Research Article / Araştırma Makalesi

CULTURAL POSITION OF KURDS IN TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF MULTICULTURALISM

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Abstract
This study elaborates the cultural position of Kurds in Turkey and their relations with the Turkish culture in the context of the Multiculturalist Approach. Answers for the following questions are sought: "Are cultural rights required by Multiculturalism granted to Kurds in Turkey?" and "Has the Kurdish Issue in Turkey has grown independent from ethnicity?" Multiculturalism stipulates unity of many (in one many). According to Multiculturalism, the limit of a collectivist culture is the point where it threatens another. As it will be seen throughout the study, Kurds in Turkey are given legitimate rights as required by Multiculturalism. Furthermore, the Kurdish Issue in Turkey has become independent from ethnicity. The reason for this is that problems that Kurds (economic, social, security, etc.) experience are more or less similar to those experience across Turkey.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Kymlicka's Multiculturalism Approach, Kurds in Turkey, Kurdish Issue, Cultural Position of Kurds in Turkey

ÇOKKÜLTÜRLÜLÜK BAĞLAMINDA TÜRKİYE'DEKİ KÜRTLERİN KÜLTÜREL DURUMU

Öz
Bu çalışmada Türkiye'deki Kürtlerin kültürel durumu ve Türk kültürü ile ilişkisi Çokkültürlülük Yaklaşımı bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Çalışmada yanıtı aranan sorular şunlardır: "Türkiye'deki Kürtlere Çokkültürlülük'ün gerektirdiği kültürel haklar verilmiş midir?" ve "Türkiye'deki Kürt Meselesi etnisiteden bağımsız bir hal almış mıdır?" Çokkültürlülük çeşitliliğin birliğini (in one many) öngörür. Çokkültürlülük'e göre bir toplumsallık kültürünün limiti, bir başkasını tehdit ettiği noktadır. Çalışmada görüleceği üzere, Türkiye'deki Kürtlere Çokkültürlülük'ün gerektirdiği meşru haklar verilmiştir. Ayrıca Türkiye'deki Kürt Meselesi etnisiteden bağımsız bir hâl almıştır. Çünkü Kürtlerin sorunlarının (ekonomik, sosyal, güvenlik) az ya da çok benzerleri, Türkiye'nin genelinde de bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çokkültürlülük, Kymlicka'nın Çokkültürlülük Teorisi, Türkiye'deki Kürtler, Kürt Meselesi, Türkiye'deki Kürtlerin Kültürel Durumu

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Introduction

Answers are sought for the following questions in this study: "Are cultural rights required by Multiculturalism granted to Kurds in Turkey?" and "Has the Kurdish Issue in Turkey has grown independent from ethnicity?"

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, culture is the "traditions" or "civilization" of a group or a community. If culture means the "traditions" of a group, then all clusters of lifestyles, social movements and voluntary unities which can be observed in any modern society have their own "cultures". Even societies that are known to be homogenous are in a sense "multicultural", since they harbor a series of different unities and groups on the basis of classes, gender, sexual preference, religion, moral believes and political ideology. [1]

In UNESCO's (*The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*) 1982 Cultural Policies Mexico City Declaration, culture is defined as "a complicated whole of moral, material, intellectual and emotional features characterizing a group or society differentiating in terms of not only arts and literature, but also lifestyle, fundamental human rights, value systems, traditions and beliefs."[2]

Culture structures, shapes and gives content or identity to individual personalities. It attaches individuals into a group and identifies them. In addition, every culture is a system of rules. [3] According to the definition proposed by Cupach and Canary, culture builds a group of levels that concretize certain determinative traditional systems, beliefs, ideas, values, norms, rituals, and symbols for individuals who come across them in a society.[4] Culture is a form of re-presentation grounded on a "cultural

lens", but not defined permanently.[5] Cultural interactions change and transform basic norms, individual and group-based identities. Every cultural situation necessitates new rituals, symbols and the change of their meanings as well as transformations at intellectual level.

Cultures affect each other to such a great extent that there is not any meaningful way to say where a culture starts and where another ends.[6] Minimized into the basic race and ethnic relations, they emerge as minority issues. When culture, which offers a model for life, concentrates on race and religious relations and sharpens differences to bring them into the forefront, conflicts are observed to rise. In situations where economy comes to the forefront, economic obstacles limit cultural living spaces.

The first view pertaining to culture, *essentialism*, is the most common one. The second view, which can be named after *processual*, resembles a concert performance where musicians improvise in historic terms rather than a photocopier[7].[8] As Hall reminds, culture is communication, and communication is culture".[9] When culture is tackled in a processual manner, adaptation to a new situation starts in the scheme of individual or collectivist culture as a result of any interaction. This process may emerge as either rejecting this new situation or accepting and adapting to it.

Cultural approaches affect intercommunal hierarchies. From the perspective of essentialism, a society's development was in the past evaluated by its ethnic/racial and frozen symbols. In processual terms, however, variability of culture, which was not therefore relatable to unchanging symbols – came to the top of the agenda. Although it has decreased compared to the past, it can still be observed at certain points that race refers to hierarchical superiority in some discourses.

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[5] Tatel, Carlos P. "Non-Western Peoples as Filipinos: Mediating Notions of "Otherness" in Photographs from the National Geographic Magazine in the Early 20 the Century". *Asian Anthropology*. Chinese University Press. 61-78.

[6] Kymlicka, Will (1998). *Çokkültürlü Yurttaşlık*. Abdullah Yılmaz. (Trans.) İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yay., p. 165.

[7] The allegory of photocopier here points at the means of transporting cultures in their fixed form. And the improvised performance of musicians is used to describe the variability of cultures.

[8] Baumann, Gerd. (2006). *Çokkültürlülük Bilmecesi Ulusal, Etnik ve Dinsel Kimlikleri Yeniden Düşünmek*. Işıl Demirakın (Trans.). Ankara: Dost Yay.

[9] Kalliny, Morris & Ghanem, Salma. (2010). "Teknolojinin Arap İletişim Tarzına Etkisi". Gülüm Şener (Trans.). Zeynep Karahan & Can Bilgili (Ed.). *Kırılan Kalıplar 2: Kültürlerarası İletişim, Çokkültürlülük*. İstanbul: Beta Yay., p. 233.

Most exclusivist interactions that are based on not recognizing a living space for the 'Other' results in oppressions. It would not be wrong to deduce that in the essence of this exclusivist aptitude against the Other there are building blocks reinforced by negative memories in the constitution of stereotypes besides cautious or sometimes hostile approaches against the unknown. Oppressing the other and not granting them the right to life or limiting their living spaces are products of selfishness feeding from ignorance. In this regard, borders are formed for the purpose of distinguishing between internal and external in the build-up of the sovereign,[10] while the Other is associated with negative images in order to ensure integrity of the definition of Self as well as provide ideological grounds for this definition. The emergence of conflicting and exclusionist approaches as a result of this construction is therefore not a surprise.

Social distance between different socio-cultural groups and social comparisons between them are the two significant factors determining the alienation trends of societies.[11] The fact that individuals do not have the power to choose the environment they will live in when they are born proves that the initial cultural environments they will be exposed to is outside individual will. It is wrong from every perspective to hold an individual or a community composed of individuals responsible for a nonvolitional situation, and to try to legitimize practices that are depriving them of their right to life. It is essential to implement the notion underlying the logic of the fundamental human rights, "the limit of freedoms is where they violate another right to freedom" in the relations between groups/communities as well.

In the nonvolitional situation where individuals become part of a society by birth, is the approach of limiting/destroying the life of the Other – seen as illegitimate – legitimate in volitional preferences? If these preferences do not result in limitation or

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[10] It is referred to as the legitimate power-holders in a society. The appearance of the Sovereign has changed over time in the shape of religious administrations, kingdoms, constitutional monarchies, and democratic governances.
[11] Karahan, Zeynep Uslu. (2010). "Tarihin Siyam İkizleri Türkler, Kürtler ve Medya". Zeynep Karahan & Can Bilgili (Ed.). ***Kırılan Kalıplar 2: Kültürlerarası İletişim, Çokkültürlülük***. İstanbul: Beta Yay., p. 25.

destruction of the life space of the Other, then they cannot be legitimate. If a new cultural formation or a partial or full preference of a group/individual does not usurp the cultural life space of the Other, there cannot be found a legitimate ground for the limitation of this preference within the logic of human rights and collective rights.

The aim of this study is to understand cultural position of Kurds in Turkey. Are they exposed to discrimination in current Turkey in 2020? Were which rights given to Kurds in cultural context? These questions will be answered in the article. Moreover, it will be understood that Kurds are not discriminated in Turkey around 2020.

In this study multiculturalism is firstly mentioned. Then Will Kymlicka's theory is analyzed in the cultural context. Kurds' cultural position in Turkey is explained; and lastly the Kurdish Issue is analyzed in the context of Multiculturalism.

1. Multiculturalism

In order to better comprehend multiculturalism, it is necessary to show the distinction between assimilation, pluralism and multiculturalism. According to the definition adopted by many scholars, discrimination is treating individuals belonging to a certain group in a way that is improper to their qualifications or in other words, it is the exposure of equal people to unequal treatment.[12]

According to the theory called the pluralistic ignorance[13], individuals may maintain similar prejudices without directly expressing and they may carry these prejudices into their behaviors. This is what social psychologists call "covert" racism. Researches in Britain, France, Netherlands and Germany put forward that "covert racism" feeds on three basic resources: Defending traditional values, exaggerating cultural differences and confining to these differences.[14]

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[12] Schnapper, Dominique. (2005). *Sosyoloji Düşüncesinin Özünde Öteki ile İlişki*. Ayşegül Sönmezay (Trans.). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay., p. 216.
[13] According to this theory, people who are questioned about the possibility of making regulations to fight against racist prejudices, explained that they were ready to accept suggested amendments, yet others would argue against this.
[14] ibid., p. 155.

Individuals tend to leave aside what justifies their prejudices and to shun what does not justify them as well. Since prejudices against certain groups are based on experience and are not questioned, they survive from generation to generation.[15]

Assimilation refers to dissolving groups and their cultures into a single dominant culture. Pluralism, on the other hand, allows ethnic and racial differences to develop until the point where they do not threaten the dominant culture and norms (Qin, 2011). The expectation of the assimilation-prone politics is that ethnic and racial differences continue their existence in a designated area and that individuals comply with common rules in public spaces (Schnapper, 2005, p. 195).

Whether assimilation will emerge or not depends on how the dominant society defines itself. If the dominant society is built in a way that allows differences, assimilation does not emerge. However, in case it is not a society tolerating differences, integration efforts will turn into a process of assimilation. The reason for this is that integration if differences are only possible through moving away from self and dissolving into the dominant culture of the society.

Very few scholars give up on the concept of plural society and adopt the concept of pluralism (Schnapper, 2005, p. 255). Characterized by fragmented structure and dividedness, the concept of plural society can perfectly be implemented on colonial societies as well as the particular colonial type of society (without metropolis) observed in South Africa[16] where apartheid dominates[17].[18] Pluralism enables ethnic and racial differences to grow until where they will not threaten the dominant culture and norms.[19] However, not any protective response is found in pluralism with regard to situations where minority cultures are threatened by the dominant culture.

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[15] ibid., p. 134.

[16] Political order in the case of South Africa is based on the declared status inequality of two or more groups.

[17] Apartheid: Race discrimination.

[18] ibid., p. 240.

[19] Qin, Xiao-lei. (2011). "Multiculturalism in the Current American Society". *US-China Foreign Language.* 9, 10. 666-672.

On the other hand, multiculturalism puts forward a new life philosophy: Unity of Diversity[20]. This refers to the fact that various traditions in a society do not seem as unified under a single heritage, yet many heritages as well as later-invented traditions can live in a single nation-state despite differences.[21]

Parekh defines multicultural society as "unity encompassing two or more cultural communities". The term multicultural refers to diversity of cultures, while multiculturalism is a normative explanation of reality.[22]

Dominant cultures may bring multiculturalism in compliance with its body and incorporate differences without causing assimilation.

Equality of opportunity does not mean equality in results. Sowel reminds the fact that choosing a group over another unavoidably leads up to discrimination against that group.[23] In this context, if nation-states that are based on granting privileges to a certain group wish to sustain their existence, then they have to exhibit policies to change the perception of the ones feeling as the Other/community/group/minority the lack of such privileges.

With Hall's words, multiculturalism is the demand for gender, ethnic and religious equality against discrimination on the one hand, and on the other, the demand for acceptance and recognition of differences against universalized equalitarianism within the framework of centrality of a certain cultural form.[24]

Multiculturalism reveals as a search for a "midway" reconciling concerns of citizens for their acquired rights as well as identities and a new form of assiduity for their collective commitment. In this regard, multiculturalism propounds different aspects of a multicultural world via intercultural communication scrutinizing cross cultural and cross race communication, as well as interaction between people from different cultural localities, representatives of different nations, races or a culture dominating

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[20] It is written in the article as *in one, many*. However, it is localized as "unity of diversity" to give proper meaning.
[21] ibid.
[22] Meer, Nasar. (2010). ***Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism, The rise of Muslim Consciousness***. UK: Palgrave Macmillan., pp. 27-28.
[23] Schnapper, Dominique. (2005). ***Sosyoloji Düşüncesinin Özünde Öteki ile İlişki***. Ayşegül Sönmezay (Trans.). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay., p. 221.
[24] Karahan, Zeynep & Bilgili, Can. (Ed.). (2010). ***Kırılan Kalıplar 2: Kültürlerarası İletişim, Çokkültürlülük***, İstanbul: Beta Yay., p. 5.

by numbers and members of common culture in the same nation, and interaction between ethnic groups.[25]

In a striking statement, "*We are all multiculturalists now*" says Nathan Glazer to propound that multicultural politics adopted in many educational institutions today is the cost of the failure in integrating Black people in the American society.[26] At the right time and in the right environment, social tensions emanating from failure in fulfilling the demands for rights in compliance with human dignity evolve into a situation where generally these demands are necessary to be fulfilled – exceedingly – in time.

Is drawing lines or setting bounds to a certain culture in multiculturalism not a pluralist practice that may turn into an apartheid regime? And would not this create a paradox? In response to this question, first of all, we need to tackle the issue of the "system where differences can coexist" defined within the framework of multiculturalism. From this perspective, the fact that a culture is free to the extent where it does not threaten another's living space – it is necessary to limit that culture at the point where it causes a threat – does not create a paradox that is mistaken with pluralism. Since the basic targeted system is that different cultures live together without extorting others' living spaces, borders are necessary so that multicultural environment is sustained in the system of multiculturalism. If any situation that would hinder the existence of another culture is allowed, this would definitely create a conflict with the model itself. Therefore, this would turn into a classical radical situation. In pluralism, cultural flexibilities and changes are not given as much space as in multiculturalism. Pluralism offers a layout where certain formulaic blocks coexist, and it is fragmental. In multiculturalism, on the other hand, it is contrarily important that people live in an order where there is respect for the Other and their rights are granted instead of differences existing in blocks. Blocking brings along

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[25] ibid., p. 6.
[26] Schnapper, Dominique. (2005). *Sosyoloji Düşüncesinin Özünde Öteki ile İlişki*. Ayşegül Sönmezay (Trans.). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay., p. 357.

exclusion and alienation. Multiculturalism, yet is more embracing and underlines the requirements for honorary, peaceful life promoting coexistence.

Full members of a sovereign institution are "under the protection" of a government and they are separated from people who cannot benefit from the rights of "full membership". Women, slaves, servants and unqualified men, non-Christians and non-white races were always excluded from the sovereign institution and citizenship project in the history. Members of these groups were absolute "adjuncts of the state" in Kant's famous words[27]. Today, these "adjuncts" have to a point where it is very difficult to define them as mere adjuncts. Each passing day, the demands for multiculturalism are increasing and diversifying, while the need for multicultural regulations are put forward frequently due to the increasing challenge of gaining ground in dominant society or collectivism.

The manifesto of multiculturalism can be seen in many different forms: First of all, multiculturalism presents today's social structure based on demographic realities in an imposed manner *(fait accompli).* It is the heterogenous situation of social realities. It is based on very important data with various origins, phenotypes and cultures. Multiculturalism affects economy, politics and social systems as an ideology and doctrine. As a new moral order, it pushes society by means of socio-cultural equality. Multiculturalism is a manifesto to determine a stance against political, legal, and social inequalities. Multiculturalism further struggles against discrimination based on differences such as origin, gender or age and affects all fields of the society (such as education and media). It endeavors to ensure equality among social segments by concentrating on the definition of the Other. Rather than organizing differences hierarchically, it focuses on organizing them in equal terms.[28]

The basic line emerges from the struggle between collectivists and individualists. There is a distinction between the supporters of *hard* multiculturalism – which displays a holistic approach and *soft* multiculturalism which gives more importance to sub structures such as ethnic groups, national minorities, groups that emerge in an

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[27] Benhabib, Seyla. (2006). ***Ötekilerin Hakları Yabancılar, Yerliler, Vatandaşlar***. Berna Akkıyal (Trans.). İletişim Yay., p. 55.
[28] Qin, Xiao-lei. (2011). "Multiculturalism in the Current American Society". *US-China Foreign Language.* 9, 10. 666-672.

environment created by migrants, individuals, etc. While the first is methodologically an analysis of a fixed picture, the latter mostly puts forward a processual and a variable point of view. Thus, the second approach exhibits a more flexible and overarching attitude compared to the first.

Problems pertaining to the definition of multiculturalism can be overcome by means of bringing three basic limitations: 1) Multiculturalism is a phenomenon observed in society. 2) Multiculturalism is a state policy. 3) Multiculturalism is a form or ethic position in a comparative discussion against different cultures.[29] Despite various ways of tackling, multiculturalism points out to a basic struggle of differing social cultures for living spaces.

The state, which is referred to as the modern state or the Western nation-state, is located in the first corner of the multicultural puzzle. This usually determines who will be identified as minority[30] on different religious or ethnic, civic or gender-based, historical or mythological structures.[31]

The second intersection point of multiculturalism is the idea that ethnicity is the same with cultural identity. What gives shape to a person's life is the culture he internalizes and feels belonging to or his attitudes and behaviors according to that culture. For this reason, ethnicity is a question of perception or willpower where culture is an instrument, or a question of culture where perception and willpower are instruments.[32]

The term "race" is itself a false nineteenth century fiction, whereas "ethnicity" with its assumed biological meaning is the twentieth century photocopy of the term.

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[29] Turner, Bryan S. & Arslan, Berna Zengin. (2011). "Shari'a and legal pluralism in the West". *European Journal of Social Theory.* 14, 2. 139-159.

[30] The reason for this is that the evolution of the modern state as of the foundation of the Westphalian order has been based on determining the borders between the Self and the Other. These definitions both determine and shape the social fiber and evolve the definitions of the Other as well as policies to be implemented against the Other.

[31] Baumann, Gerd. (2006). *Çokkültürlülük Bilmecesi Ulusal, Etnik ve Dinsel Kimlikleri Yeniden Düşünmek*. Işıl Demirakın (Trans.). Ankara: Dost Yay., p. 25.

[32] ibid., p. 27.

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Genetic differences among people[33] are too small to cause the cultural differences we know. In Social Sciences, "slippery identity" or "contextual ethnicity" is mentioned. Ethnic identities therefore are nothing more than ethnic identity determinations frozen in time.[34] Identities are not found frozen in time; they transform in life practices or in terms of meaning depending on conditions of the relevant period. Everything about identity – assumptions about appearance, ideologies, etc. – change, transform or even disappear in time.

The third corner of the multicultural triangle is religion for two reasons. First is that religions are related to life and death, good and bad, success or failure, or in other words, relative abstract themes such as the meaning of life and morality[35].

Multicultural society is not a patchy fabric of a few fixed cultural identities, but a flexible network of intersecting mutual identifications that are always situational. And second reason is that it can be determined which cultures can be recognized as valid and which ones are disavowable when culture is considered as a discursive process rather than an inventory of rules. It is not any tangible culture that needs to be recognized. Instead, it is the dialogue-based nature of all identities and as a result, different cultural identities are or sooner or later will be able to identify the tangible borders of each other in a multicultural society.[36]

Multiculturalism has found widespread favor and has become the official ideology of anti-racists groups as well as community workers. It has become more widespread grounding on the idea of cultural relativity propounding that all cultures are of equal value.[37]

Habermas describes a democracy project where universally-shared, recognized and associated cultural differences may be combined to support a culture and

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[33] With gene mapping, it was observed that 99% of human gene maps are similar. In addition, the emergence of experimental psychology showed that behaviors can be changed. Developments in neurology that enabled mapping of certain mental processes revealed that synapse connections are re-shaped or disappeared according to the changes in individuals' knowledge maps. And the framework called culture is completely related to the knowledge schemes in the mind.

[34] ibid., p. 28.

[35] ibid., pp. 28-29.

[36] ibid., pp. 119-120.

[37] Schnapper, Dominique. (2005). *Sosyoloji Düşüncesinin Özünde Öteki ile İlişki*. Ayşegül Sönmezay (Trans.). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay., p. 407.

communication can be established between various groups in arguing that liberal and social theory approaches present an impartial public space. Among the approaches to multiculturalism, today's situation concentrates on normative problems with regard to political and legal issues. Habermas has a critical approach to both liberal and collectivist approach. Liberalism presumes the state to be color-blind against differences and provides everyone equally the freedom of movement in their own living spaces. And it gives equal rights to everyone to make changes in order to develop their identities independently from collective identities. Collectivism defends human rights; however, it makes concessions to the state in this regard and grants the state the authority to intervene in the processes of identity change or improvement if necessary. For instance, intervention is expected in situations where national, ethnic, cultural or religious minorities are threatened with their life. One way to describe the position of Habermas is to correlate the universal structural principles of liberal and collectivist approaches and particularistic contents of political communities. Habermas puts forward sustaining the legal order of any community against liberalism in an *ethically impregnated* way. Against collectivism, he argues that constitutional states should ensure that sub-cultures and collective identities have equal rights in cultural membership and exist equally in political terms with regard to cautiously shared political culture and common civil identity.[38]

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1.1. Will Kymlicka's Theory of Multiculturalism

Will Kymlicka's Theory of Multiculturalism is based on offering explanatory models and answers to issues of multiculturalism over certain situations. Yet, it is necessary to state at the beginning that Kymlicka's theory – as he mentions – is far from being implementable to every country in the similar manner. Multiculturalism in every country depends on various variables and answers differ on the basis of their situation and historical memory.

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[38] Habermas, Jürgen. (1995). "ADDRESS: Multiculturalism and the Liberal State". *Stanford Law Review*. 47, 5. 849-853.

In his theory, Kymlicka propounds a Liberal Multiculturalist Theory and explores the obstacles faced in acquiring collectivist culture, limiting the frame with multinational and multi-ethnic states and migrant groups.

Kymlicka's theory is regarded as a midway between culturalism and liberalism. Kymlicka distinguished three different types of liberally legitimized group rights: 1) right of self-government, 2) Multi-ethnic rights (for instance, Sikhs in England are exempt from the obligation to wear helmets when riding motorcycles as they have to wear headgears as required by their religious belief), and 3) Rights for group representation (positive discrimination or special parliament quota, etc.).[39]

What should be done in case there is a need for partial or full change in the interaction between individual and society, sub group/community and society or individual and group? Kymlicka partially provides an answer to this question through *"internal restrictions"* (the mechanism to prevent negativities in a group) and *"external protection"*.

Collectivist culture refers to social spheres of civil and public spaces where individuals and groups can make sense of their existence and enjoy their own identity. It also points out at a culture that enables meaningful lifestyles with all human activities including social, educational, religious, entertainment and economic fields. Kymlicka uses *culture* as a synonym of "nation" or "people"; in other words, it is "a community who has lineage bonds, shares the same language and history and lives in a more or less defined piece of land or country in corporate terms".[40]

Kymlicka touches upon the gaps in approaches based on Human rights and offers integration of collective rights in a way that will bridge these gaps. He further underscores that these problems or deficiencies affect each other in a holistic manner and that they cannot be considered individually. He focuses on the idea that individual rights – since individuals exist in a group/community – would not be fully understood without taking into consideration the collective rights.

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[39] Stjernfelt, Frederik. (2012). "Liberal Multiculturalism as Political Philosophy: Will Kymlicka" . Illionis: *The Monist*. 95, 1. 49-71.
[40] Kymlicka, Will. (1998). ***Çokkültürlü Yurttaşlık***. Abdullah Yılmaz. (Trans.) İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yay., p. 49.

In order to find a righteous solution to some of the most important and controversial problems about cultural minorities, he argues that "it is necessary to add a theory of minority rights to the traditional human rights principles".[41] Kymlicka bases his theory on two important groups: national groups in the position of minorities in multinational states and groups that have different ethnicities in multi-ethnic states.

In the case of multi-ethnicity, the effort to increase economic and social welfare is an important factor for migrants to move to developed countries. With the purpose of fulfilling their needs with regard to unemployment, education and health issues, migrants face another problem when they solve these problems which is the adaptation to collectivist culture. Even though migrants' environment, basic welfare level and social areas are sufficient at certain levels in source countries, the fact that they lack such areas in target countries reveals certain problems that are associated with identity. And people are more aggressive in and focus more on solving problems with ever-growing effect. Identity issues that they are not aware in their own countries aggravate in countries where they migrate. This situation manifests itself in cases such as "in England, Sikhs demand wearing headgear due to their religious belief, while Muslim women in France demand wearing headscarves in schools".

As per the issue of national minority, people face similar problems related to collectivist culture as they move from a country where they were sovereign to one that is not under their national sovereignty due to reasons such as invasion, war, agreement, colonization or recolonization. Their problems are deeper than those of ethnic groups. Therefore, sovereign powers may need to tackle the history objectively and critically to make necessary arrangements. For example, is a transfer of national sovereignty carried out voluntarily or forcefully? Is sufficient representation of parties provided during agreements? Is it possible to attain related documents? Answers to such questions may present a road map for the necessary actions to be taken for a national minority. In cases where historical data is not

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[41] ibid., p. 31.

attainable or there is not any historical agreement, issues related to national minorities will be tackled on the basis of the equality argument.

The problems of national minorities and ethnic groups mentioned by Kymlicka are identified as "facing obstacles in accessing collectivist cultures" (Kymlicka, 1998, p. 308). Minority rights should not allow a group to dominate other groups. In other words, liberals should strive for equality among groups as well as freedom and equality within groups. If liberalism is to become free of being meaningless in many parts of the world, then it needs to give place to these rights.[42]

Freedom, above all, is our ability to discover and reconsider the lifestyles provided by our culture of collectivism.[43] Liberalism rises on the basis of commitment to equality of opportunity – or equal opportunity to access educational and economic means as much as courts, state services and democratic institutions – however, what renders such an equality possible is the spread of a common language and common institutions across the society.[44]

It is essential to take the importance of belonging to collectivist culture seriously and any suggestion that makes freedom and equality impossible in a collectivist culture is not consistent with liberalism.[45]

Kymlicka summarizes his theory as follows: "…the purpose of the liberal minority rights theory is to determine fair conditions for integrating migrants and to ensure that national minorities sustain their existence as separate societies".[46]

Yet, Kymlicka's distinction of national minorities and ethnic groups bears certain missing points. When considering the multicultural situation as cultural islets, there are cultural islets in a society even if there are not any national minorities or ethnic groups. At the very least, there are those who do not feel belonging to the current dominant collectivist culture (people with different cultural environment, homosexuals, different religious or political circles, so on and so forth).

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[42] ibid., p. 294.
[43] ibid., p. 302.
[44] ibid., p. 302.
[45] ibid., p. 302.
[46] ibid., p. 305.

Another criticism that may be directed to Kymlicka's theory is that the term collectivist culture is limited only to minorities, ethnic groups and migrants. In reality, though, dominant cultures are also collectivist cultures. Further, dominant cultures must also be added to the equation, evaluated equally with others and fairly shared in an agonistic area so that a sustainable multicultural policy is produced.

2. The Position of Kurds in Turkey in Cultural Terms and the Turkish Culture

Culture is composed of various factors such as emotions, thoughts, language, arts and lifestyle that are valid and traditionalized in a community. For instance, folk songs sung during weddings or henna nights in Turkey are quite common. Despite differences across regions (for example, zeibek in the Aegean, seimen in Ankara, horon in the Black Sea, halay in Anatolia, halay and zilgit/ululation in the East), these are all reflections of the Turkish cultural mosaic. It is seen everywhere in Turkey that brides apply henna in their henna night as a tradition. Or grooms receive light punches on their back before entering the bridal chamber. Folk songs are sung differently in each region, yet the fire releasing different shapes of smoke is one and only: the Turkish culture. There are proverbs and idioms reflecting the common culture. Hearts beat with the same excitement in national games. And hearts are torn out with the same grief when a soldier falls a martyr. Skin or eyes may be of different colors, but the color of tears is the same, so is the joy. From Mete Khan to Seljuq and Ottomans, the same historical reflections are envisaged. Patterns of carpets are similar. They call thin bread *shepit* in Afyon, while *lavash* in Urfa. Turkish Nation is composed of 84 million people with the same feature mingled with the same culture.

Despite so many common points, there are also those who are discriminatory rather than embracing differences as diversity. However, the existing problems would be solved if the discourse "I am different with such and such features," was replaced by "We are the same from so many respects and these differences are our riches". Even if just a smidgen, there are some among Kurds who complain that they are unable to

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live their cultural identities. There are even those who go further and claim that they are out of Turkish culture. When extremists are excluded, it will be seen that Kurds are indeed members of the Turkish Nation.

Ongoing controversies and demands for different languages and dialects – particularly Kurdish – are as follows:

- Obstacles in front of speaking, writing, teaching, broadcasting and organizing cultural events in citizens' mother languages should be removed.[47] - These obstacles are removed.

- In addition to the fact that Turkish is the official language, academic studies respecting other cultures and languages should be provided.[48] - Such studies are now provided.

- Kurdish should be second language or elective language course; public services should also be provided in Kurdish, and Kurdology institutes should be established.[49] - Public services in Kurdish have already started and academic units are established.

- It should be possible to name venues in Kurdish.[50] The right to broadcast in Kurdish should be given via private channels.[51] - Kurdish plays are available in Turkish state theatres.[52] These are all granted now.

- People in the relevant region oppose education completely in Kurdish.[53] Instead, they prefer elective Kurdish language course starting from

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[47] SHP. (1989). "Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti'nin Doğu ve Güneydoğu Sorununa Bakışı ve Çözüm Önerileri Raporu". https://serdargunes.files.wordpress.com/2015/08/doc49fu-ve-gc3bcneydoc49fu-raporu-chp-1989.pdf., p. 12.

[48] ibid., p. 12.

[49] Ensaroğlu, Yılmaz. & Kurban, Dilek. (2008). "Kürt Sorununun Çözümüne Dair Bir Yol Haritası: Bölgeden Hükümete Öneriler". İstanbul: TESEV Yayınları. http://tesev.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Kurt_Sorununun_Cozumune_Dair_Bir_Yol_Haritasi_Bolgeden_Hukumete_Oneriler1.pdf., p. 6.

[50] ibid., p. 19.

[51] ibid., p. 19.

[52] ibid., p. 19.

[53] Bilgiç, Mehmet Sadi. (2011). "Türkiye'de Kürt Sorununun Bazı Alt Parametrelerine İlişkin Algıların Analizi". *Unpublished PhD thesis.* Polis Akademisi Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü., p. 197.

elementary school.[54] - Kurdish language education is already provided as an elective course.

- Some people in the region argue that teaching Kurdish language – even via elective courses – would serve to division.[55] They claim that they are already taught Kurdish at home and teaching Kurdish at school would lead to disintegration (Bilgiç, 2011, p. 197). Those who oppose teaching Kurdish and Zaza mother languages at schools underline the backwardness of these languages as well (Bilgiç, 2011, p. 198). Despite these critiques, elective Kurdish and Zaza language education is now provided.

The majority in Turkey opposes the idea of rendering Kurdish as the language of education entirely at schools, recognizing and protecting the Kurdish language within constitutional framework and announcing it as the official language (Bilgiç, 2011, p. 199). These demands belong to separatists. It is not possible in unitary structure to fulfill these demands.[56]

Some people claim that names of venues and places change only in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. Nonetheless, names of places have changed not only in East and Southeast, but across Turkey in the history of the republic.[57] Moreover, names of residential areas may be changed via applying to the Ministry of Interior thanks to the latest legal amendments.[58]

While ensuring that the Kurdish identity lives on the social ground, attention must be paid that the Turkish identity is free from the feeling of being damaged.[59] It is

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[54] ibid., p. 197.

[55] ibid., p. 197.

[56] In Germany, which is a European country developed in terms of human rights and freedoms, one worker was dismissed for speaking in Turkish with a friend during break time on May 08, 2017 (Oda TV, 2017). If the right to mother language was a universal right, such a case would not be seen in Europe.

[57] TBMM. (2013). "Toplumsal Barış Yollarının Araştırılması ve Çözüm Sürecinin Değerlendirilmesi Amacıyla Kurulan Meclis Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu". http://tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/cozum_sureci/docs/cozum_kom_raporu.pdf., p. 359.

[58] ibid., p. 359.

[59] Somer, Murat. (2013). "Barış Süreci ve Kürt Meselesi'nde Kimlik ve Dış Politika Riskler ve Fırsatlar". *Ortadoğu Analiz*. 5, 57. 46-53.

necessary to quit regarding this as an issue of supra-identity and sub-identity.[60] Departing from Atatürk's definition of the Turkish Nation, it should be accepted that the dominant culture is the Turkish Nation's culture; and Kurds, Yörük/Turkmen, Manav Turks, Cherkes, Laz, Armenians and all others as the different versions of this culture should be regarded as cultural riches and parts of the mosaic constituting the culture of the Turkish Nation. Because Turkey is the Turkish Nation with 84 million. And its culture is the Turkish culture.

There are views that Kurds are coming from the Medes (the Median Empire) or from the Turan lineage, and both these assumptions pave the way for the deduction that they are intertwined with Persians.[61] As a matter of fact, it can be observed the Kurdish language is predominantly composed of words from Turkish, Persian and Arabic. Published by the St. Petersburg Science Academy on the basis of the compilations prepared by Russia's Erzurum Consul Aguste Jaba in 1860, the 8378-word Kurdish dictionary mostly has Turkish, Arabic and Persian words.[62]

Veli Sevin stated that there are Turkish grave stones in Hakkâri dating from circa 2000 B.C..[63] Ekrem Memiş from Afyon Kocatepe University, on the other hand, claimed that Turks entered Anatolia way before 1071.[64] Memiş uttered that there was a Turkish kingdom in circa 2000 B.C and Sevin advocated this view.[65] In Prof. Dr. Yusuf Halaçoğlu's words, Turkish grave stones called "*balbal*" dating back to 1200's B.C. were found in Hakkâri.[66] The traces of Eurasian steppe culture are observed in 13 stelas found in Hakkâri in 1998 and they resemble the aforementioned balbal.[67]

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[60] ibid.

[61] Beşli, Murat Kamil. (2013). "Türkiye'de Kürt Sorunu ve Barış Süreci". *Unpublished master thesis.*. Beykent University SBE., p. 4.

[62] Somuncuoğlu, Sadi. (2010). "Kürtçe üzerinde bir inceleme -I-". http://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/kurtce-uzerinde-bir-inceleme-i-16317yy.htm.

[63] TTK. (2008). "Hakkari'de 4 bin yıllık Türk mezarı". http://www.ttk.gov.tr/?Page=Print&BasindaNo=375&Yer=Basinda.

[64] ibid.

[65] ibid.

[66] NTV. "Millattan önce de Anadolu'daydık". http://arsiv.ntv.com.tr/news/174040.asp.

[67] Sevin, V. & Özfırat, A. (2001). "Hakkari Stelleri: Doğu Anadolu'da Savaşçı Çobanlar İlk Not". *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*. 65, 243. 501-518. http://www.ttk.gov.tr/yayinlarimiz/dergi/belleten-cilt-lxv-sayi-243-yil-2001-agustos/.

Hakkâri is a geography where many Kurds are living today. Yet, this was a geography where Turks lived 3000 years ago according to some of the ideas given above. In addition, there is strong evidence that Kurdish is not an original but a mixed language. A Kurdish person coming from Adıyaman or Diyarbakır to Hakkâri, for example, cannot continue speaking Kurdish language and has to continue in Turkish after a few introduction sentences. This is also valid for a Kurd going to Adıyaman or Diyarbakır from Hakkâri. Furthermore, the members of the PKK speak in Turkish and their correspondence is also in Turkish language. While these facts show that Kurds have become a nation in terms of neither language nor history, it is a reality that they have not established a permanent state. Therefore, it is not in question for Kurds to obtain political autonomy or independence under today's circumstances, except their cultural rights. Kurds have not become a nation and have not established a state during the course of the history. When they were closest to establish a state, a referendum was held in the north of Iraq on September 25, 2017.[68] After this referendum, they had to retreat.

The rate of people who think they are subject to discrimination for being Kurd is 16%.[69] This is a very low rate among the Kurds. The majority of Kurds do not think that they are subject to discrimination for being Kurds.

84% of young people above 18 years of age responded the question, "What is your mother language?" as Turkish; 12.7% (13.2% of Kurds say that their mother language is Turkish) Kurdish; 1.4% as Zaza; 1.2% as Arabic, and 0.7% as other.[70] 81.33% of the respondents say they are Turkish and 9.2% say they are Kurdish and Zaza.[71]

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[68] In this, they withdrew from Kirkuk with the operation of Baghdad and returned to the borders of 2003. The reason for withdrawal was that they could not unify. Kurdish forces in northern Iraq abandoned their emplacements and fled.

[69] Bilgiç, Mehmet Sadi. (2011). "Türkiye'de Kürt Sorununun Bazı Alt Parametrelerine İlişkin Algıların Analizi". *Unpublished PhD thesis.* Polis Akademisi Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü., pp. 44-45.

[70] KONDA. (2011). "Kürt Meselesinde Algı ve Beklentiler Araştırması". http://akgul.bilkent.edu.tr/Konda/2011_06_KONDA_Kurt_Meselesinde_Algi_ve_Beklentiler.pdf.

[71] KONDA. (2006). "Toplumsal Yapı Araştırması". http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/2006_09_KONDA_Toplumsal_Yapi.pdf.

Only 3.91% answered the question, "Can you live freely your identity?" saying there are legal constraints.[72] Even though this rate very low, it is possible to argue that separatist discourses are concentrated in this group. The reason for this is that demands for having the Kurdish language as the official language and total education in mother language come from separatists. This rate is understood better when divided among groups and cadres such as Kurdish parties serving for separatism in Turkey (province/district organizations), NGO's (organizations in provinces and universities), think tanks, KCK (*Koma Civakên Kurdistan* – Union of Kurdistan Communities) elements (popular assemblies, executive units, judicial units) (constituting 4% when considering approximately 300 thousand people and their families).

93% of the respondents stated that their mother language is Turkish.[73] 6% said that they have no connection with Turkish language and culture and have their own ethnic language and culture.[74] Almost half of the 15% (7.9%) who say that Kurdish is their mother language considers Turkish as their second mother language.[75]

In the context of Kurds in particular, some of the cultural rights given to differences in general are as follows:

- Özal cancelled the Law No. 2932[76] prohibiting speaking any other language than Turkish brought in 1983[77] in the year 1992.[78] The Kurdish Newspaper

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[72] KONDA. (2006). "Toplumsal Yapı Araştırması". http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/2006_09_KONDA_Toplumsal_Yapi.pdf.

[73] Yılmaz, Hakan. (2014). "Türkiye'de Kimlikler, Kürt Sorunu ve Çözüm Süreci: Kamuoyundaki Algılar ve Tutumlar". http://aciktoplumvakfi.org.tr/pdf/turkiyede_baris_sureci_kim_ne_istiyor.pdf, p. 4.

[74] ibid, pp. 4-5.

[75] ibid, p. 6.

[76] Fahrioğlu, Ferda. (2013). "Güvenlik ve Kimlik Bağlamında İnsan İhtiyaçları Teorisi'nin Türkiye'deki Kürt Sorunu'na Uygulanması". *Unpublished master thesis.* Hacettepe University SBE., p. 55.

[77] Göngen, Mehmet Ali. (2012). "The Kurdish Question in Turkey from the European Union Perspective". *Unpublished master thesis.* Akdeniz University SBE and Hamburg University İşletme, Ekonomi ve Sosyal Bilimler Okulu., p. 22.

[78] Beşli, Murat Kamil. (2013). "Türkiye'de Kürt Sorunu ve Barış Süreci". *Unpublished master thesis..* Beykent University SBE., p. 19.

called Rojname started to be published by Ahmet Zeki Okçuoğlu on December 28, 1991.[79]

- Free use of Kurdish language outside the public spaces was allowed.

- The first Kurdish language training course was opened in 2004 in Diyarbakır and Batman[80] and 45-minute Kurdish broadcasting started on state television TRT.[81] In 2005, courses were closed by those who opened them due low number of participants.[82]

- In 2003, the right to broadcasting in press, radio and television in Kurdish was given,[83] and in 2009, TRT Şeş (TRT Kürdî, with its new name) started broadcasting in Kurdish.[84] Kurdish and Arabic broadcasts started on TRT screens.[85] In 2012, the Kurdish news website, www.trtxeber.com started broadcasting.[86] Anadolu Agency, the official news agency, broadcasts in English, Arabic, French, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Russian and Kurdish languages.[87] With an amendment in 2009, the right to advertise in different languages and dialects was introduced.[88] The right to broadcast in different languages and dialects was secured by the legal regulation made in 2008.[89]

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[79] Yayman, Hüseyin. (2011). "Şark Meselesinden Demokratik Açılıma Türkiye'nin Kürt Sorunu Hafızası". SETA Yayınları. http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20130130121531_seta-turkiyenin_kurt_sorunu_hafizasi.pdf., p. 51.

[80] ibid., p. 54.

[81] Çapan, Fırat. (2015). "Analysis of Intra-State Conflicts: The Case Of Kurdish Issue in Turkey". *Unpublished master thesis*. Hacettepe University SBE., pp. 65-66.

[82] Erdem, Deniz. (2008). "Political Reforms in Turkey and EU Membership: Honor Killings and Kurdish Language Rights". *Unpublished master thesis*. Sabancı University Sanat ve Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü., pp. 131-132.

[83] AKP. (2015a). "2002-2014 Sessiz Devrim: Türkiye'nin Demokratik Değişim ve Dönüşüm Envanteri". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/sessiz-devrim2002-2014.pdf., p. 115.

[84] Göngen, Mehmet Ali. (2012). "The Kurdish Question in Turkey from the European Union Perspective". *Unpublished master thesis*. Akdeniz University SBE and Hamburg University İşletme, Ekonomi ve Sosyal Bilimler Okulu., p. 22.

[85] AKP. (2015a). "2002-2014 Sessiz Devrim: Türkiye'nin Demokratik Değişim ve Dönüşüm Envanteri". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/sessiz-devrim2002-2014.pdf., p. 115.

[86] ibid., p. 115.

[87] ibid., p. 115.

[88] TBMM. (2013). "Toplumsal Barış Yollarının Araştırılması ve Çözüm Sürecinin Değerlendirilmesi Amacıyla Kurulan Meclis Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu". http://tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/cozum_sureci/docs/cozum_kom_raporu.pdf., p. 409.

[89] ibid., p. 408.

- There are many Kurdish radio broadcasts at local level.[90]

- To research the Kurdish language and literature, academic units are established (Mardin Artuklu University "Institute of Living Languages in Turkey", Dicle University "Living Languages Center", Muş Alparslan University "Department of Kurdish Language and Literature", Bingöl University "Zaza Language Institute").

- Kindergartens giving education in Kurdish language and various Kurdish associations are established.

- Kurds are represented in the parliament with their Kurdish identity (BDP, HDP, etc.).

- In 2003, there was no alternative other than giving Turkish names to children.[91] With an amendment, the barriers were lifted, and names can be given in different languages now.[92] Children are given Kurdish names, while local residential areas may also be named in Kurdish via application.[93] On March 13, 2014, the barriers in front of giving the old names of villages back were lifted.[94]

- In 2011, the right to defense in courts in local language was provided.[95] In January 2013, Defendants were granted the right to speak the language they would better defend themselves.[96]

- In 2009, it was made possible to speak in languages other than Turkish on the phone or face to face when convicts or their visitors declare that they cannot

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[90] Yayman, Hüseyin. (2011). "Şark Meselesinden Demokratik Açılıma Türkiye'nin Kürt Sorunu Hafızası". SETA Yayınları. http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20130130121531_seta-turkiyenin_kurt_sorunu_hafizasi.pdf., p. 60.

[91] AKP. (2015a). "2002-2014 Sessiz Devrim: Türkiye'nin Demokratik Değişim ve Dönüşüm Envanteri". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/sessiz-devrim2002-2014.pdf., p. 116.

[92] ibid., p. 116.

[93] Yayman, Hüseyin. (2011). "Şark Meselesinden Demokratik Açılıma Türkiye'nin Kürt Sorunu Hafızası". SETA Yayınları. http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20130130121531_seta-turkiyenin_kurt_sorunu_hafizasi.pdf., p. 61.

[94] AKP. (2015a). "2002-2014 Sessiz Devrim: Türkiye'nin Demokratik Değişim ve Dönüşüm Envanteri". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/sessiz-devrim2002-2014.pdf., p. 54.

[95] Çapan, Fırat. (2015). "Analysis of Intra-State Conflicts: The Case Of Kurdish Issue in Turkey". *Unpublished master thesis*. Hacettepe University SBE., pp. 65-66.

[96] AKP. (2015a). "2002-2014 Sessiz Devrim: Türkiye'nin Demokratik Değişim ve Dönüşüm Envanteri". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/sessiz-devrim2002-2014.pdf., p. 97.

speak Turkish.[97] In 2011, prisoners were given permission to speak in their mother language in prisons.[98]

- Kurdish was started to be used in courts and local administrations.[99]

- In secondary education, elective courses can be taught in different languages and dialects.[100] Furthermore, private schools can also be opened.[101] The same is valid for kindergartens giving education in Kurdish language.[102]

- Prohibitions against cinema, political propaganda, music and video works in languages other than Turkish were lifted.[103] Activities within this framework are supported.[104]

- Those who were deprived of their citizenship were returned their rights.[105] Old names are given back to residential areas.[106]

- NGO names containing the Kurdish word (Kurd-Kav, etc.) can be used.[107]

- The Ministry of Culture and Tourism printed "Mem û Zin", "Melaye Cizîrî Divan", and Assyrian Mor Efrem's Poems named as 'Holy Spirit's Pipe' by the Church Ancestors".[108] In the 2012-2013 theatre season, the Kurdish play

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[97] ibid., p. 116.

[98] Çapan, Fırat. (2015). "Analysis of Intra-State Conflicts: The Case Of Kurdish Issue in Turkey". *Unpublished master thesis*. Hacettepe University SBE., pp. 65-66.

[99] İHH İnsani Yardım Vakfı. (2014). "İHH'dan Kürt Meselesi ve Çözüm Süreci Bildirisi", https://www.ihh.org.tr/ haber/ihhdan-kurt-meselesi-ve-cozum-sureci-bildirisi-2620.

[100] AKP. (2015b). "7 Haziran 2015 Genel Seçimleri Seçim Beyannamesi". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/1-demokratiklesme.pdf.

[101] ibid.

[102] Kurubaş, Erol. (2012). "Kürt Sorununun Çözüm Mantığını Anlamak: Zorluklar, Zorunluluklar ve İdealler". Rapor No: 2012-2, Ankara: Ankara Strateji Enstitüsü Yayınları. https://serdargunes.files.wordpress.com/2015/08/kurt-sorununun-cozum-mantigini-anlamak_2012.pdf. pp, 40-41.

[103] AKP. (2015b). "7 Haziran 2015 Genel Seçimleri Seçim Beyannamesi". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/1-demokratiklesme.pdf.

[104] ibid.

[105] ibid.

[106] ibid.

[107] Erdem, Deniz. (2008). "Political Reforms in Turkey and EU Membership: Honor Killings and Kurdish Language Rights". *Unpublished master thesis*. Sabancı University Sanat ve Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü., p. 134.

[108] AKP. (2015a). "2002-2014 Sessiz Devrim: Türkiye'nin Demokratik Değişim ve Dönüşüm Envanteri". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/sessiz-devrim2002-2014.pdf., p. 121.

"Mem and Zin" was presented in Van State Theatre.[109] Movies with abundant amount of Kurdish (*İki Dil Bir Bavul/Two Languages and a Case, Annemin Şarkısı/My Mother's Song*) and Armenian *(Yitik Kuşlar/Lost Birds)* dialogues were financially reinforced by the Cinema Support Board.[110] An album with Kurdish folk songs was produced by Diyarbakır Governorate and TRT schools.[111] Kurdish-Turkish and Turkish-Kurdish dictionary was published in 2014.[112] "Fakî-yi Teyran Divan" was published in Turkish and Kurdish in 2014.[113]

- In the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Kurdish language was added to the section of languages spoken.[114]

- Kurdish interpreters started to be employed by administrative units when needed.[115] Kurdish and Zaza-speaking staff were employed at the call center of the Diyarbakir Governorate.[116]

- Since 2012, local religious men *(mele)* have been employed as official religious officials.[117]

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Another example is the Turkish and Kurdish *Hacivat and Karagöz* play in Hakkâri performed for the festival of Ramadan.[118] There is no obstacle for local governments to carry out their socio-cultural activities in a language other than Turkish.

Among such supportive activities, there is also the opportunity to have entire education in mother languages as well as using a language other than Turkish in

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[109] ibid., p. 121.
[110] ibid., p. 121.
[111] ibid., p. 121.
[112] ibid., p. 121.
[113] ibid., p. 121.
[114] ibid., p. 121.
[115] ibid., p. 121.
[116] TBMM. (2013). "Toplumsal Barış Yollarının Araştırılması ve Çözüm Sürecinin Değerlendirilmesi Amacıyla Kurulan Meclis Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu". http://tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/cozum_sureci/docs/cozum_kom_raporu.pdf., p. 410.
[117] AKP. (2015a). "2002-2014 Sessiz Devrim: Türkiye'nin Demokratik Değişim ve Dönüşüm Envanteri". http://www.akparti.org.tr/upload/documents/sessiz-devrim2002-2014.pdf., p. 123.
[118] Hakkâri Haber TV. (2017). "Burası Taksim değil Hakkari!". http://www.hakkarihabertv.com/burasi-taksim-degil-hakkari-34388h.htm.

official written documents.[119] These two facts are mostly expressed by separatist Kurds rather than the majority of Kurds with the aim of material / spiritual exploit and consolidation of their positions. If official correspondence and the use of non-Turkish language in the whole education system is allowed, it may start the process leading to division. Whereas the Republic of Turkey is a unitary nation state. The official language and the language of education are Turkish.

Atatürk said, "The people of Turkey who established the Republic of Turkey are called the Turkish Nation". The expression of Turk here does not imply only a single race. For example, it is not reference only to descendants of Kayı Tribe or Yörük/Turkmen. Turkishness is an identity embracing everyone who feels as a Turk regardless of race. Membership to this nation does not necessarily have to be through lineage. The concept of nation does not have to be based on lineage or ancestry. For instance, American nation is not composed of a single lineage. There must be lineage bonds, however, for a race/tribe/clan/family etc. Yet, nation means common history, culture and vision of a common future. Kindredship is not a condition to be a member of the Turkish Nation.

In the Ottoman era, it was said, "He/she became Turkish" for a person who converted into Islam in Europe. The Ottoman State was run with Turkish culture and 2000-year old Turkish state tradition. In the last period of the Ottoman Empire, poems and writings discrediting Turks were published. However, Turkishness came forward together with the movement of nationalism. It would not be expected that another nation would come forward in the Ottoman, which was a Turkish state. And together with the War of Independence, all families/tribes/clans/seigniories composing the Turkish Nation united to form a single fist. Thus, Atatürk said, "The people of Turkey who established the Republic of Turkey are called the Turkish Nation. How happy is s/he who can say I am a Turk!" As certain authors note, Turkishness is not an expression of racism. Nations do not come from a single race.

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[119] Kurubaş, Erol. (2012). "Kürt Sorununun Çözüm Mantığını Anlamak: Zorluklar, Zorunluluklar ve İdealler". Rapor No: 2012-2, Ankara: Ankara Strateji Enstitüsü Yayınları. https://serdargunes.files.wordpress.com/2015/08/kurt-sorununun-cozum-mantigini-anlamak_2012.pdf., pp. 40-41.

The age of empires emerged as a result of intermingling of races. Nations living under empires in the history established their own countries in the age of nationalism to continue their existence. And during the course of the history, Turks established 17 great states. Small states in the size of seigniories are not counted in this number. The nations that proved themselves in the history scene were able to survive in the modern period as well. Others are mixed into countries as different cultural communities. Considering the number of cultural communities across the world, each community can only establish their own national state through a world-scale disintegration of countries to form small city states. And this is not a rational or real possibility. Therefore, cultural communities have to sustain their existence in their current countries.

Modernity has brought along standardization on a global scale. Particularly the state centralism and standardization imposed by the Realist international system in during the period of the Cold War resulted in states ignoring the differences in their countries. Differences were accepted in countries such as the USA, Canada, Britain, France and Germany through extensive challenges and struggles. After the end of the Cold War, the acceptance of differences resulted in granting people certain rights. In this regard, fundamental human rights, cultural rights and political rights were gradually granted.

From 1983, when the ban on using languages other than Turkish was brought by Turgut Özal, to 1992 when it was lifted, not any cultural right was granted to Kurds. In 2000s, the majority of the cultural rights were granted. Kurds are not perceived as a separate nation in Turkey, but they are regarded as a congregation/*community* living in the country with cultural and language differences.

Another issue about Kurds is that they have not demonstrated the ability to establish a state in history. Henceforth, they have lived in other states throughout history. In this case, they need to have a separate state to fulfill their demands for rendering Kurdish the official language as well as the language of education; however this is only possible through critical events such as intra-state war. Other than that, the majority of cultural demands of Kurds in Turkey are fulfilled.

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According to Gökalp, Turkishness is independent from the concept of race and it is a moral identity composed of a common social memory, traditions and customs.[120] There cannot be an identity such as being from Turkey, as Turkey refers to a place. Thus, it is the response given to the question, "Where are you from?" The question, "Who are you"? refers to identities, though. Expressions such as Turkish citizen, membership to the Turkish Nation, or Yörük, Turkmen, Zaza, Kurd, Cherkes, Laz, Armenian, Jewish, Bosnian lineage/family, Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, etc. may refer to identity. Thus, the Turkish identity, as stated by some, is not membership to only a single ethnic origin. In other words, it does not only mean membership to Yörük/Turkmen or Kayı seigniory. Turkishness is the name written by uniting seigniories/lineages during the course of the history.

Nevertheless, those who cannot find themselves in the identity of the Turkish nation can be respected as long as they do not harm the Turkish identity and unity. It is not possible to force any person into an identity. There is not much to say about those who do not want to be a partner in the success and sources of honor in the Turkish history. All individuals and communities living in the Republic of Turkey are Turkish citizens in legal terms even if they do not feel belonging to the Turkish identity. This definition of citizenship draws a legal framework. But it does not bring any limits with regard to identity. As expressions such as American, French or German citizen are legal terms, Turkish citizenship is also a legal term.

In the present multicultural age, the majority of rights that cannot be found in the dominant culture within nation-states are the cultural rights. Apart from that, equality before the law and state is provided by the expression of Turkish citizenship. Basic human rights are provided to all citizens. However, there are economic and social problems. Yet, this can be seen in all regions with similar rates of distributions. Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian regions are not deliberately left backward. As

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[120] Çeliktürk, Tansel. (2011). "1989'dan 2009 Yılına, Kürt Sorunu'na İlişkin Kamuoyuna Sunulan Raporların ve Açılımların Çokkültürlülük Literatürü Kapsamında Değerlendirilmesi". *Unpublished master thesis.* Pamukkale SBE. p. 187.

per cultural rights, almost all of these rights required by multiculturalism are granted to people.

In summary, entire education in mother language is not a universal right; and a second official language is not a right, but interest/ideology; recognition of different identities in constitution is not a right but interest/ideology. These three are invalid/illegitimate demands.

According to the Multiculturalism approach, the legitimacy of a community is unlimited unless it encroaches on the boundaries of another. The aforementioned three demands are outside the legitimate border. Yet, legitimate demands within the cultural boundaries have already been achieved in Turkey in the context of the Multicultural Approach.

Conclusion: Analysis of the Kurdish Issue in the Context of Multiculturalism

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Kurds are not national minority in the context of the Kurdish Issue. However, they pose a different ethnicity in the context of cultural differences. This ethnicity is not very different from the dominant collectivist culture. Nonetheless, they are a different ethnicity in cultural sense as they define themselves differently.

As it is seen in the article, the majority of cultural needs of Kurds in Turkey are met. For example, obstacles in front of speaking other languages in public spaces (hospitals, post offices, banks, courts, prisons) are lifted. In addition, they have the opportunity to establish foundations – associations by use of their mother language. A policy far from assimilation is implemented with the use of Kurdish language in public spaces. In this context, the Kurdish question has turned out independent from ethnicity. In other words, the problems experienced by the Kurdish are similar to those faced by the general society. Even though the Kurds' economic (unemployment), social (education and healthcare) and security (PKK terror) problems are deeper than the rest, this does not change the fact that the Kurdish Issue is independent from ethnicity. In the context of multiculturalism, rights brought by multiculturalism are granted to Kurds in Turkey.

There is the mechanism of internal restrictions and external protections in Kymlicka's theory of multiculturalism. According to this mechanism, a sub-group (for example, Kurds) are under protection against any negative situation that may be imposed by the dominant culture. Furthermore, it is prevented that this sub-group exercise oppression within itself or implements negative policies. For instance, there are internal regulations to prevent child marriage which is very common among Kurds. Besides, barriers to speak Kurdish/Zaza language in public spaces are lifted and thereby, hinders in front of sustaining the Kurdish culture are also removed. And this ensures external protection.

Kymlicka propounds three groups of rights: 1) Right of self-government, 2) Multi-ethnic rights, and 3) Rights for group representation.

Looking at these rights in terms of Kurds, the following points stand out:

- Kurds have the right to self-government through representation in the parliament (HDP) and by strengthening the local governments.

- They can wear their traditional clothes (especially at weddings, sometimes as civilians). This falls under the category of multiethnicity rights.

- As per positive discrimination, it can be observed that those who cannot speak any other language than Kurdish are provided with the right to speak in their mother language in public spaces. And this constitutes their right of group representation.

Unity of diversity, (*in one many*), presented in the context of living collective culture is provided and ensured in the Turkish nation state. Not only those who do not feel belonging to the Turkish culture, but also non-Muslims, Armenians or Kurds/Zaza can find living spaces in the Turkish culture.

From the perspective of the argument that a culture is free to the extent that it does not threaten another culture's living space – it is necessary to limit such a culture if it poses a threat – it can be stated that multiculturalism reaches its limit in case the values of Turkish culture are threatened (for example, by rendering the Kurdish

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language as the official language or the language of education in whole). In this context, freedom to use language is given to Kurds (in public spaces or by teaching the Kurdish/Zaza language); while demands that would harm the Turkish culture (education in mother language as a whole and demands for official language) are not legitimate in the context of multiculturalism.

Evaluating the cultural rights given to Kurds in Turkey, it can be uttered that Kurds are not "adjuncts to the state". They have shown their existence in every platform (as president, doctor, judge, engineer, lawyer, member of parliament, sportsmen/sportswomen, artist, etc.) and have found a place for themselves in the dominant culture. In addition, it will be observed that they are not "adjuncts to the state" looking at the intensity of kinship relations and distribution of Kurdish population in Turkey.

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