were. The Yezidi women reminded them that their acts violate the rules of Islam. They also told them they know some good Muslims who would never commit such acts against people. They even referred to a few surahs from their Quran that show no compulsion in religion. All those efforts from those women were to build some consubstantiality and commonality with their captors to convince them to quit violating their rights.

The comic frame urges society to reason through social means (Carlson,1986). According to Burke, social exigencies and goodwill are important means to reach solutions (1984). While taking her to Nafah, Nadia was shocked to recognize a militant called Suhaib, a Muslim from Sinjar city. He was now an ISIS militant. Nadia mentioned that Suhaib had a store in Sinjar city. She said that Yezidi would always visit his store and many Yezidi people thought of him as a friend. Now he was killing Yezidis! Nadia referred to the importance of connections and trust among communities in the area and how some also betray that:

> He let me to the garage on the first floor, where Abu Batat and Nafah were waiting along with another militant. The third militant spoke Kurdish and I was shocked when I recognized him; it was Suhaib, who owned a store in Sinjar City. Yazidis visited his store all the time and I am sure many thought of him as a friend. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 126)

They knew their captors' goal was to erase the image of their Yezidi community from the face of the earth. Despite that, those women were working towards making some changes to survive. The comic frame considers social changes for our necessities and needs (Burke, 1984).

These changes in the social order should be for the best of all and not affect the people on the other side of the equation (Carlson,1986). The girls considered Azzad more friendly toward them. For that reason, Evin was trying to convince her friend, Farida, of the idea of allowing Azzad to own her to get rid of her issue with Amjed. At first, Farida was irritated by allowing anyone to own her, but listening to her friend, Evin, talking about how good Azzad was with them, made Farida think of Azzad as a survivor, and for that reason, she accepted the offer. At a point, Farida and the other girls realized they had to accept their new reality of being commanded and controlled by ISIS militants. They started accepting some of their rules and decided to deal better with their crisis and their captors to survive:

> We'll ask Azzad to buy you." "Azzad?" I looked at Evin in astonishment. She was talking about my former "owner" the nice young man who brought us food. The same man who said that he regretted having joined ISIS and who, when I arrived in the camp, couldn't wait to sell me on, which we'd always interpreted as moral fiber. But perhaps it had just been awkwardness. Could we convince him to save me? "I'll put it to him, "Evin said. "I mean, we've got nothing to lose." She was right. Given the alternative of going with Amjed to Raqqa and leaving Evin behind, we could leave no stone unturned. We couldn't allow them to separate us again. I knew that without Evin's maternal care I wouldn't survive imprisonment, neither physically nor mentally. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 156)

We saw Evin and Farida adopting some changes for their new status quo or reality of being sabaya and owned by their captors to find a solution for Farida's case. Farida accepted the idea after realizing that Azzad is friendly to her friends. That sense of working together decreased social tension in the equation between those girls and Azzad. They started to see him

as different from other militants and more friendly. Farida and Evin saw the deal of Azzad buying Farida as a middle-ground solution for Farida's case instead of allowing Amjed to take her to another camp. Although we would later see Azzad as a fake person but for that moment, we saw Evin and Farida, and that sense of convergence made a sort of victory in that case.

We use the comic frame to promote persuasion and cooperation among people in an equal social order (Burke, 1984; Carlson,1986). ISIS militants were always trying to persuade the Yezidi women to renounce their social order and accept their new reality by converting to Islam and having ISIS militants as their owners. They also asked them to cooperate to make the process easier and more tangible. To a point, the Yezidi women said that ISIS militants were so serious about changing their identity:

> They were very serious about trying to make us convert to Islam, which is why they weren't just content to force their prayers on us. They took great pains to turn us into Muslim women, giving us religious education twice a week. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 150)

On the other side, the Yezidi women were also trying to convince ISIS militants that their actions were wrong. Farida and her friends tried to convince the militants that their actions did not relate to Islam. However, ISIS rejected the idea and insisted on the idea of pushing them to conversion. This idea of forcing them to convert would always make Yezidi women confused about finding a way to deal with their captors and the crisis:

> Be quiet, girl. What do you understand of Islam?" This is how it always went. Whenever they were at a loss they'd insult us, say we were "infidels," and forbid us to talk because they'd run out of arguments. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 152)

Sometimes, the Yezidi women would ask for cooperation from civilians and even some militants to help them survive and escape from ISIS. While running from ISIS, Nadia knocked on a door of a Muslim family in Mosul and asked them for help. That Muslim family put their lives in danger by helping Nadia. Nadia also persuaded them by reciting her story with ISIS militants:

> "I beg you," I said. "Help me," They were silent, and so I kept talking. "My name is Nadia," I said. "I am a Yazidi from Sinjar. Daesh came to my village, and I was taken to Mosul to be sabiyya. I lost my family. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 209)

That Muslim family decided to put their lives in danger by helping Nadia, the Yezidi girl, to her freedom. Yezidi women always reminded ISIS militants that ISIS does not represent Islam and that there are good Muslims there who do not believe in what ISIS and their acts of enslaving Yezidis.

Evin also acted as a social coordinator to convince Azzad to cooperate to help her friend, Farida. She asked him for his cooperation to re-buy Farida; otherwise, Amjed would take her with him. Evin told Azzad that he was a good person who always would help and cooperate with them, and now they wanted him to save Farida before Amjad took her to Raqqa city. She was finally successful in convincing him to cooperate to re-buy Farida. That act saved Farida from the idea of Amjed taking her to another place away from the camp. That sense of help and cooperation made those women also build some common ground with Azzad:

> You've always been good to us, Azzad," Evin said, and I saw him blush at her words. This made me happy; although he was a soldier, Azzad had clearly not lost all of his humanity. "Now we need your help." Azzad frowned. Maybe he was worried that we'd ask him to help us escape. That would be terribly risky for him; I knew he couldn't agree

to it. “What can I do for you?” he asked cautiously. “You’ve got to buy Farida back,” Evin said. “Otherwise, Amjed will take her with him to Raqqa. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 157-158)

The comic frame attempts to sustain social order using consubstantiality in identification. Consubstantiality in identification helps the person better connect, reconcile (Carlson,1986) and build some common ground with their opponents (Burke, 1984). Some Yezidi women adopted the idea of building common ground with some of their captors to keep the door open for more dialogue between them. They were continually practicing their rituals in the hope of keeping their identity. At the same time, facing such a violent ideology as ISIS obliged those Yezidi women to be more flexible and resilient, sometimes cooperating and building some commonality with them. Those women would later participate with their captors in their Muslim prayers. Farida confirmed that the Yezidi women were secretly doing their Yezidi praying to protect their community's social order of their community, and later they would join the militants and participate in their Islamic praying. That act of common ground would always help those women better connect with their captors, gather more information about them, and learn more about their cases. The Yezidi women knew that completely abstaining from cooperation might bother their opponents and bring them more violence.

An attempt to alter the social order might upset an existing social hierarchy and cause guilt to the change agents (Carlson, 1988). We must carefully deal with the unacceptable practices of the hierarchy with clarity and make the correct change to improve the situation (Burke, 1984). The sense of fighting back that Farida used with her captors to rebel against their rules would sometimes bring her a ton of violence. Farida fought her captors to prevent them from humiliating her. Wherever taken, to whoever sold, some of those Yezidi girls did not

surrender. Farida fought her battles against the worst people. She always tried to commit suicide to prevent her captors from raping her. Her acts always made militants such as Emir Zeyad always punish her severely. After attempting suicide several times, Zeyad flew into a rage and decided to punish her severely. Zeyad laid her across a table and shocked her body with an electric cable:

> Emir Zeyad came in the morning and found me crumpling on the floor of the cell. He flew into rage. “You miserable bitch!” he yelled. “If you’re that desperate to die maybe I can help you. I’m going to teach you a lesson!” He threw me over his shoulder, taking the pole with the hooks too as he carried me from the cell. Strangely enough, it didn’t seem to bother the Emir at all that I was totally uncovered and only wearing the hated blue dress he’d abuse me in. He paid no attention to the fact that the other men saw me like this. On the contrary, he encouraged them to follow him. They didn’t need a second invitation. I was taken into the room where Evin and I had been put when we arrived. Zeyad laid me across a table and got someone to fetch some electric cable. Then he flogged me as hard as he could. “You devilish whore!” he berated me. “Did you think I’d let you play games with me? I’ll show you!” He flogged my back until the blood started to flow beneath my blue dress. A group of about twenty men were standing watching. They were egging him on and accompanying his violent rage with cries of Allahu Akbar! “Go on, show her!” they shouted. Show her how we treat people who pray to Satan! (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 129-130)

This event reminds us of how the tragic use of changing the social order might cause more violence. Farida always tried to break the rules of ISIS, and her captors would always

punish her. After attempting suicide, Zeyad was outraged by her actions and decided to punish her severely.

Rejecting the social order of their captors made them more vulnerable to punishment. When the Yezidi women at the military camp refused to announce their conversion to Islam and violated the social rules at the camp, the ISIS youth militants punished them. They also insisted on converting them to Islam and worked all towards that. Those youth militants believed that their ideology and Islam were the only right way that would bring justice to the world:

> Some, especially the younger men among them, took the ISIS ideology very seriously. They really believed they'd joined a God-fearing outfit and were fighting for a just cause. As they regarded Islam-or their interpretation of it-as a panacea, they thought it capable of solving all problems. These young boys were utterly naïve and blinded. Even when they beat us after such shows of defiance, so we wouldn't dare repeat them, they believed they were serving their God and doing good. When will they finally wake up, I wondered. They were very serious about trying to make us convert to Islam, which is why they weren't just content to force their prayers on us. They took great pains to turn us into Muslim women, giving us religious education twice a week. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 150)

The Yezidi women rejected the idea of learning about Islam and ISIS laws, considered ISIS rules fake, and did not relate to God and Islam in any way. The moment ISIS militants heard such claims, they would act more violently by shouting at those women and threatening them with a cane. They forced them to memorize their verses and surah and promised them more violence if they did not. On the other side, those women would sometimes act more stubborn than their captors by refusing to learn about their rules, laws, and teachings:

> "They're not God's laws, they're not even the laws of Islam. You've made them up!"
>
> "Quiet!" they shouted, threatening us with the cane, their secret educational weapon. "By next time you'll have learned the ten verses of the second surah by heart. All of them, do you understand? Woe betide anyone who can't recite them." This was always our "homework." We had to learn by heart the sections of text we'd read together. At the next session the teachers would test us, caning anyone who couldn't recite the verses. Usually, everyone was beaten, because none of us had any desire to adopt their faith. Given all that we'd had to endure, that really was asking too much. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 152-153)

Rejecting their social order and agendas brought much violence to those women. ISIS would always react to the rejection of those women with more violence. On the other side, the more violence and humiliation ISIS used against those women, the more those Yezidi women insisted on the idea of protecting their religious and community identity.

The comic frame sometimes might not be the best choice to adopt when trying to escape the inescapable, so it sometimes might encourage the person to quit the attempt (Carlson, 1988). This fact was sometimes pushing the Yezidi women in two more directions. Some were moving to the tragic frame and its violence to face the issue. Others were accepting the new status quo of conversion and humiliation. Farida and Besima decided to use violence with their captors to prevent them from controlling their fate:

> Azzad tried to push me to the floor. But I knew his weak spot; he'd recently sustained a midriff injury in battle. I punched the wound as hard as I could. Azzad howled in pain.
>
> "You're out of your mind," he yelled in fury. "You're going to pay for that!" (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 160)

On the other hand, some quit attempting to change the situation when they did not see more tangible outcomes. They saw themselves as unable to change the situation. ISIS constantly pushed those women toward forcibly accepting their new reality of conversion or humiliation. They forced them to accept the situation by showing their affiliation to ISIS. One of those cases was Katherine, Nadia's niece. As Nadia mentioned, Kathrine tried to escape many times, but her attempts failed. Dr. Islam, an ISIS militant, bought and owned her as his wife. ISIS showed Katherine pretending to be happy in her photos with Dr. Islam! Nevertheless, Nadia, Katherine's aunt, stated that she knew her niece and knew that behind that forced smile was a pure terror that Dr. Islam made her do so:

> Dr Islam forced Kathrine to groom herself and wear makeup, as Hajji Salman had done to me, and then he would make her pose for photos of the two of them together. He forced her to look happy and to pretend she loved him. But I know her and I can tell that behind that forced smile is pure terror. She tried to escape six times and was returned in by the people she went to for help. Each time when she was delivered back to Dr. Islam, he punished her viciously. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 196)

We see the importance of the social order element as a form of the comic frame in the acts of a person going through such crises to make better choices and changes. This frame helped us see how those women adopted different strategies with their captors to protect their social order. Another aspect of the comic frame is civil disobedience, which is another essential aspect of the comic frame.

***Civil Disobedience***

The use of violence will always give our opponents more opportunities to use reactionary violence with us (Brown, 2012). In Burke's discussion of the comic frame and in Carlson's

(1986) interpretation of Gandhi's use of that frame, violence can engender more evil acts as an excuse (Gandhi, 2001). Our acts might encourage them to react to us on their terms (Brown, 2012). For these reasons, absolute resistance or revolt against authority might result in more violence by them (Carlson,1986). When an ISIS militant attempted to convince the Yezidi women to convert to Islam, those women decided to be quiet and silent in response to refusing his offer. At the same time, they were trying to avoid his rage:

> I looked in horror at Evin. She lowered her eyes and shook he head imperceptibly. "He's lying," she said. "Everything he's saying is one big lie." (…) "Is this what you want? Anybody willing to accept this fate should stick with her heretical beliefs. The decision is yours alone." A few girls whispered nervously. Personally, I didn't know what to make of his words. It was as if he were handing us a knife and asking us to plunge it into our own chests. Or those of our families. (…) "Speak after me," the ISIS man demanded. "Ashhadu alla ilaha illa allah-I declare that there is no other God but Allah. Wa ashhadu anna Muhammad rasulu allah-I declare that Muhammad is God's messenger." None of the girls said anything. We looked at the floor to avoid his furious glare. "I'm warning you. This is your very last chance!" He recited the profession of faith again. But again we kept staunchly silent. "Well, you have sealed your fate," he concluded. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 69)

Evin shook her head to convince her friend that the militant was lying and that their Yezidi belief was not heretical. At the same time, she abstained from responding, knowing that he would punish them. Farida also considered his offer of attempting to convert them to Islam as giving them a knife and asking them to plunge it into their chests. The militant recited the shahada and asked those women to repeat after him.Those women remained silent and said

nothing. The militant glared at them and warned them to repeat after him again, but the Yezidi women did not.

Although refusing to follow the orders and demands of their captors brought them more violence and consequences, it also brought them some victory. The Yezidi women described rejecting their captors as a process that sometimes brought them some triumph. Nadia said those Yezidi women were winning even during their most challenging situations. She also said that the militants were desperate in their demands of asking those women to convert and become wives to their militants, and those women did not. Rejection was not the only way that those women used with their captors. Yezidi women also used violence to turn their captors down to create more hope:

> "We were winning even in our toughest situation. And ISIS members were desperately asking us to convert to Islam, and we did not." (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 117)

The use of violence might cultivate and encourage it more (Gandhi, 1991; 2001). Going through violence might also generate more latent violence that might burst on any occasion or reason (Gandhi, 2001). The violent scenarios that Farida went through encouraged her to always think of using violence as the only solution to her case. On more than one occasion, Farida attempted to commit suicide. To prevent her captors from attempting to rape her, Farida saw the idea of attempting to commit suicide to get rid of her crisis:

> No, I would not allow that to happen a second time. Looking around the room, I caught sight of a hook in the ceiling. The fan, which had probably once been attached to it, was missing. Perfect! A hook, a veil, I calculated coolly, what else did I need to take my own life? This time I wasn't thinking of escape. Although there was a window, I didn't even

entertain the idea that I might use it to get away. I was just too depressed for a cunning plan like that. I lacked the energy and confidence. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 125)

Her constant use of violence as the only solution later made her more hopeless. Farida also sometimes reacted to her captors with the same frame that her captors used with her for revenge. With her acts of violence, she confirmed the idea that the use of violence might lead to more violence by others. The use of violence was always putting those women in worse situations.

The use of violence during conflicts will also slow down or completely prevent progress (Gandhi, 2001). Muzumdar also affirms the same idea by saying that we must cultivate the spirit of behaving nonviolently in our lives and act to avoid reactionary violence (1923). Each time Farida and her friends used violence, their captors would punish them by selling them to the worst militants. Selling them to harsher and more cruel people made those women suffer a lot. They would later realize the consequences of their acts and regret them. In their jail in Raqqa city in Syria, Farida and Evin were constantly attempting to run away by violating the rules, and when sold to Abu Haitham and Eleas, those two Yezidi girls preferred staying in their jail in Raqqa rather than being owned by Abu Haithem and Eleas. In another scenario, when Abu Arram sold them to Emir Zeyad, the commander of a group called 'The Beasts,' Farida and Evin again regretted their acts. They tried to run away from Abu Arram, but after selling them to Zeyad, they hoped to return to Abu Arram. Using violence always brought them back to a zero point as if they were starting it from the beginning. For these reasons, we need to act better and plan during our crisis to prevent ourselves from more punishment:

"So, think you can make a fool out of me, do you? I'd already heard about two of you; you're really insufferable. But now you'll go somewhere that you'll never escape from!"

> After giving us a sound thrashing, he whipped out his cell phone and dialed a number. "Emir Zeyad? Salam alaikum!" The men exchanged a few pleasantries. Then Abu Arram came to the point. "You told me to get in touch when I had some virgins for sale." Evin and I exchanged worried glances. "Yes, two: eighteen and twenty-four years old. A little old? Ha ha, yes, I knew, but they 're hot and feisty. Look, I'll make you a special offer!" He darted vicious glances at Evin and me. "Perfect. See you in a couple of hours!" Abu Arram ended the call. "You'll be begging to come back here," he predicted. And unfortunately, he was right, because Abu Arram had sold us to the chief of the Bater division in the Syrian desert. His unit was also known as the Beasts.(Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 114).

This quote, as many others in this section, points to a critical limitation of placing acts of civil disobedience solely into the comic frame. Unlike Gandhi and others whose protests against political injustices were carried out in acts of civil disobedience, these women may use the tactics of civil disobedience, but they were never given a choice. They would face violence, abuse, and injustice no matter their actions. As such, one may consider the narrative accounts of these acts of civil disobedience as operating through a comic frame insofar as they convey a sense of hope. But one must also recognize that the roots of their civil disobedience were always operating within a wider tragic frame, propelled by unavoidable reality.

The use of civil disobedience with our opponents to deal with our issues and concerns is preferable (Gandhi, 2003) to minimize their use of violence against us (Roberts, 2012) during critical situations (Gandhi, 2001). Otherwise, the old ways of thinking of using violence with authority might take us nowhere (Alexander, 1968) to compromise our rights (Gandhi, 2001; Heisenberg, 1968). According to Gandhi, the nonviolent acts and understanding attitudes helped

Indians gain their freedom from Britain by convincing them of their rights (Gandhi, 1991). In our case, when Nadia and other Yezidi women shouted and screamed on the bus to reject what Abu Batat, an ISIS militant, was doing to them, later in Mosul, Abu Batat and other militants decided to punish Nadia for her acts. They started to punish her by pushing light cigarettes against her body. At a point, Nadia could not go under that pain anymore and asked them to leave her alone. Despite being an unethical act yet, Nadia realized that reacting to her opponent's act of burning her body would encourage them to do more to her in case she tried to shout again. For that reason, Nadia decided to go under the pain to prevent further violence:

> Why did you scream?" Nafah tightened his grip on my hair. I was terrified. I felt my body, which had always been small and thin, practically disappear in his hands. I told myself to say whatever I had to for them to let me go back upstairs to Katherine. "I was scared," I told him honestly. "This guy in front of you"-I gestured toward Abu Batat- "touched me. The whole trip from Solagh, he was touching us." (…) "What do you think you're here for?" Nafah repeated what he had said on the bus. "You are an infidel, a sabiyya, and you belong to the Islamic State now, so get used to it" Then he spat in my face. Abu Batat took out a cigarette, which he lit and gave to Nafah. Please don't put it out on my face, I thought, still concerned, back then, with being pretty. Nafah pushed the lit cigarette into my shoulder, pressing it down through the fabric of the dresses and the shirts I had layered on that morning, until it hit my skin and went out. The smell of burned fabric and skin was horrible, but I tried not to scream in pain. Screaming only got you into more trouble. (…) When he lit another cigarette and put it out on my stomach, I couldn't help it – I cried out. "She screams now, will she scream tomorrow?" Abu Batat said to the others. He wanted them to be even harsher with me. "She needs to understand

what she is and what she's here for." "Leave me alone, and I won't do it again," I said. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 127-128)

Controlling her rage allowed her to avoid further punishment that her captors pushed for by torturing her. Her patience and awareness allowed her to avoid more violence and build more hope. On the other hand, we see later how those civil and peaceful acts of those women would bother their captors and irritate them more.

According to Carlson (1986), the only way to build our movement and plan against our opponent is to allow our opponent's control of the controversy, which will help better assess and understand their attitudes and viewpoints (Gandhi, 2001). By assessing and understanding their intention, we can be more flexible in finding easier ways to manage an agreement with them (Gandhi, 2001). This act of flexibility in their conversations with their captors later allowed Evin and Farida to agree with Amjed and later with Azzad to prevent taking Farida away from her friends. In their conversation with Amjed, they realized that Amjed was also not keen on taking Farida with him to another military camp. Knowing that fact made their mission easier to convince him to sell her to Azzad:

I'm not that keen on taking her anyway," Amjed said bad-temperedly. "This girl is really no fun at all; she'd just be a mill-stone around my neck." (…) "Then asked around the camp to see if someone wants to buy her," Evin suggested. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 155-156)

Knowing the authority's views might also help us understand their weaknesses and later use them from within to force the system to become its own worst enemy (Carlson,1986). By listening carefully to his conversation, Nadia realized that Hajji Salman was continually

threatening her with punishment if she tried to run away. His constant worrying words about running away gave Nadia some hope to plan for that:

> Hajji Salman was constantly trying to warn me about escaping. “If you try, Nadia, you will regret it, I promise you,” he would say. “The punishment won’t be good,” His constant reminders gave me some hope. He wouldn’t have been so worried unless some girls had managed to escape their captors. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 168)

By listening to Nadia learned more about her case and her captor's weaknesses. She stated that learning of her captor's weaknesses and worries gave her some hope. That level of awareness helped her to understand her captors better. Gandhi also confirmed the importance of nonviolent acts to learn more about our captor’s weaknesses.

Nonviolent resistance helped Gandhi and his followers gain knowledge to identify the power within the system and how to resist it (Burke, 1984; Carlson,1986). Identifying the weaknesses of their captors without sinking into the same evil errors helped Gandhi’s followers change the social structure with less possible severe consequences (Carlson,1986). Although the case of the Yezidi women is entirely different than what Gandhi went through, those women became more aware of their case and their opponents the moment they learned more about them. Those Yezidi women were always trying to learn more about their captors and characters to better deal with them. Farida was referring to young ISIS militants and how they were more serious in their way of preaching Islam. They were using various means to turn those women down. That knowledge and awareness helped those women know how to deal with their captors and their constant demand for conversion:

> Some, especially the younger men among them, took the ISIS ideology very seriously. They really believed they’d joined a God-fearing outfit and were fighting for a just cause.

> As they regarded Islam-or their interpretation of it-as a panacea, they thought it capable of solving all problems. These young boys were utterly naïve and blinded. Even when they beat us after such shows of defiance, so we wouldn't dare repeat them, they believed they were serving their God and doing good. When will they finally wake up, I wondered. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 150).

We better walk toward our freedoms when we adopt nonviolent acts (Roberts, 2012). With more efforts to confirm the importance of nonviolent actions in our attitudes and behaviors with our competitors, we create more real freedom and walk towards it (Gandhi, 2001). One way towards achieving that is by turning our potential power and energy more positively toward attaining our lifesaving goals (Carlson,1986). In our case, the goal for those women was to turn their inner energy towards better planning for their escape and survival. We gradually saw how Farida and Evin were making changes in their way of dealing with their captors to build pieces of hope. Instead of constantly spending their energy on confrontations with their captors that would end them in more violence, suffering, and restrictions, those women started to deal with their cases more carefully. We saw them later at the military camp, agreeing to move toward the goal with their captors. They started to direct their potential power and energy toward knowing how to communicate with their captors to build more hope:

> I watched him stretch his arm out toward me again. His fingers touched my lips. When he tried to push my jaws apart my heart started thumping like mad. It seemed as if he wanted to check the quality of my teeth. I was reminded of the livestock market in Kocho, this is how the men would check donkeys and cows before buying them. "Quite meticulous, aren't you?" his friends quipped. Instinctively and out of the blue, I bit him as hard as I could. The man yelped and pulled his hand away. The finger was bleeding. (…) When we

were driving through Tal Afar, a Turkmen city in the east of Sinjar (between Mosul and Sinjar) we were all gripped by an anxious hope to meet our mothers. But soon when we realized that the bus wasn't going to stop there either, there was renewed agitation among us girls. "Stop!" some cried. "Let us out!" But I knew that they wouldn't let us go voluntarily. So I tried smashing the window with my hand. I slammed it with all my strength, causing a loud noise that our guards heard too. But the window remained intact, and my hand hurt terribly. (…)"I've got an idea," Evin whispered to me when Amjed had left. What? "We'll ask Azzad to buy you." (…) Could we convince him to save me? (…)"I'll put it to him, "Evin said. "I mean, we've got nothing to lose."(Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 71, 76, 156)

Here we see how those women changed their way of dealing with their captors from confrontation to negotiation to better planning for themselves. They started to walk toward their goals by being more rational and resilient in their acts. Gandhi also reminded us that people who adopt nonviolent acts in challenging times are brave (2001).

People who challenge the violence of their opponents with nonviolent acts should be brave and know how to work through the most challenging situations (Gandhi, 2001). Evin was more mature during their crisis, and most of the conversations with their captors were happening through her. She was brave and quiet, carefully dealing with her concerns. We also saw her as more patient and more confident in her actions. Her friend, Farida, considered her a symbol of hope for herself. Evin was always diplomatic in her dialogues with her captors to find better excuses and claims. When Zeyad attempted to punish Farida, Evin interfered and convinced Zeyad that Farida was sick and did not speak Arabic to protect her. In another situation, when ISIS militants were persuading them to leave their heretical beliefs and join the justice of their

faith, Evin shook her head to say that the militant was lying. Later at the military camp, Evin was again diplomatic in her dialogues with her captors, Azzad, to convince him to re-buy Farida:

> I spat at him, but only caught his clothes, unfortunately. He wiped away the spit with his hand. “Don’t get cocky,” he said, slapping me. “Otherwise, I’ll take you again right now.” It was meant as a threat. But I can’t say that it particularly frightened me at that moment. Something inside me seemed to have died. I didn’t react and stared obstinately at the floor. “Hey, do you understand me?” he said. “She doesn’t speak Arabic,” Evin said. “Who asked you?” “She’s my sister.” “So tell me, how come you speak such good Arabic, then? If she’s your sister she must have learned it at school too!”“I taught myself,” Evin lied. (…).I looked in horror at Evin. She lowered her eyes and shook her head imperceptibly. “He’s lying,” she said. “Everything he’s saying is one big lie.” (…) “Now we need your help.” Azzad frowned. (…) “What can I do for you?” he asked cautiously. “You’ve got to buy Farida back,” Evin said. “Otherwise, Amjed will take her with him to Raqqa.” Now Azzad stared at us in disbelief. “Does Amjed know of your plan?” he asked. “No, but I think he’d be open to it,” Evin said. Azzad turned to me and I lowered my gaze in shame. “I’ll think about it,” he promised. “Please don’t take too long. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 69, 121, 157).

Evin was more aware of her acts with her captors. She was also optimistic in her attitude toward the case. Her actions would also help others stay optimistic.

Civil resisters should also be aware of their optimism and pessimism in changing social injustice (Burke, 1984; Carlson,1986). Muzumdar also confirms that patience and optimism are essential for dealing with our issues (1923). However, we also must know that optimism might still not always solve all our social crises and issues (Carlson,1986):

> “You know better than all the others that my sister is seriously ill,” Evin implored him. “Please let me stay with her. Farida won’t survive without me. “I’m not that keen on taking her anyway,” Amjed said bad-temperedly. “This girl is really no fun at all; she’d just be a mill-stone around my neck.” “Then asked around the camp to see if someone wants to buy her,” Evin suggested. Although supposedly I didn’t understand a word of Arabic, I gave my friend an angry look when she said this. But then I realized that Evin’s strategy made sense. In the logic of these men there were only two possibilities for us to stay together: either Amjed bought Evin-which I considered most unlikely, as he wasn’t a particularly rich man and, in any case, he’d had quite enough of me-or he found someone else in the camp to buy me. I was nauseated by the idea of having to put up with another man, irrespective of who he was. But in principle, Amjed seemed to find Evin’s suggestion a good one. (…) “You might find someone interested in Farida,” my friend said, looking so mischievous that I was confused. What was she up to? “I’ve got an idea,” Evin whispered to me when Amjed had left. What? “We’ll ask Azzad to buy you.” (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 155-156)

Evin was dealing with two cases at the same time. She first planned to convince Amjed to sell her to another captor. She then told her friend it was time to talk to another militant called Azzad and ask him to buy her. Of course, she also successfully convinced Azzad to buy Farida, and that act saved her friend from going to another military camp.

Another point for nonviolently resisting our opponents is to avoid violating their rights and values as human beings while defending ourselves (Carlson,1986). We should resist the errors of our opponents instead of violating their rights (Gandhi, 1991). Otherwise, violating the rights of people is a weapon of the weak (Gandhi, 2001). Muzumdar affirmed the case by stating

that the only way to truthfulness is by adopting nonviolent behaviors in our acts and attitudes towards others (Muzumdar, 1923). Resisting the mistake instead of the person will help us keep the distance quiet by avoiding the individual (opponent) but not their mistakes (Carlson, 1986). Some Yezidi women kept fighting for their rights against their captors' unethical acts. Farida's way of always resisting her owner, Amjed, and his unethical acts towards her, made him later irritated and quit attempting to convince her. When Amjed decided to move to another military camp, he ahead of time was determined to leave Farida behind. According to him, Farida is a millstone around his neck. He also described her as a devilish girl, and he wanted to get rid of her:

> "I'm not that keen on taking her anyway," Amjed said bad-temperedly. "This girl is really no fun at all; she'd just be a mill-stone around my neck." (…) "No one's going to want this girl," he moaned, "because she's such a devil. My God, I really ought to have gotten rid of her long ago." (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 155-156)

Peaceful civil disobedience with nonviolent acts promotes a peaceful social change in our lives (Burke, 1984; Carlson,1986). Nadia planned to avoid her captors' violence against her while asking for a social change with her peaceful acts. She was peaceful in her acts with her captor, Hajji Salman, to avoid more violence from him. Nadia agreed to go with him to the court to claim conversion to Islam. She also started to listen to his orders at his house. Her peaceful and nonviolent acts sometimes made Hajji Salman less cruel to her. Nadia asked him to help her see her siblings, and to her surprise, Hajji Salman told her that he would try. He allowed Nadia to see her siblings because of her peaceful behavior with him:

> Since I had just converted, I thought maybe Hajji Salman would take pity on me and tell me what had happened to my family, so I asked him. "Please, just take me to see

> Kathrine, Nisreen, and Rojian," I begged. "I just want to make sure they are okay." To my surprise, he said he would try. "I know where they are," he said. "I'll make a phone call. Maybe you can see them, for a moment, but we will have to wait here for now. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 152).

Some of the Yezidi women regretted some of their previous attempts, and instead, they started to act with more awareness and patience. They started to be more conscious, aware, and less violent in their acts with their captors. Before their final successful escape, we saw Farida, Evin, and their friends at the military camp more conscious and civil in acting with their captors. They started to join their captors during their praying rituals. They also started to be more active in cleaning the containers of their captors. Those acts reflected the idea of how those women were calmly planning for their escape. They started to act more civilly to build more awareness of their environment and captors. With their civil disobedience acts, those girls challenged their captors and finally defeated them:

> Now the Muezzin was calling the ISIS soldiers to prayer too. The girls scattered. Soon afterward a man banged on the door. "Come on, it's time." He commanded. Wrapping their black veils around their heads they followed him outside. Evin explained to the man that I was too weak to take part in the obligatory prayer. He glanced at me and nodded. "But as soon as she's recovered, she's joining in," he said. "Of course," Evin assured him. "Who does she belong to?"As I looked through the window, I saw men kneeling on their prayer mats, the men carried out the Islamic rituals in sync. Behind them and slightly to one side stood the group of girls, strictly covered in black veils. They too were praying in the Islamic fashion. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 136).

Civil disobedience has more impact than violence because the authority gets tired (Carlson,1986). With harmless acts, we feel stronger and more confident in defeating our plights (Gandhi, 2001). The harmless attitudes always helped those women be more hopeful and walk toward the goal. We saw those Yezidi women harmless in their acts in various scenarios while ISIS militants asked them to convert to Islam and wives to their militants. Those women usually act nonviolently by remaining silent and refusing to follow their orders. Those acts would constantly irritate their captors and turn them down. In one scene, we saw ISIS militants pushing on those women to announce their conversion to Islam by declaring their shahada. They even recited the Islam shahada in front of them and told them to repeat after. The Yezidi women preferred to be silent and lower their heads to avoid the rage of their militants. Those acts of civil disobedience would help those women to irritate their captors and make them sometimes clueless and tired in their attempts:

> Speak after me," the ISIS man demanded. "Ashhadu alla ilaha illa allah-I declare that there is no other God but Allah. Wa ashhadu anna Muhammad rasulu allah-I declare that Muhammad is God's messenger." None of the girls said anything. We looked at the floor to avoid his furious glare. "I'm warning you. This is your very last chance!" He recited the profession of faith again. But again, we kept staunchly silent. "Well, you have sealed your fate," he concluded. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 69).

In his peaceful political opposition, Gandhi also promoted a term called satyagraha. Satyagraha means the capability to react to our opponents nonviolently (Gandhi, 2001). Satyagraha is about building our inner peace and impacting our behaviors in contact with others in our lives (Read, 1968). It is also considered a soul force that promotes nonviolent acts to resist the injustice of our opponents (Brown, 2012). The nonviolent acts during our crisis with our

opponents will help us continue moving towards the goal (Gandhi, 2001). Our understanding of satyagraha is important to avoid any acts of violence that might lead to more harm (Read, 1968).

In their prison, those Yezidi women were owned by their ISIS militants. According to ISIS laws, their owners were responsible for their sabaya and had the right to decide their fate. A Libyan militant called Jamal owned Besema and later decided to sell her to another militant from Saudi Arabian called Fahed. When Jamal asked her to go to Fahed, Besma refused the idea. She reminded Jamal that none of them owned her to follow their orders. Jamal suddenly gave her his weapon and asked her to kill herself if she did not like his offer. Besma took the weapon and threw it on the ground, asking Jamal instead to kill himself. Here we see how the idea of nonviolent behavior in her act of responding to her captor:

> Besma too soon found that her "owner" had changed. The Libyan Jamal had sold her to a compatriot. "Go to Fahed," Jamal told her. "You belong to him now." But she refused. "I don't belong to him and never belonged to you either," she protested bravely. "You've got no right to sell me." "Oh really?" he said, amused. He offered her his rifle. "Take it. Kill yourself if you don't want to go to him." Besma took the gun and chucked it on the floor. She knew he was just teasing her and that the gun wasn't loaded, which is why she didn't bother trying to use it. In any case, our desire to take our own lives had passed by this stage. The worst thing they could do to us had already occurred long ago. There was only one thing we wanted now: to survive this nightmare and bear witness. "Why should I do that? Kill yourself instead!" Besma said. (…) "Goodness me! I've never seen you so feisty!" Jamal laughed. Then he beat her until she was lying on the floor, groaning in pain. Besma still had to go to Fahed afterward. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 155-156).

Prisoners of Satyagraha should consider some cooperation with their captors to a certain extent (Gandhi, 2001). They must know where and when to cooperate with their captors (Muzumdra, 1923). Nadia did this with her captor, Hajji Salman, to avoid more punishment:

> It's time to pray," he said. "Cover yourself up so we can pray together." I couldn't recite the words, but I knew the movements of the Islamic prayer, and I stood next to him, trying to mimic exactly what he was doing so that he would be satisfied and not hurt me. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 165)

With Satyagraha, we abstain from violence, anger, or proposed injury in our acts towards our opponents (Muzumdra, 1923; Gandhi, 2001). In doing that, we follow the truth of God and our nonviolent behaviors as the light to that truth (Gandhi, 2001). Here we see why the Yezidi girls and their parents were referring to the idea of God, Tauwz Malak, bread, moon, and other concepts in the hope of always remembering their commitments in life by refusing to use violence in their acts even during the most challenging times:

> Tell Tawusi Malak what is bothering you," my mother told us, demonstrating the gestures, "If you are worried about someone you love, tell him that, or if you are scared of something. These are the things that Tawusi Malak can help you with. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 30)

In contrast to their captors, the Yezidi women used the comic frame by referring to their religious texts to remind themselves of their commitments to do good and avoid violence in their lives. The Yezidi women referred to the image of Tauwz Malak as a concept that holds answers to their questions brings comfort to their worries, and gives them the energy to get rid of their fears. They cultivated an act of peaceful, nonviolent behaviors and rituals in their life and did not want ISIS to interrupt them from continuing their peaceful life principles.

Satyagraha also means resisting evil actions through nonviolent action (Carlson, 1986; Gandhi, 2001). It advises us to carefully deal with our opponents with patience (self-suffering) and sympathy to avoid committing violence toward them (Gandhi, 2001). While ISIS was transporting the Yezidi women by bus from Sinjar to Mosul, Abu Batat, an ISIS militant, started touching those women and reaching his hands into their dresses by grabbing their body parts. Nadia describes the scene as an excruciating death to see a stranger savagely touching them. Nadia decided to stop him from doing that by grabbing his hand and crying. She resisted the evil work of her captor with nonviolent acts to show her rejection:

> Every second was part of a slow, painful death of the body and the soul-and that moment on the bus with Abu Batat was the moment I started dying. Now this stranger was touching me savagely, and there was nothing I could do. Abu Batat continued to walk up and down the bus, groping the girls who sat on the aisle, passing his hand over us as if we were not human as if he had no fear that we would move or get angry. When he came to me again, I grabbed his hand, trying to stop him from putting it under my dress. I was too scared to talk. I began crying, and my tears fell on his hand, but still, he did not stop. He had doing that to all the girls in the aisle. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 119)

Nadia described the scene as a painful death of their body and souls. The way Abu Batat was touching them was like when Nadia started dying from being unable to react. She was too scared to react and began crying due to what her captor was doing to her.

Satyagraha also means surrendering to the suffering of the situation but not to the brute will of the opponent. The Satyagraha suffering comes from people's strengths, not their weaknesses (Gandhi, 2001). People’s conscious suffering practice of nonviolence is realizing their inner peaceful power and strength that prevents them from committing violence under any

name or title toward their opponents (Muzumdar, 1923). Farida and Evin were real satyagraha going through by staying nonviolent and consciously suffering. They were patient and hopeful of surviving. At the same time, they always refused their captors' attempts to rape them:

> I asked Evin of what that man mean when he said who I belong to? Evin told me that every girl here is a "property" of someone at the base. The man who'd bought Evin was called Mahmudi, a middle-ranking commander. I asked Evin of who bought me? Evin said that no one bought me and instead The Emir gave me as a present to a person called Azzad, a young soldier. "I think he's all right," Evin said. "At least he's halfway friendly to us girls." I could barely imagine this to be true of an ISIS soldier, but I breathed a small sigh of relief. (…)Soon afterward Azzad called for me, something he'd never done before. Two of his comrades came to fetch me. I had a strange feeling as they accompanied me to his container. There Azzad was sitting on his bed, his rifle close at hand. He didn't beat around the bush; he was one of the few who knew I spoke excellent Arabic. "Farida, I want to take you as my wife," he said. I couldn't believe what I was hearing. I'd briefly regarded this man as my savior, but the spell had quickly been broken. How could I have been so stupid and so wrong about him? I realized that Azzad had only spurned me when I arrived in the camp because I was in such an appalling state. Now that I was better again, he saw things differently. He wasn't one iota better than the other ISIS men; he wanted to have sex with me. And like the others, he too was quite happy to use his rifle to claim his supposed right. I spat at him. "If you hurt me I'll kill you," I said slowly and in all seriousness. "Farida," he said, "It's not what you think. I'll marry you." "But I won't marry you! Do you understand? I'm not going to marry any of you pigs! I don't belong to you!" I rushed for the weapon beside him. It was a sudden

impilse that drove me. Azzad was completely taken by surprise and so couldn't react quickly enough. I already had the rifle aimed at him. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 138, 158).

In the beginning, Farida was happy to hear that her owner was half friendly with her friends. She looked at him as a survivor. Despite rejecting the idea of being owned by anyone, Farida accepted Azzad as her owner.She later realized that Azzad was not one inch better than other militants. Azzad forced her to his room and attempted to rape her. Knowing his intention, Farida spat in his face and warned him not to touch her. After realizing his intention, he rejected his immoral acts and was ready to kill him.

Gandhi also says that in the case of injustice and immoral acts, we must withdraw our cooperation, whether wholly or partially preventing the ruler from other wickedness (Gandhi, 1991; 2001). When the abusive treatment of our opponents touches our self-respect, we should abstain from cooperating and may even resist their evil deeds (Gandhi, 2001). We must fight to the furthest point when others insult us and use offensive language against us (Gandhi, 1991; 2001). When the evil work of their captors touched their self-respect, those Yezidi women decided to resist their captors. At one point, Nadia realized that she could not be silent anymore about what Abu Batat was doing to her. Nadia started to scream out of humiliation and suffering, and it was an excellent opportunity for other women to show their rejection of what Abu Batat was doing to all of them. Soon all the girls joined Nadia in screaming as well. The act made Abu Batat frozen and shocked for some time before shouting in action to stop them. Nevertheless, the girls did not listen to him anymore:

He later chose his favorite and he visited us most often and kept his hand on us longer, gripping us so hard, it felt like he wanted to tear our bodies apart. About ten minutes after

> leaving Tal Afar, I couldn't take it anymore. When I felt his hand on my shoulder again, I screamed. It tore open the silence. Soon other girls started screaming as well, until the inside of the bus sounded like the scene of a massacre. Abu Batat froze. "Shut up, all of you!" he shouted, but we didn't. If he kills me, I don't care, I thought. I want to be dead. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 121)

Farida did the same with her captor, Zeyad, when he returned and tried to rape her again. Farida was reluctant to see him and his smell after he assaulted her the day before. The moment she saw him she was frightened and tried to avoid him. Zeyad reminded her of his last night with her and started embarrassing her. In response, Farida spat at him and his clothes. Zeyad cleaned himself and threatened her with more punishment and humiliation. Farida defended herself to prevent her captor from raping her:

> I felt ill the moment I saw Zeyad's head in the door and took in his odor. My memory of the previous night returned painfully, and I started to quiver. I crept into the furthest corner of the cell, which appeared to amuse him. He followed me and stroked me under the chin with his forefinger. "So, my little one," he said, "how are you feeling today? It wasn't so bad, was it?" He laughed as if he'd just cracked a funny joke. I spat at him, but only caught his clothes, unfortunately. He wiped away the spit with his hand. "Don't get cocky," he said, slapping me. "Otherwise, I'll take you again right now." It was meant as a threat. But I can't say that it particularly frightened me at that moment. Something inside me seemed to have died. I didn't react and stared obstinately at the floor. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 121)

Those Yezidi women at those moments were Satyagrahis reacting to their opponents' injustice and immoral acts that touched their dignity and self-respect. They resisted the injustice

and wickedness of their captors to prevent them from abusing them. Their actions would sometimes irritate their captors, such as in the case of Farida with Zeyad, to punish them more. At other times, it would confuse their captors, such as in the case of Nadia and Abu Batat. When Nadia and the other women on the bus started to make a mass screaming in retaliation to Abu Batat's actions, their captors were silent and confused, at least for a few moments.

Patience and the nonviolent action of satyagraha allow us to differentiate between people and their evil works and later adopt a way to convert the situation without hurting people to end their acts of evil (Gandhi, 2001; Muzumdar, 1923). Gandhi emphasizes that human beings are not evil, but their works might sometimes lead to evil actions that affect the actors (Carlson,1986). He also advised us to understand the causes of a person into a crime and know how to treat the situation without punishing the person (Gandhi, 2001; Muzumdar, 1923). The whole point of this peace process is to turn our opponents into allies or friends instead of continuing to fight back at each other (Gandhi, 2001). When the Yezidi women in the military camp saw that Azzad, an ISIS militant, was slightly different from other militants, they started to think of building a friendship with him. Azzad oversaw feeding those Yezidi women in their jail in the military camp. Those captives sometimes had an opportunity to dialogue with him to ask for help. They saw Azzad as a good person but a victim of ISIS agendas (evil works). Those women tried to maintain a relationship with Azzad and considered him a halfway friend. Therefore, Evin saw him as the right person to help Farida in her crisis with Amjed. Evin and Farida decided to ask Azzad to re-buy Farida from Amjed to save her from moving to another camp:

> We'll ask Azzad to buy you." "Azzad?" I looked at Evin in astonishment. She was talking about my former "owner" the nice young man who brought us food. The same

> man who said that he regretted having joined ISIS and who, when I arrived in the camp, couldn't wait to sell me on, which we'd always interpreted as moral fiber. But perhaps it had just been awkwardness. Could we convince him to save me? (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 156)

Here we see the Yezidi women thinking wisely and working carefully to differentiate between the militants and their acts to use the situation in their interests better. That idea helped them see Azzad as different from other militants to communicate and compromise their issues and concerns with him. Those girls also used the wisdom of the comic frame to turn some of their captors into their side.

Gandhi also introduced us to another term called Ahimsa. He considered Ahimsa as an act of moral essence and the heart of his vision of adopting nonviolent acts toward others to achieve his goal in life (Brown, 2012). Ahimsa also adopts a positive and harmless state toward the evil-doer (Gandhi. 2001). With Ahimsa, there is no room for evil thoughts to offend others (Muzumdar, 1923). Instead, we must be aware of our means and ends and how that impacts the morality of our outcomes (Brown, 2012). In worst cases, Ahimsa means withdrawing, resisting, non-supporting, and non-cooperating with evil and immoral actions (wrong-doer) (Gandhi, 2001). The narrative of Farida and her friend and their nonviolent acts emphasizes the idea of Ahimsa. Those women sometimes rebelled by not supporting their captors and plans. At the same time, they were harmless to their captors. In their worst decisions and acts, they hurt themselves and not their captors:

> If Zeyad tries it with me again I'm going to kill myself," I told her. "You can't!" she implored. "You promised!" "If you're not with me anymore it doesn't matter, does it?" "Even if I'm not with you, you must never give this man power over your life like that.

> No matter what he does. We'll find a way out of here. I promise you. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 127)

As a soldier holding the principle and banner of the Satyagraha army, we must gradually change the situation (Gandhi, 2001). As satyagraha soldiers, we must also listen to our inner voice and constantly examine and obey our inner selves (Burke, 1984; Gandhi, 2001). Farida and Evin adopted the philosophy of satyagraha soldiers in their daily lives while in ISIS captivity by suffering and still putting more effort, which finally led to their successful escape. Farida acted as a soldier who believed in change and worked daily toward that. In her book, Farida described how her body was trapped in prison in a harmful environment and unable to escape from it. She also referred to how their souls were still flying free. No matter how harsh the situation was, her soul was still hovering for freedom. Farida was a real satyagraha soldier:

> Now I was in a world dominated by war, where I would be the victim of violence. I knew it was all a terrible mistake. I didn't belong here. And yet my body, at least, was trapped in this place and unable to escape it for the time being. Only my soul was able to roam freely, hovering somewhere above the room with the two Libyans. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 117)

Gandhi described satyagraha as a tree with two branches. One is civil disobedience, and the other is non-cooperation (Gandhi, 2001; Muzumdar, 1923). He connected the two branches to say that civil disobedience is an essential part of non-cooperation (2001), and both are names for the law of suffering (Muzumdar, 1923). With civil disobedience and non-cooperation with their captors and unethical acts, The Yezidi women were suffering but still creating hope. A militant attempted to convert those women into Islam by giving them a speech about Islam to convince them. Instead, those women preferred to be quiet and silent to reject his offer:

> Those of you who are prepared to convert to Islam can become the lawful wives of our fighters." The man cleared his throat. "This is a unique chance for you. Renounce your heretical beliefs! Recognize the one true God, Allah! Join our struggle!" He looked around to gauge the effect of his words. But if he'd been expecting signs of interest or even agreement, he was disappointed. None of us stirred. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 68)

According to Carlson, civil disobedience means nonviolently not cooperating with unfair laws and policies of our opponents (Carlson, 1986). For non-cooperation to happen, we must be knowledgeable and prepared; otherwise, non-cooperation might lead to more harm (Gandhi, 2001). Non-cooperation also requires that the person be able to sacrifice and avoid revenging upon the opponent to achieve the goal of their freedom (Gandhi, 2001; Muzumdra, 1923). According to Muzumdar, we can cooperate with the authority and non-cooperate with them where we must (Muzumdar, 1923). We should obey the orders and rules of the authority while abstaining from cooperating with the wrong actions (Carlson,1986; Gandhi, 2001). Some of the Yezidi women did this with their captors.

ISIS militants decided to teach those Yezidi women twice a week to learn about their Islamic religion. They also would give homework and ask them to memorize surahs and verses from the Quran. ISIS militants were hoping to turn those women to their side. However, those women knew how to deal with the situation to prevent that action from happening. The Yezidi women were not cooperating with their captors. They also rarely thought about hurting their captors. The girls rejected the idea of participating in the Muslim prayers and refusing the concept of learning the Quran only to protect their identity. The Yezidi women did not cooperate

with their captors. Instead, they turned their captors down in their attempts to convert them into their side:

> This was always our "homework." We had to learn by heart the sections of text we'd read together. At the next session the teachers would test us, caning anyone who couldn't recite the verses. Usually, everyone was beaten because none of us had any desire to adopt their faith. Given all that we'd had to endure, that really was asking too much. But the ISIS men were genuine fanatics; they actually believed that they could summon magical powers just by uttering the surahs, somehow mysteriously drawing us over to their side. Oh, how wrong they were! With everything they tried to funnel into our minds, they were merely fueling our rejection and contempt. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 153)

Non-cooperation is a self-reliance act of self-suffering and patience to abstain from participating in any form or shape of violence while moving towards our goals (Muzumdar, 1923). In the case of civil disobedience, non-cooperation might happen in three ways: First, opposing or resisting is valid when it has power (strength) behind it (Gandhi, 2001). Those Yezidi women resisted their captors but were powerless, so their captors did not consider their opposition. When those Yezidi women at the slave market refused the idea of being sold to ISIS militants, the militants used the tragic frame to force them to accept their new rules and laws. Nadia described the scene at the slave market in Mosul by saying that they heard the commotion downstairs where ISIS militants were registering and later picking their captives. She said that the act was against their will, and they even screamed to prevent the act. However, their reaction was useless and did not stop the militants from selling, buying, and owning them:

> The slave market opened at night. We could hear the commotion downstairs where militants were registering and recognizing, and when the first man entered the room, all

> the girls started screaming. It was like the scene of an explosion. We moaned as though wounded, doubling over and vomiting on the floor, but none of it stopped the militants. We begged and screamed as loud as we could uselessly. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 136)

The lack of power sometimes made it hard for those women to make their point. They were stuck in an issue that was bigger than them. The reality of having ISIS in charge made those women suffer a lot to move toward their freedom barely.

Second, another reason for non-cooperating is when the oppressed party has a fearless nature and looks forward to liberty (Gandhi, 2001). Here we saw Yezidi people with different attitudes. Some were scared, and others were learning not to cooperate. We saw Farida and her friends, step by step, become more bold, fearless, and ready to do whatever it took to gain their freedom. That fearlessness made Farida and her friends more aware of their crisis, and according to that, they started to build their plans. That act also helped them not to cooperate with their captors. After shooting their males, ISIS threatened those women with punishment if they violated their rules and orders. Those women at the beginning were scared. The moment they realized that they were more precious goods for the militants to kill, some of those women started to get rid of their fear and became more aware of their crisis:

> They'd threatened to shoot us if we tried to escape. And we'd believed them. But now it struck me that all their threats had been hollow. They'd never have shot us. We were far too precious goods for that. But fear had prevented us from realizing this. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 88)

Those women realized that they were precious sabaya for ISIS. They also realized that the goal was to enslave and later convert them to Islam and wives for their militants. That fact

gave more courage to such women as Farida to defy their will, challenge their captors, and try to find an opportunity to escape.

Third, non-cooperation might also happen when the case is immoral and unworthy of tolerance (Gandhi, 2001). ISIS killed their families, and the goal was to use those women as sabaya and convert them to Islam and wives for their captors. That is why those women were not tolerant and not cooperative and ready for any consequences to avoid ISIS plans. After arriving in Raqqa city in Syria, ISIS put them in prison. ISIS militants later came and asked them to form a group, but those Yezidi women ignored their orders. When the militants used force to form a line of those women, they resisted and screamed. Although the militant used more force to arrange them finally, those women did their best to non-cooperate with their captors:

> "All you new ones, stand together in a group!" our guard ordered. We ignored his command. A few girls turned to face the wall. Others tried to escape into the rooms at the back. It was a hopeless act of resistance, as the men with their rifles barely allowed us to move a centimeter. "Enough shenanigans," the Palestinian said, calling us to order. "You're now going to line up like good girls. Hurry up!" His helpers dragged us to the middle of the room and tore the scarves from our faces. We resisted and screamed. But they beat us with such brutality that we shut up. Terrified, we stayed where the men had put us. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 75-76)

The Yezidi women attempted not to cooperate with their captors and rejected their orders. ISIS militants used more violence to force them to accept their new reality. Despite that, some of those women were fearless and decided to abstain from cooperating with them. ISIS was an evil system whose goal was to destroy everyone to build their own.

The women in captivity were helping each other to keep being hopeful. Evin adopted the principle of satyagraha to help Farida. She would always help her to overcome her crisis. She always was by her side to support her in her decisions. When in trouble, Evin would interfere to defend Farida in her issues. Because of that, sometimes, her captors would punish her for helping and supporting her friends. When Zeyad attempted to punish Farida, Evin defended her by trying to convince him that Farida was sick and did not speak Arabic to understand him. In another scenario, when a militant asked Farida to go with them to pray, again Evin interfered in the situation by telling the militant that Farida was still sick and she would join them when she felt better:

> He loosened his belt in preparation for a thrashing. “It’s not Farida’s fault,” my friend said, coming to my defense. “She’s ill. (…) Soon afterward a man banged on the door. “Come on, it’s time.” He commanded. Wrapping their black veils around their heads they followed him outside. Evin explained to the man that I was too weak to take part in the obligatory prayer. He glanced at me and nodded. “But as soon as she’s recovered, she’s joining in,” he said. “Of course,” Evin assured him. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 121, 136)

Evin was always supporting her friends in their crises. She sometimes would see herself scapegoating to help her friends. She decided to steal a Sim Card from the phone of one of the militant’s bag packs while they were cleaning his room. She also later stole a phone from a room used for storing items of militants who be killed in battles. Evin did all that to help her friends to find a way to escape. Those women were helping each other to fight their hopelessness and find a way to run away and survive:

> I almost cried for joy. “Evin,” I whispered in excitement. “A phone!” “Let’s see whether it’s got a SIM card first,” she said, checking my enthusiasm. “We are only going to the SIM card.” The SIM is the most important thing. (…) If we wanted to succeed, we mustn’t rush. We had to act smartly and with consideration. (…) Evin and I already had an idea where we might find the phone we so badly needed. There was a room where the ISIS soldiers stored items seized from the enemy: clothes, munitions, boots, backpacks, and with a little luck- the dead men’s cell phones too. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 166 - 167)

If we believe in the cause, we must rejoice in the situation's slow torture, suffering, and discomfort and not claim to be tired or irritated while moving (Gandhi, 2001). The cause for those Yezidi women was protecting themselves and their identity. They refused any attempt to try to humiliate them. They also rejected any offers asking to change their faith:

> We fell silent. Each of us sank into our own, gloomy thoughts. But one thing was clear to us all: if an ISIS fighter decided to make us his wife, our life was over. We would bring disgrace to our families and be cast out of the community. No Yazidi man would want to marry us afterward. It must not come to that. For that we bore a responsibility to ourselves and the honor of our families.(Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 70)

Those women said that no matter how severe their crisis was, there was one thing they were not ready to negotiate about it. They resisted their captors while attempting to rape them. They also protected their loyalty to their families and community and rejected the idea of conversion. They saw themselves as responsible for protecting themselves and their identity against what ISIS was planning.

As noted earlier, the examples in this section show how civil disobedience can through a comic frame rhetorically craft hope. But these specific examples also show the limits of locating civil disobedience solely in the comic frame. For Gandhi, enacting civil disobedience is different from such a scenario of people being captives during wars and genocides. Gandhi was a political activist protesting Britain and its political policy in his country. He was freely moving from one place to another to claim the idea of civil disobedience against his opponents. In the case of Yezidi women, the situation was completely different. Those women were captives under the rules of an extremist terrorist group called ISIS. ISIS was forcing them into such acts as rape and conversion.

**The Tragic Framing of Civil Disobedience**

For this reason, we see how those women struggled to balance their cases with their captors. The moment those women decided to be more civil and peaceful in their acts with their captors, we would see how the situation would draw them to the idea of the tragic frame. Although the tragic frame is not what I am planning to touch on in this study to reflect on how those women talked to their captors to communicate hope, I will briefly refer to that to show how the depth and width of the civil disobedience sometimes made those women turned it into the consequences of the tragic frame.

To adopt the idea of civil disobedience, we must also be fully aware of its implications because, in such a violent environment, it might still have a more negative impact on the victims than solving the issue (Gandhi, 2001). The Yezidi women saw that their civil disobedience acts sometimes brought more hopelessness to them. No matter what those women did to minimize their punishment and suffering, ISIS's goal was to convert and make them wives for their militants. Another fact about the issue is that the conflict from the beginning was about social

identity. Social Identity conflicts always bring misunderstanding and consequences to the situation, and Yezidi women were victims of that. That is why we saw that even using the comic frame with their captors was sometimes not working. Those women were struggling to convince their captors of their rights. In the case of Nadia with her captors, we saw her acts of civil disobedience to defend herself brought upon her more humiliation and raping:

> "At some point, there was rape and nothing else. This becomes your normal day. You don't know who is going to open the door next to attack you, just that it will happen, and that tomorrow might be worse." (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 186)

Nadia described her case by saying that at a point in time, there was nothing but raping. Nadia said she did not know when the door would open and who would attack her next. She also said that all her peaceful and civil acts did not help prevent her captors from acts of raping and humiliating her. They saw her as a sabiyya, a sexually enslaved woman, and later forced her into conversion and becoming a wife for their militants. Another negative factor that civil disobedience brought upon the Yezidi women was the idea of seeing themselves listening to their captors.

While informing their captors of their mistakes, some Yezidi women sometimes saw themselves listening to their captors and their desires instead of convincing them of their mistakes. While trying to convince her captors of their mistakes nonviolently, Nadia sometimes saw herself listening to her captors. Nadia suddenly saw herself getting more humiliation and punishment from her captors. Nadia claimed that she started to listen to her captors to avoid the worst that those militants were able to do to her without being questioned about it by others. She suddenly saw herself using a tragic frame of limiting her rights and freedom to her opponents. This is again another factor that we must be careful about while using the civil disobedience of

Gandhi's theory. Instead of protecting herself, the civil disobedience acts made her more vulnerable to her captors and of course, more hopeless.

Nadia said she was peaceful in her acts and never fought her captors back. Whenever a militant attempted to rape her, Nadia would close her eyes, wishing it would happen soon. Opposite to what the other girls were doing by punching and biting their captors, Nadia was only crying. Nadia said that, although she was not brave enough to fight as other women were, that did not mean she approved her captors to rape her.Here we see the act of civil disobedience was taking Nadia too far before preventing her captors from hurting her. She was a victim of the limits of the tragic frame. Her captors' acts confused her with how to make a boundary of where to stop and where to fight:

> I have never admitted this to anyone, but I did not fight back when Hajji Salman or anyone else came to rape me. I just closed my eyes and wished for it to be over. People tell me all the time, "Oh, you are so brave, you are so strong," and I hold my tongue, but I want to correct them and tell them that, while other girls punched and bit their attackers, I only cried. "I am not brave like them," I want to say, but I worry what people would think of me. Although I didn't fight back the way some other girls did, it doesn't mean I approved of what the men were doing. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 162)

Another aspect of Gandhi's theory says that a perfect satyagraha must be ready to strive, sacrifice and suffer to the end for their cause without any intention of hatred against the opponent (Gandhi, 2001; Muzumdar, 1923). Gandhi also said they must sacrifice with a smile on their lips rather than hatred in their hearts (Gandhi, 2001; Muzumdar, 1923). The idea of perfect satyagraha is impossible to apply to the case of those women who were captives by such a brutal extremist terrorist called ISIS. How would those women sacrifice with a smile on their lips, and

ISIS was attempting to rape them and ask them to convert! Besides these aspects, there is more than the civil disobedience theory asks the victims to adopt.

For this reason, I would say that this aspect of civil disobedience is not fully containedunder the umbrella of the comic frame. It is an act of the tragic frame that some of those victims adopted. Besides being victims of the depth and width of civil disobedience that falls under the category of the tragic frame, the Yezidi women, like their captors, also sometimes used the tragic frame to face their captors. While reading these two collaboratoive books and later analyzing them, I realized that some important pieces of quotes and texts reflect the idea of using the tragic frame by those women in the way in which they were talking to their captors to create hope. Future research could be looking at the tragic frame by referring to some of these interesting examples here of how the tragic frame is used in their dialogues with their captors to create hope. I will refer to some quotes and their analysis in the hope of using them in the future.

One aspect of the tragic frame is the idea of rejection. According to Smith & Voth (2002), the tragic frame is a rejection frame because it sometimes views attitudes and actions as vague and lacks understanding. The Yezidi women rejected every attempt from their captors for any reconciliation. Those women, in their attempts, sometimes made their captors desperate and hopeless in their demands:

> We were winning even in our toughest situations. And ISIS members were desperately asking us to convert to Islam and we did not.A militant who had earlier been poking through our scarves with his gun walked over to me with his weapon in his hand and asked me “Will you convert?” I shocked my head. “If you convert you can stay.” He said. He also told me that if I convert, I can stay with my mother and sisters and also tell them to convert too.” Again, I shocked my head. I was too scared to say anything. “Fine.” He

stopped smirking and scowled at me. “Then you will get on the bus with all the others.” (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 162)

Those Yezidi women would always reject their captors and their demands. They were not only fighting for their rights but also their families and community. In their crisis as captives, they tried to convince their opponents that the Yezidi faith was important to them and asked those militants to respect their social and religious rules. They not only rejected their captors and their demands but also sometimes decided to use force against their captors to prevent them from hurting them.

According to the tragic structure, social change is impossible without the use of violence (Burke, 1984; Carlson,1986). The frame enforces an already existing cosmic social order and fights all doubts opposing that (Burke, 1984; Carlson,1986). Some women were ready to use force against their captors who attempted to violate their rights. They also used violence against their captors, who attempted to violate the rules of their community.

Using violence by those Yezidi women would always bring more punishment, such as in the case of Besma and Farida. Besma told her friends that she was strong and would fight back if her owner tried to rape her. She decided that she was not weak anymore to allow her captors to control her fate. This time she was out of fear and decided to use that to prevent her captor from raping her. She tried to stab a pair of scissors in the chest of her captor while attempting to rape her. Here we see those women using violence to break their fear:

Besma showed us a pair of scissors she'd found while cleaning her "owner's" container. "The next time he tries it on me, I'm going to kill him," she declared. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 162)

Besma's act of violence brought her more violence from her captor. Her captor was stronger and resisted her attempt, which later caused Besma to receive a more severe punishment. Despite her punishment and suffering after her first failed attempt, Besma smiled under her tears and said that she would do it again, and this time, she would kill him:

> When they brought Besma back into our container, her "owner" had beaten her to within an inch of her life. Her face was red and swollen, while her back, bottom, and legs bore the bloody welts of the belt he'd thrashed her with. My little friend was crying. In spite of this, I had every reason to be proud of her. With her scissors, Besma had actually tried to stab the man's heart while he was raping her. "I did it," she muttered beneath the tears as we attended to her wounds, "It almost worked." She sniveled and smiled and said, "I'll try it again," (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 164)

When they brought Besma back to her container, she was in a miserable situation. Her face was red and swollen, and blood on her back and legs. She was crying out of pain. Despite her suffering, Besma smiled beneath her tears, feeling proud of what she did and promising her friends that she would repeatedly try it till she succeeded. She was determined to use violence despite its consequences to build hope to gain her freedom.

Some of those women would purposely sometimes violate the rules to irritate their captors. The Yezidi women in the military camp tried to violate the religious rules that state that women should always be veiled. Those women went outside of their container unveiled to gather to pray. That act confused the militants and later caused a punishment for those women:

> On another occasion I managed to convince the girls to turn up to prayer unveiled. Alarmed, the pious men covered their eyes with their hands when we stepped out of the container. Some, especially the younger men among them, took the ISIS ideology very

> seriously. They really believed they'd joined a God-fearing outfit and were fighting for a just cause. As they regarded Islam-or their interpretation of it-as a panacea, they thought it capable of solving all problems. These young boys were utterly naïve and blinded. Even when they beat us after such shows of defiance, so we wouldn't dare repeat them, they believed they were serving their God and doing good. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 150)

Seeing those women unveiled confused the men and made them cover their eyes. Those women refused to follow the order and even violated them to get rid of their fear, irritate their captors, and make them desperate in their attempts.

We must remember that although the act of violence is hostile and might bring more violence to us, it might sometimes also help to project the case better. The actions of violence might always have consequences, but it sometimes helped those women break their fear and become more aware of their surroundings and their case. It also helped them learn more about their captors and how to focus on their weak points. When Azzad attempted to mess with her, Farida reminded him that she would kill him if he tried to hurt her. She spat in the face, later used his rifle to kill him, and finally kicked his wound. Although it sometimes caused her more punishment, Farida was out of fear, and that helped her to learn more about her captors and their weaknesses:

> I realized that Azzad had only spurned me when I arrived in the camp because I was in such an appalling state. Now that I was better again, he saw things differently. He wasn't one iota better than the other ISIS men; he wanted to have sex with me. And like the others, he too was quite happy to use his rifle to claim his supposed right. I spat at him. "If you hurt me I'll kill you," I said slowly and in all seriousness. "Farida," he said, "It's

not what you think. I'll marry you." "But I won't marry you! Do you understand? I'm not going to marry any of you pigs! I don't belong to you!" I rushed for the weapon beside him. It was a sudden impulse that drove me. Azzad was completely taken by surprise and so couldn't react quickly enough. I already had the rifle aimed at him. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 158)

Violence also sometimes allowed those Yezidi women to make their opposing arguments with their captors. They sometimes defied their captors' violence and arguments with violence and opposing views. Through her opposing arguments, Farida hoped to plant doubt seeds in her captors' minds. Farida and her friends would always remind the militants that their actions were wrong. They started to recite surah from the Quran that opposed what ISIS was doing. The purpose of those arguments was to turn their captors down and prove how wrong they were in their actions toward those women:

"Don't you understand that the rules here are different from the world outside? You can't change them. You'll be punished for what you did just now; I will make sure of that." "So what?" I said. "I'll never abide by your rules! And if there's the slightest trace of honor left in your body, then you shouldn't do that, Azzad." He said nothing. He couldn't argue with me. And this pleased me. Perhaps I'd succeeded in planting a hint of doubt in his ISIS brain. Perhaps this seed would germinate one day. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 161)

The Yezidi women used opposing views to tease their captors and irritate them. ISIS militants reminded those women that ISIS's rules differ from those of the world outside, and there is no way to change them. The goal behind those words was to threaten those women to quit resisting. However, those women kept fighting for their rights. Farida reminded Azzad that

she would never abide by the rules of ISIS. She also told him that he should not follow those rules if he had a tiny bit of honor left in his body. Their argument ended there, and Farida felt a sense of victory after turning Azzad down by being silent. Farida even said that she thinks that she planted seeds of doubt in his mind, and those seeds might stop him one day from following ISIS.

Those women would also oppose them by making arguments to prove them wrong by telling them that their laws are not God's law and even not related to Islam but rather ISIS made them. The Yezidi women faced ISIS claims with the same claims to show how false their claims were. ISIS used religious claims that gave them the right to kill and convert people. On the other side, the Yezidi women responded to their claims with verses from Quran that showed the opposite. The goal was to build doubts in their minds about how wrong they were:

> Their objective was to proselytize us; mine was to sow doubt in their minds about whether they really knew their religion, by confronting them with the same religious texts they were serving up to us. "Your religion does not permit you to impose your faith on us," I told them through Evin, as we were still pretending that I didn't understand their language. "The second surah says: "There shall be no compulsion in the religion." Are we supposed to learn this by heart but ignore its meaning? What kind of ridiculous piety is that?" The man seemed slightly rattled. Evin backed me up, citing another place in their holy book. Right at the end, in the 109th surah, it says, "For you is your religion and for me is my religion. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 150)

The Yezidi women said that ISIS's goal from their arguments was to preach their faith, while those women's goal was to plant seeds of doubt in the mind of their captors to test their knowledge about their religion. Those women were using verses from Islam to oppose those

militants' arguments. They told them their religion did not allow them to impose their faith on others. Farida, through Evin, reminded those militants with a verse that says there shall be no compulsion in religion. Then told the militants why they did not follow that verse. By those opposing arguments, the Yezidi women were turning their captors down. Sometimes we would see such militants as Azzad indirectly referring to how those women were winning their battles.

Sometimes those militants would get desperate to convince those Yezidi women of rules and orders. In an event where Farida threatened her owner, Azzad, with his weapon and later kicked his wound, Azzad told her that ISIS would not be able to defeat the Yezidi community if all the Yezidi men dared to fight like her. Farida's reaction proves that sometimes people might face acts of violence with another violence:

> If all the Yazidi men had fought like you, I bet we wouldn't have defeated them," Abdul Hamid said, amused. "You didn't defeat us," I corrected him. "You took away our weapons and sneakily lured us into a trap. That was terribly cowardly of you. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 160)

Farida reminded him that ISIS did not defeat them. Instead, ISIS cheated the Yezidis by taking their weapons and saying nothing would go wrong. She even described the trapping of her community by Sunni Arabs and ISIS as a cowardly act. We also saw some Yezidi women using violence to prevent their captors from raping them.

Some Yezidi women also used violence in reaction to their captors' attempts to rape them. Farida, under any consequences, would never surrender to her captor's way of trying to rape her. She would commit violence against her captors and even herself to prevent the act of rape. Besma did the same by trying to stab her captor to prevent him from raping her.

While attempting to rape them, those women sometimes would fight back to the best of their abilities. Nadia discussed how some Yezidi women would use various ways to resist and prevent ISIS militants from enjoying them:

> Women tell stories about how they fought against their attackers, how they tried to beat away the men who were much stronger than them. Although they could never have overtaken the militants who were determined to rape them, their fight allowed them to feel better after the fact.: There's not one time that we let them do it quietly," they say. "I would resist, I would hit, I would spit on his face, I would do anything." I heard of one girl who perpetrated herself with a bottle so that she would no longer be a virgin when her militant came for her, and others who tried to light themselves on fire. After they were free, they were able to say proudly that they scratched so hard at their captor's arm that they drew blood, or they bruised his cheek while he was raping them. "At least I didn't let him do whatever he wanted," they would say, and every gesture, no matter how small, was a message to ISIS that they did not truly own them. (Murad & Krajeski, 2017, p. 162)

Farida also confirmed the same idea of resisting her captors. She described herself as not an easy prey to allow her captors to rape her. When Amjed, Farida's owner, forced her into his container to rape her, Farida would fight him back. She screamed and hit him with all her strength to spoil his fun. She felt proud to resist her captor instead of being an easy victim. She resisted by making him tired out and losing the urge before it happened:

> Subsequently, Amjed forced me into his container on several occasions. Each time I fought with him: I screamed, bit him, thrashed around, and used all my strength to spoil

his fun. I had no desire to be an easy victim; I wanted him to tire himself out and lose the urge before it happened. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 149)

The earlier information mentioned about the comic frame adds to the process of building hope during wars and genocides. Although Burkean theory favors the comic frameto deal with matters that should and *can* be improved, there are instances where the comic frame could not sufficiently encompass the rhetorical strategies for rhetorically crafting hope that are conveyed in these accounts of survivorship. At times, some of the Yezidi women saw themselves moving between the use of the tragic and the comic frames to protect their ability to convey hope.

To conclude, the injustice and heinous acts of the situation made those women lose energy and hope at different points. Nevertheless, some of those women decided to be more flexible and resilient to risk by adopting alternative ways to sustain hope in their lives to survive no matter which frame they would use and how unbearable the consequences would be:

> "I'm not coming with you," Sumeya said, looking shamefully at the floor. "Please understand me; it's too dangerous." I looked at her aghast. "You're not serious?" "If they did anything to my mom I'd never be able to forgive myself." "Sumeya's right. I'm not coming either," Reva announced. They nodded. "It's a reckless plan. I'd advise you to abandon it too. They've set up guards around the camp. And if they see you they'll shoot," Sumeya warned. "Maybe," I said. "But it's a risk we have to accept, or we'll remain slaves forever. (Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 175)

Some of those women went through harsh situations of punishment and humiliation to finally produce a plan to escape. Farida and her friends were finally able to put a successful plan together. After reaching outside by calling Evin's uncle, those women started to put more pieces of hope together to encourage and motivate each other and finally build their plan. They started

to realize that their only way to survive was by running away from the military camp and then calling the cellphone number that Evin's uncles gave them:

> "All the same we have to try," I said. "You heard what Evin's uncle said. Our only chance is to break and then call this man."(Khalaf & Hoffmann, 2017, p. 172)

Those women, with their resilient and flexible acts, have carved a tunnel of hope, as Gandhi said, through the dark mountain of disappointment. They finally built confidence and rekindled hope that led to their freedom (Gandhi, 1991; 2001). The Yezidi women started to put those broken pieces of beats together to get re-energized to work forward. This time, they were more determined to take their decisive step to escape. In the end, some of those Yezidi women gained freedom and survived. They finally built hope in their lives by joining their families and community. Some lost hope and ended up their lives, or ISIS killed them. Some others decided to stay with ISIS and build a new hope in life. Some are still stuck in the middle and looking for an opportunity to join their families.

Unfortunately, some new hopes no longer have the same hopes and dreams. Many of them lost their families after being killed by ISIS. Now they must walk alone, building and creating new hope for themselves and the coming generations by raising their voices to let the world know what happened to Yezidis. Their stories tell us to remain hopeful to survive no matter how unbearable the situation is. It also informs us of how we talk to our opponents during wars and genocides to remain hopeful. I want to end this chapter by referring to a statement from Gandhi referring to the idea of freedom. Although his feet were tired, he said his soul rested (Gandhi, 2001, p.76). To apply what Gandhi was saying to the case of those Yezidi women, we saw them while suffering in their captivity using a metaphorical statement referring to the idea of how their bodies were stuck in that place. However, their souls were still freely hovering over the

place to symbolize their struggle to remain hopeful during the crisis. We also saw those girls running away from the military camp at night with bare feet and eagerly walking toward their freedom. This time, their feet were tired. However, their souls were at rest, full of hope (high hope), enthusiastic, and eager to walk toward meeting their beloved ones (family, relatives, friends, and community).

# CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This study is an important endeavor to show how in books about genocide and war that are built on personal accounts and experiences, surviving victims communicate with their captors in ways that aim to create and sustain hope for themselves, and others like them.In the literature review, I discussed the process of building hope in our lives and during the critical crisis of natural disasters such as illnesses. This study adds to that literature by learning more about how hope is crafted during wars and genocides through using rhetorical frames.

My analysis focused on how minorities, specifically women who go face violence and abuse in wartime, might use rhetorical frames in their dialogues with their captors to create hope. I applied rhetorical tools to the case of the Yezidi genocide by ISIS and focused explicitly on the Yezidi women. To better investigate the sense of hope in their dialogues with their captors, I applied the rhetorical method of Kenneth Burke's comic frame to analyze the texts of these women's narrative accounts of their wartime interactions with captors allowed them to build more hope.Specifically, the analysis demonstrated that there is a significant connection between adopting the comic frame and the process of communicating hope through its five elements (logic, quirks and foibles, rational discourse rather than using violence, social order, and civil disobedience).

**Logic**

The logic and reasoning of the comic frame helped those Yezidi women to develop causality (to avoid fallacies and follow the process of cause and effect) from the available information about the situation to become more aware of their captors and their crisis. By the time the Yezidi women learned more about the situation and their captors, they also became more logical in their attempts. They did not wait anymore for the moon or the loaf of bread to

give them hope. They learned more about their captors and their plans, and out of that, they started to build pieces of hope. Using logic and reasoning also helped them act more patiently and be more reasonable in their thinking.

The new awareness and learning about their captors helped those women build more logical, ethical, and correct arguments. They started to face their captors with the right responses to remind them of their mistakes, how unethical their view was about others, and the importance of correcting that. They reminded ISIS militants of their Islamic religious rules and laws and how Islam promotes freedom of religion, not compulsion. With logic in their arguments, those women would maintain hope and become more optimistic in their attempts to make the right change and plant seeds of doubt in the mind of their captors. Using logic and reasoning in assessing their captors and their crisis also helped them overcome their fear.

The use of logic and reasoning helped those Yezidi women get rid of their fear. When they got rid of their fear, they started to build more hope from their conversation with their captors. Learning more about their case also helped them eliminate their fear and become more optimistic about making the right choice and change. The sense of getting rid of their fear and becoming more optimistic helped them assess the situation better to arrange their plans. This awareness helped them identify their opponents' weak points and mistakes and benefit from them in their dialogues with their captors.

**Quirks and Foibles**

The Yezidi women started to argue by providing evidence reminding their captors of their mistakes, hoping to change the case. They sometimes referred to the mistakes of their captors to plant some seeds of doubt in their hearts and minds. They also started to benefit from those mistakes in their arguments.

In addition to learning about their captors' mistakes, the level of awareness and experience also helped those women to recognize their own mistakes and the importance of better considering them. Some of them became more resilient in their acts to overcome their mistakes. They learned that sharing family information with their opponents was wrong and had consequences. Learning from their mistakes also helped them act with more resilience to find better ways. The same act also helped them build more self-awareness and confidence to assess better and reconsider their attitudes. Instead of sharing their family information with their opponents, they learned the importance of getting information from their captors to be more aware of their captors' attitudes. This learning process also helped them be more rational in their dialogues with their captors to create more hope in their acts.

**Rational Discourse Rather Than Using Violence**

The Yezidi women realized the importance of rationality in their dialogues with their captors to build hope in their crisis. Rationality helped them be more aware of their attitudes while talking to their captors, even sometimes to avoid violence. It helped better to see the social imbalance between them and their captors, and they started to compromise for themselves. They compromised with their captors for a piece of the solution instead of the whole thing to survive. For that purpose of social imbalance, some of those women saw the importance of using communication contexts to express themselves better.

The rationality of the comic frame helped those women to better use communication contexts of positive communication messages and communication competence messages in their dialogues. They used those communication contexts in their dialogues with their captor to better express and promote themselves and their arguments to build and sustain more hope during their crisis. The above forms of rationality and consciousness allowed those women to see and regret

some of their previous mistakes and decisions and later considered them to act with more awareness.

The rationality and consciousness made those Yezidi women later more aware of their mistakes and decisions in their dialogues and acts with their captors to create more hope. They regretted the act of allowing ISIS to break the bond of social relationships between them. Their awareness later allowed them to protect their social connection against their captors' evil ways of attempting to separate them. The same awareness helped those women to consider better their captors' mistakes to change the balance in their dialogues. It even allowed some of them to get rid of their fear to understand their crisis better and deal with it. That rationality even opened their eyes to other small details of their surroundings.

That consciousness and rationality made those women more aware of their surroundings and way of dressing. At a point in time, that sense of consciousness and rationality helped those women to realize the importance of their Islamic veils and niqabs for their plans to survive and later escape. Rationality and consciousness at a point in time made some of those women consider some social consubstantiality with their captors.

**Social Order**

There was a social identity conflict from the beginning between those Yezidi women and their captors. Nadia was referring to the idea of how Hajji Salman was targeting the social order of her community and was enjoying the sense of destroying their social order. On the other hand, the Yezidi women were doing their best to defend and protect their families, community, and religious identity.

Despite their crisis, the social order of their community was always the main hope for them. That sense of family and community for those women was more significant than any threat

and any other form of violence their opponents would commit against them. That loyalty to their community was sometimes why some of those Yezidi women kept fighting and planning for their lives and freedom. Some of them sometimes were ready to do whatever it took and how much it took to get rid of their crisis. Their love of their community had no borders to a point while they were suffering in their crisis, some of those women still imagined their old life, families, and days. Their only hope was again rejoining their families and community. That sense of social bond from their previous life was also a source of hope that motivated them to resist their captors and remain hopeful in their crisis—adding to that, some of those Yezidi women were also attempting to find alternative ways to convince their captors of their rights.

The Yezidi women knew that their captors' goal was to erase their community's image from the face of the earth and force them to accept Islam. Despite their opponent's goals, those women realized the importance of adopting some alternative ways to better deal with their captors and their crisis as a part of their new reality to compromise for their rights. To protect themselves and their social order, the Yezidi women sometimes considered the idea of reacting with some positive and constructive behavior, attitudes, and acts. The goal was to create a more constructive social environment that would better promote such qualities as patience, non-violence, self-restraint, truth, and reconciliation between them. For that reason, we saw some Yezidi women sometimes adopted the idea of consubstantiality in their identification with their captors. The goal was to avoid the idea of their differences and to oppose identifications to keep the door open for more dialogue. They were hoping that the idea of building some common ground with their captors might allow them to avoid their division and be more flexible and resilient in their reactions to coming up with some better solutions. Those Yezidi women, with

their acts, attempted to decrease the social tension and support the idea of some convergence of views.

As a part of their goal of reducing the social tension, some of those Yezidi women would always refer to Islam's prevailing status and values in the hope of changing the violent attitudes of their captors. They sometimes also used an acceptance strategy of respecting Islam as a possible factor to convince their captors of their mistakes, hoping to stop them from violating their rights. In their crisis with ISIS militants, those Yezidi women would always refer to the laws of Islam and surah from the Quran to remind their captors of how their acts contradict their Islamic morals and laws. They considered this aspect to differentiate between the wrong acts of ISIS and the moral values of Islam. Despite their controversial arguments with ISIS militants, we saw the Yezidi women defending the name of Islam against what ISIS was adopting. Nadia referred to the idea of respecting Islam as a religion with its social order, but at the same time, she referred to the mistakes that ISIS militants committed under the name of Islam. They were trying to say that although they are Yezidis, they still respect and have knowledge of Islam and Muslims. Overall, the Yezidi women used different ways and means to protect their social order and lessen their captors' violations and humiliation committed against them.

**Civil Disobedience**

Civil disobedience helps us see the importance of how to react to our opponents; otherwise, we might fail to act or even adopt a bad reaction. One factor for creating civil disobedience is how conscious and aware we are of our acts. The act of awareness helped some of those Yezidi women put more effort into considering the importance of their proper actions with their captors. When an ISIS militant attempted to convince the Yezidi women to convert to Islam, those women decided to be quiet and silent in response to refusing his offer. At the same

time, they were trying to avoid his rage. Although refusing to follow the orders and demands of their captors sometimes brought them more violence and consequences, it also brought them some victory. Nadia said those Yezidi women were winning even during their most challenging situations. She also said that the militants sometimes were desperate in their demands of asking those women to convert and become wives to their militants, and those women did not. Rejection was not the only way those women reacted to their captors' unethical demands. Some Yezidi women sometimes used violence to prevent their captors from deciding their fate. With those acts, those women were acting like satyagraha warriors.

The conscious suffering practice of satyagraha enabled those Yezidi women to turn their inner energy into more positive and sometimes nonviolent acts that helped them act with more care, patience, and confidence. Those women also turned their inner energy towards how to make more impact in their dialogues to create more hope. Those acts allowed them to understand their captors and intentions better and be more flexible and resilient to react. It also helped them become more optimistic in their actions. Those acts of self-suffering made those women feel more rational, reasonable, strong, patient, and confident in challenging their plight and captors.

The acts of civil disobedience also helped those women realize the importance of sometimes cooperating with their captors to a certain extent to avoid violence. At the same time, they abstained from cooperating with their captors' unethical and immoral acts. Some Yezidi women kept fighting for their rights against their captors' unethical acts.When the evil work of their captors touched their self-respect, those Yezidi women decided to resist their captors with their best. At those moments, they were Satyagraha reacting to their opponents' injustice and immoral acts that touched their dignity and self-respect.

Burkean frame scholars favor the comic frame for rhetorically framing issues in which people can invest hope and consider the possibilities for change. Through its five elements, the comic frame allowed us to see how those Yezidi women were talking to their captors, allowing them to create a sense of hope in the midst of war and violence. However, the most complex of the comic frame applications -- civil disobedience -- demonstrated the limits of Burke's comic frame. We saw that the comic frame was not the only frame used by the women, at times switching to a tragic frame to create hope. Future research might build on the short discussion of tragic framing in this thesis to consider other ways in which tragic framing can – counter to how we tend to think about the rhetorical functions of a tragic frame – lead to rhetorical constructions of hopefulness.

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