

SEARCH OF ZAZAKI SPEAKING INDIVIDUALS FOR IDENTITY

Zazaca Konuşan Bireylerin Kimlik Arayışı

Süreyya ÇETKİN¹

Abstract

This study is on the identity construction process of young generations who speak Zazaki. Firstly, it is elaborated why this search for identity is more common amongst the young generations. Later, some primary information regarding the reasons for the fact that the identity and sense of belonging of young people who speak Zaza language divided is presented. Function of the language on the identity construction process is discussed. The focus of this study is: politicization of the adopted identity in this identity construction process, sense of discomfort that young people have when identified with identities other than the adopted one, the effects of young generation on previous generations in this process of identity seeking, the attitude of the government towards young people in this issue, determination of the tendencies of young individuals based on this seeking within this process.

Key Words: Zazas, sense of belonging, youth, identity seek, Zaza youth

Özet

Bu makale, anadili Zazaca olan genç kuşağın kimlik inşa süreci üzerinedir. Öncelikli olarak bu arayışın neden genç nesiller arasında daha yaygın olduğu üzerinde durulmuştur. Sonrasında Zazaca konuşan gençlerin kimlik aidiyeti üzerine olan bölünmüşlüğü'nün nedenlerine dair bilgiler verilmiştir. Kimlik inşa sürecinde dilin fonksiyonu incelenmiştir. Bu kimlik oluşum sürecinde,

1 Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Tarih Bölümü Mezunu. sureyya.cetkin@gmail.com

üzerinde durulan kimliğin politik bir şey haline getirilmesi, atfedilen kimlik haricinde tanımlanmanın, gençlerde oluşturduğu rahatsızlık durumu, bu arayış sürecinde, genç neslin bir önceki kuşağı etkileme durumu, iktidarın bu konuda gençlere karşı tutumu, gençlerin bu süreç içerisinde bu arayışa bağlı olarak eğilimlerini belirlemeleri durumu çalışmanın ana başlıklarını oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Zazalar, kimlik, aidiyet, kimlik inşası, Zaza gençliği

Subject

“Identity, in its widest definition, is how an individual or a group position themselves amongst other individuals or groups.”² Lately, people who live in the eastern part of Turkey have been striving to have others accept their own language and identity. At this point, my study is about the search of Zazaki speaking individuals for their identity. This search is primarily common between the young generations. While some young Zaza people feel that they belong to Kurdish identity, whereas some others feel that they belong to other ethnicities such as Turkish identity. “Whereas in many sources Zaza people are identified as Kurdish, in others they are claimed to be Turkish. However, there are also other studies that consider Zaza people as a separate ethnic group.”³ It is also possible to encounter these various tendencies amongst these studies. Çağlayan mentions the issue of variability in tendencies as following: “Identity has not a strategic but a dynamic structure, and it changes according to the settings.”⁴ I wonder why it changes so much amongst the young people who speaks Zazaki. The purpose of this paper is to understand why this search for identity is more common amongst young generations, how young generation affects the previous one on this issue, and the reasons behind the variability of the existing structure regarding belongingness and how it develops during this process.

Motivation

My focus during my research has been the question why I want to characterize myself with an independent identity. As known very well, Turkey is a multiethnic and multicultural country and in this regard, as an individual whose mother tongue is Zazaki, the question which ethnicity I belong has a special importance for me. Many young people whose mother language is also Zazaki suffer from the same problem I do. These problems brought some questions along and motivated me to carry out a project to answer the questions that I have in

2 Nuri Bilgin, *Kimlik İnşası*, Aşina Kitaplar, İzmir, 2007, s. 78.

3 Mesut, Keskin, *Zazaca Üzerine Notlar*, Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, s. 2.

4 Ercan, Çağlayan, *Zazalar, Tarih, Kültür ve Kimlik*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016, s. 6.

my mind. The main question I address is why this search is mainly common amongst young people. I am also concerned about the function of language in this search. Whereas some people claim that Zazaki speaking people have a Kurdish identity, some others claim they need to be considered Turkish, and there are also others discussing that they are from a completely distinct ethnicity. It is an object of curiosity that based on which distinctive characteristics do the ones who claim that they have a separate identity think so, and similarly, based on which common characteristics do the ones who identify themselves as Turkish or Kurdish think so. Why has Zaza identity been politicized? When these young people are addressed, does it bother them to be identified with an identity that they do not feel themselves belong to like it bothers me? How has it affected the search of young people who speak Zazaki for identity that Kurdish people had others accept their separate identity? How has the young generation affected the previous generations (older generations) in this process of identity seeking? How has the attitude of the government affected the identity construction of young people? In which direction has this search guided the political views of young people? Does this search have any effect on the involvement of young people in illegal organizations? Does it have any effect on the issue of identity construction that the government opens institutions in universities and Zazaki TV channel? These questions have served as motivators in my research.

Methodology

I used survey method in my research. In order to implement my questionnaire study, I worked with Zazaki speaking young people whose ages are between 20 and 30. Whereas some of the persons I carried out the survey with feel that they belong to Kurdish ethnicity, some of them claim that they are from a separate ethnicity. On the other hand, some of these persons expressed that they feel themselves belonging to Turkish identity. I carried out my survey study with 15 persons; however, amongst the answers of these persons, I chose the ones who are qualified to be meaningful in regards with this study. As an outcome of this survey study, the reasons behind the above-mentioned search for identity, the attitude of the government in this process and the effect of young people on the society will be illustrated.

Literature

I scanned the article of Johanna Why and Rob White (The Concept of Youth)⁵ discussing the fact that researches carried out in the modern world are mainly conducted on young people. I worked through the article of François Georgeon

5 Johanna Why & Rob White, *The Concept of Youth in Rethinking Youth*, Thousand Oaks, London, 1997, s. 8-25.

(May the Concept of Generation Be a Key Concept in Regards with the Transition from Ottoman Empire to Kemalist Turkey)⁶ in order to understand the periods where the young generation proved to be effective and how they were so before the establishment of modern Turkey. I scanned the article of Margaret Mead (The Future: Pre-figurative Cultures and Unknown Children)⁷ in regards with the genes considering the previous generation in adequate, finding better ways and affecting the previous generation in this respect.

Prevalence of Search of Identity amongst Young People

The results I obtained from my survey study displays that this search is quite common amongst youth and that this search is a modern concept. As Bostancı states, “whereas mostly ‘given identity’ is dominant in traditional world, modern world transformed this to ‘gained identity’ to a large extent.”⁸ It is observed that this search is mostly manifested through the press. The change in the educational and sociocultural status of young people has also its effect on this search. In this respect, I interviewed Ufuk Alaca, a student in Boğaziçi University, Department of History. (Age: 21, Hometown: Diyarbakır)

As a Zazaki speaking individual, I can say that this identity search is mostly common amongst young people. This search is a concept that is brought along by the modern world. We can associate this situation with the change in the educational and sociocultural status of youth. In the past, educational services were not common amongst people who lived in rural areas and spoke Zazaki. However, young people who have recently moved to metropolises to receive higher education have started to question themselves and try to determine which ethnic identity they belong to. I also find myself in the same pursuit and laid its foundations in this period.

Function of the Language

I deduced from the answers I received that the language is the most prominent determinant. Both the ones who feel belonging to Kurdish identity and the ones who consider themselves as a part of separate identity (Zazas) seem to agree on this issue. It attracts attention that both groups use the same argument to defend their different perspectives. The ones who think that Zazaki speaking people are Kurdish defend their ideas by pointing out the similarities between

6 Georgeon, François, *May the Concept of Generation Be a Key Concept in Regards with the Transition from Ottoman Empire to Kemalist Turkey*, in Ferdan Ergut & Aysen Uysal. “Tarihsel Sosyoloji”, Dipnot Yayınevi, 2007, s. 69-79.

7 Margaret, Mead, *Chapter:3 The Future. Prefigurative Cultures and Unkown Children*”, *Culture and Commitments: A Study of the Generation Gap*, Garden City, New York: Natural History Press/ Doubleday & Company, Inc, s. 51-76.

8 Naci Bostancı, *Modernizm ve Milliyetçilik, Türkiye Günlüğü*, Ankara, 1998, s. 43.

the two languages, whereas the ones who think that they are from a separate origin defend their views by highlighting the differences between the two languages. That UNESCO classified Zazaki “vulnerable” in regards with the danger of extinction also reinforced the studies in this direction. Demirbağ narrates this issue as follows: “The report published by UNESCO on February 21, 2009 on the occasion of International Mother Language Day reveals that alarm bells are ringing for Zazaki.”⁹ Considering that the language is the most significant factor in identity construction, this situation is very important for the ones who claim that Zaza people constitute a separate identity. In this regards, the response of Erdi Sönmez, a graduate student in Sabancı University, Department of History, is striking. (Age: 24, Hometown: Bingöl)

Language has a critical function in identity construction process. This fact prevails for the construction process of Zaza identity, as well. The existence and distinctness of the language points out the uniqueness of the society that it belongs to. Considering that a rise in consciousness of Zaza identity took place after UNESCO announced its prediction that Zazaki will no more be spoken after three generations, we can see the direct effect of the language on the identity.

The ones who speak the same language but identify themselves with Kurdish identity base their views on the similarities of the two languages. The individuals who accept these two languages the same due to the similarities between them focus their identity search on Kurdish identity and see their language as a dialect of Kurdish language. Malmisaj emphasizes this situation as follows: “Today, Kurdish people who speak Dımili¹⁰ dialect calls themselves as ‘Kırd’ and their dialect as ‘Kırdki’ or ‘Kırdi’ in certain areas.”¹¹ In this regard, the response of Mahmur Çimen, a student in İstanbul Technical University, Department of Civil Engineering, is remarkable. (Age: 20, Hometown: Diyarbakır)

Language is one of the most important factors for the identity. The similarities between Kurdish and Zazaki languages resemble the similarities between a language and its dialect. These similarities can be revealed in several areas. This can be exemplified by common words and similar timbres in local music. The most important factor designating the existence of a nation is its language, and Zazaki is a dialect of Kurdish language. Therefore, I am in a search for Kurdish identity.

9 Mehmet Ali Demirbağ, *Zenginliğe Sahip Çıkmak Zazalar*, Turgut Özal Uluslararası Ekonomi ve Siyaset Kongresi II. Küresel Değişim ve Demokratikleşme, Ed. Selma Kartepe vd., Malatya İnönü Üniversitesi, 2012, s. 646.

10 Today, the word “Dımili” is used as a synonym of Zazaki in philology.

11 Mehmet Malmısaniç, *Kırd, Kırmanci, Dımili ve Zaza Kürtleri*, Deng Yayınları, 1996, s. 1.

Differences in Belongingness

The sense of belongingness to an ethnicity differs between Zazaki speaking young individuals. Whereas some of them think that people whose mother tongue is Zazaki belong to Kurdish ethnicity, others claim that they are from a different ethnicity. On the other hand, it is possible to encounter a third group who feel belong to Turkish identity in the survey results. Varol cites this as follows: “When we examine Zaza people in regards to nationalism and language, we see that there are three different identifications. The first one of these views is, “Zaza people are Turkish and Zazaki is a dialect of Turkish,” the second one is “Zaza people are Kurdish and Zazaki is a dialect of Kurdish language,” and the third one is “Zaza people constitutes a separate nation and Zazaki is a distinct language”¹².

Language and culture are identification subjects for both the young people who feel belong to Kurdish identity and the ones who feel belong to a separate identity (Zaza). The ones who claim Zaza people are a separate ethnic group highlight that though they were identified as Turkish or Kurdish until a certain point, they have a language, religion and culture of their own that distinguish them from other two nations and this is supported by the researches. Arakelova emphasize this situation as follows: “The Zazas, a 5 million people, live in eastern Anatolia - Sivas, Erzinjan, Dersim (Tunceli), Elazık (Xarpet), Bingöl (Çewlig/Çolig), Bitlis, Balu, Varto, Siverek, Diyarbakir and elsewhere. Until now this people has been considered the Kurds, i.e. “one of the Kurdish tribal confederations”. The historical and linguistic investigations revealed that the Zazas are neither Turks, nor Kurds.”¹³ Young people who claim themselves to be from a separate identity reinforce their claims with examples from contexts like traditions of marriage and condolence, and religion. The issue of marriage in Zaza culture is expressed in the work of Çağlayan as follows: “It is reasonable to claim that monogamy, marriage with one person, is more acceptable.”¹⁴ In this regard, the response of one of the participants, Aylin Kapakçı, a student in Atatürk University, Department of History, is remarkable. (Age: 22, Hometown: Erzincan)

As a Zazaki speaking young person, I don't think that I belong to Kurdish or Turkish nation. At this point, most prominent factors are concepts like language, religion and culture. For Zazas, religion is more important compared to Kurdish. Zaza people differ from Kurdish people in marriage as well; whereas

12 Murat, Varol, *Etnik Yaklaşımlar Bağlamında Zaza Kimliği*, “Kimlik, Kültür ve Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlıdan Günümüze Kürtler Uluslar Arası Sempozyumu”, Bingöl Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2013, s. 454.

13 Victoria, Arakelova, *The Zaza People as a New Ethno-Political Factor in the Region*, Brill, 2010, s. 405.

14 Çağlayan *Zazalar, Tarih, Kültür ve Kimlik*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016, s. 129.

polygamy is common in Kurdish culture, this is rather rare with Zazas. Significant differences between two cultures like the ones mentioned above are the main reasons for me not to identify myself as Kurdish.

Young people who speak the same language and think that they are Kurdish people base their views on the common characteristics of two cultures. They emphasize that the way Zaza speaking people have fun resembles the way Kurdish people do. It can be observed that the concept of tribe is also a common aspect of these two cultures. Çağlayan mentions the concept of tribe as follows: “As it is for Kurdish tribes like Kurmanci and Soran, paternal kinship has a fundamental importance for Zaza tribes as well.”¹⁵ In this regard, the response of Pelda Baytar, a prep student in Boğaziçi University, is enlightening. (Age:18, Hometown: Diyarbakır)

My mother tongue is Zazaki and I feel belong to Kurdish ethnicity. The reason for that is I do not see any cultural difference between me and the people whom I live on the same lands with until now. It supports my claim that wherever I go within the Kurdish geography, even though I have trouble in communication in terms of language, I do not feel like a stranger in terms of culture. Our sense of entertainment in marriage ceremonies and even our dances are all same. For example, the concept of tribe is usually associated with Kurdish people and it is also quite common within Zaza speaking people as well. Our customs and traditions are so similar that they are almost the same. Patriarchal social structure still exists effectively in both of these cultures.

It is observed that some of the young people in Turkey feel belong to Turkish identity. The influence of the fact that they are perceived by the majority as a part of Turkish nation and they are introduced as such in related sources can be clearly seen on the sense of belongingness of the youth. Karpat explains the assimilation policies during the Republic period as follows: “After 1930, Republic of Turkey started creating a new ‘Turkish’ state that has a different nation approach from the modern nation concept that is shaped in accordance with its culture, history and religion during the Ottoman period. Indeed, history congresses, community centers and many similar initiatives aimed to create a new Turkish nation whose concrete aspects were predominant.”¹⁶ Identification of Zaza people as Turkish can be found in the work of Başbuğ as well. “Kurmanci and Zazaki are two different dialects of Turkish language.”¹⁷ In this regard, the response of Sena Koç, a student in İstanbul University, Department of Literature is worth to cite. (Age: 21, Hometown: Elazığ)

15 ibid, 135.

16 Kemal, H, Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Ortadoğu'da Millet, Milliyet, Milliyetçilik*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, s. 12.

17 Hayri, Başbuğ, *İki Türk Boyu; Zaza ve Kumanclar*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1984, s. 17.

As a Zazaki speaking person, I identify myself with Turkish identity. For years, I have been identified as such both in school and in my social environment. I also came across similar identifications in historical sources I read. I feel myself close to Turkish identity. As a Zazaki speaking person, I have no attachment at all with Kurdish people who terrorize everything.

Politicization of Ethnic Identity of Zazaki Speaking Individuals

It is observed that young individuals who speak this language agree on that this ethnic group has been politicized. The ones who think that this group has Kurdish origins claim that being Zaza has been reduced to a political instrument by the political discourse of the time. Çem discusses this point as follows: “I think that introduction of people who speak Zazaki as their mother language as a separate ethnic identity by the political powers is a part of the immense effort that has been put by the government after 1980 military coup (as well as before, i.e. since 1923, Koçgiri Movement) in order to divide Kurdish people and convince Alevis and Zazas that they are not Kurdish.”¹⁸ In this regard, I interviewed with Esen Sağdıç, a student in Marmara University, Department of Public Relations. (Age: 22, Hometown: Erzincan)

I can say that being Zaza has been politicized. Whereas the claim of the Kurdish people aimed to transform historical and cultural unity into a social power, the positive discrimination towards Zazaki speaking people by the political powers of the time aimed to break resistance of Kurds and their struggle to unite. This has been used as an instrument by these political powers.

Young people who think that Zazas have a separate origin claimed that Zazas adopted a political identity as a result of their discovery that they have unique aspects that separate them from both Kurdish and Turkish people. They think that the main reason for objecting Turkish identity is the unitary approach of Turks whereas the reasons for objecting Kurdish identity are the chaotic environment that is partly created by the terror and that Zazas evanesce within Kurdish identity. They claim that this situation necessarily brings a political stance along in time. It can be observed that they reflect this political stance in their discourse, as well. It is possible to see this political stance in the response of Yusuf Varol, a student in Boğaziçi University, Department of Turkish Language and Literature. (Age: 30, Hometown: Bingöl)

Yes, I think that being a Zaza has been politicized. Nowadays, there is necessarily a political aspect of the description of all the ethnic identities. It can be said that this goes much deeper in case of Zazas/Zazaki. Today, there is a political aspect even in smallest identifications. For example, the ones who utter the per-

18 Munzur, Çem, *Kırmanca (Zazaca) Konuşan Kürtler ve 20. Yüzyıl Direnişlerinde Rollerini*, <http://www.zazaki.de/turkce/makaleler/zazacazerinenotlar.pdf> Access: May 26, 2016.

vious name of Bingöl city as *Çewlig* tend to identify Zazaki speaking people as Kurdish. In a similar way, you can see that the ones who use the name *Çolig* tend to accept Zazaki speaking people as a separate identity. When these names are used consciously, the preferred discourse also reveals the attitude of the user regarding his identity.

Sense of Discomfort when Referred with a Different Identity than the Preferred One

Since various concepts such as language, religion, culture, geography and time have their parts in the construction of an identity, it has a dynamic structure. Individuals also are influenced by this dynamism while constructing their identities. For example, minorities who face the danger of assimilation with the emergence of nation states felt the need to emphasize their own identity as a precautionary measure. Çağlayan mentions this situation in his work as follows: “Individuals and groups define themselves through the ‘other’ and construct their identity in the context of relations with ‘others’.”¹⁹ Therefore, young people whose mother language is Zazaki feel discomfort when referred with an identity other than the one they prefer. In this regards, the outcome of the survey study I carried out with Yasin Çelik, a student in Bingöl University, Department of English Language and Literature, is worth paying attention. (Age: 26, Hometown: Bingöl)

All attachments regarding the issue of identity depend on how people identify themselves. In this regard, everyone’s own freewill must be the primary reference point. Separating this from the freedom of thought of people and dictating it is a serious problem which has severe consequences. The primary reason for that today Kurdish nationalism is in the level of trauma is that the oppression of the Turkish nationalism. That Turkish nationalism wants to see everyone like Turks is responded by a reflex and even triggered Kurdish nationalism in some issues. That applies to Zazas, too. Today Kurdish nationalism wants to manipulate Zazas and tries to dominate them, and that might cause a trauma in Zazas in future, as well.

The Influence of Identity Achievement Process of Kurds on the Identity Achievement of Zazaki Speaking Youth

Zazaki speaking people say that the identity achievement process of Kurdish people influenced Zazaki speaking youth. It can be observed that this influence works in both directions. In this regard, the response of Sinan Yaşar, a student in Dicle University, Department of Primary School Teaching, is enlightening. (Age: 29, Hometown: Bingöl)

19 Çağlayan, *Zazalar, Tarih, Kültür ve Kimlik*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016, s. 6.

We can say that the identity achievement process of Kurds goes parallel with identity construction process of Zaza youth. Researches increased the awareness in this regard. This awareness has two aspects; firstly, some young people placed themselves within the Kurdish movement, and secondly, they embarked on a quest of a distinct identity. That Kurdish identity accepted by the government set an example for Zazas.

The Influence of Young Generation on the Previous (Older) Generations

It is obvious that it has affected the young generation that some unspoken and banned issues are being discussed due to certain developments. Whereas it was thought it is undesirable to even mention the existence of some cultures before, the change in this situation reinforced the sense of belongingness (although recent limitations on freedom of speech and thought have made people to hesitate). The notion of belongingness that became popular among young people created awareness amongst them. In this regard, the response of Veysel Masraf, a student in Hacettepe University, Department of Psychology, is enlightening. (Age: 25, Hometown: Tunceli)

I think that the young generation influenced the older ones. That young people speaks and write in Zazaki, and discussion on identity issues have increased the awareness of the older generations. Though the older generation objected the politicization of Zaza identity, they started to think in line with young generation in time.

The Attitude of the Government towards the Identity Seeking Process of Youth

Young people whose mother language is Zazaki and who claim that they are Kurdish, expressed their view that the government introduced Zazas as a separate nation for divisive purposes. They claim that this attitude of the government aims to prevent Kurds from taking common actions. On the other hand, young people who think that Zazaki speaking people constitute a separate ethnicity say that the government does not adopt a clear attitude towards Zazas, but it constantly emphasizes that Zazas are a separate nation and makes this issue known countrywide. They highlighted the negative influence of this uncertainty on the identity construction. In this regard, the response of Şeyma Budak, a student in Boğaziçi University, Department of Turkish Language and Literature, is worth to cite. (Age: 24, Hometown: Elazığ)

I don't think that the government is solution oriented regarding the issue of being Zaza. They use Zazas as a shield nation against Kurds in many cases. They even fund the studies in universities for this purpose. Naturally, this tendencies

rise doubt amongst the common people. However, it also cannot be denied that these studies that are supported by the government increase awareness among them as well.

The Influence of Identity Seeking on the Political Preferences of Youth

It can be said that young people who are in search for their identity tend towards the political parties who speak of the issues concerning them for the most. It is observed that the political parties that mention ethnic and language-related issues in a manner compatible with the ideas of youth are preferred by them. In this regard, the response of Mehmet Şentürk, a student in Boğaziçi University, Department of Economics is worth paying attention.

I think their search for identity has a serious effect on their political preferences. Young people who identify themselves with Zaza identity keep their distance with Kurdish political parties. This applies to me as well. As my consciousness as a Zaza develop, pushed me away from the Kurdish political movement. I can say that young people who claim that Zazas are Kurdish draw closer to political movements that support this idea.

The Effect of the Identity Construction Problems on Involvement in Illegal Organizations

It can be observed that some of young people who experience problems in this identity construction process choose to involve in illegal organizations to construct their identity. The organization they take part in provides them a sense of belongingness at the same time. Yanmış and Kahraman exemplify this situation in their work as follows: “About 20-25 years ago, declaring a membership to PKK or speaking in Kurdish in city center was considered odd; however, it became one of the most important reference points that constitute the identity of an individual now.”²⁰ In this regard, the response of Ebru Yargı, a student at Marmara University, Department of Law, is worth citing.

I can say that young people who suffer an identity crisis try to complete this process through legal ways in order to feel belong to somewhere and have an identity; however, when legal conditions are not convenient, they use illegal means.

20 Mehmet Yanmış & Bayram Kahraman, *Gençlerin Dini ve Etnik Kimlik Algısı: Diyarbakır Örneği*, Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi, 2013, s. 129.

The Effect of the Government Opening Institutions in Related Organizations

Young people claim that the government opening institutions in organizations like state universities does not have any effects on sense of identity; however, they think that it increases the awareness of the people. They say that this awareness is mostly language-focused. In this regard, the response of İrfan Çelik, a student in İstanbul University, Department of English Teaching, is quite explanatory. (Age: 30, Hometown: Bingöl)

Opening departments related to Zazaki in universities and elective courses in Zazaki are positive developments in spite of their deficiencies and they will contribute positively to identity construction process. The fact that children who are exposed to Turkish in every aspects of their life and cannot learn Zazaki are thought Zazaki in schools will at least help them to get acquainted with this language. Whether or not adopting Zaza identity will be up to their views when they grow up.

To conclude, it can be said that the ‘single identity’ imposition implemented by the government after the establishment of the Republic started to change now with the questioning of the young generation. New generation that cannot live with their own identity, language and culture try to create an awareness in order to speak their own language and sustain their culture. It is observed that there are young people who feel disturbed by the imposition of Kurdish identity rather than the imposed ‘single identity’ by the Republic. There is an observed division between young people in this regard. This dividedness has an influence on the identity seeking process, political ideas and social life of the youth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arakelova, Victoria. “The Zaza People as a New Ethno-Political Factor in the Region”, Brill, 2010.
- Başbuğ, Hayri. “İki Türk Boyu; Zaza ve Kurmanclar”, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1998.
- Bilgin, Nuri. “Kimlik İnşası”, AşınA Kitaplar, İzmir, 2007.
- Bostancı, Naci. “Modernizm ve Milliyetçilik”, Türkiye Günlüğü”, Ankara, 1998.
- Keskin, Mesut. “Zazaca Üzerine Notlar”, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, Mayıs 2010.
- Çağlayan, Ercan. “Zazalar, Tarih, Kültür ve Kimlik”, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016.

- Çem, Manzur. “*Kırmancca (Zazaca) Konuşan Kürtler ve 20. Yüzyıl Direnişlerinde Rollerini*” <http://www.zazaki.de/turkce/makaleler/zazacauzerinenotlar.pdf> , May 26, 2016.
- Demirbağ, Mehmet Ali. “*Zenginliğe Sahip Çıkmak Zazalar*”, Turgut Özal Uluslararası Ekonomi ve Siyaset Kongresi II:Küresel Değişim ve Demokratikleşme, Ed. Selma Kar-tepe vd.,Malatya İnönü Üniversitesi, 2012.
- François, Georgeon. “*May the Concept of Generation Be a Key Concept in Regards with the Transition from Ottoman Empire to Kemalist Turkey*”, in Ferdan Ergut & Aysen Uysal. “*Tarihsel Sosyoloji*”, Dipnot Yayınevi, 2007.
- Wyn, Johanna & White, Rob,” *Chapter1: The Concept of Youth*” in *Rethinking Youth*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publication,1997.
- Karpat, Kemal, H. “*Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Ortadoğu’da Millet, Milliyet, Milliyetçilik*”, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Malmîsanij, Mehmet. “*Kırd, Kırmanci, Dımili ve Zaza Kürtleri*”, Deng Yayınları, 1996.
- Mead, Margaret. ”*Chapter:3 The Future. Prefigurative Cultures and Unkown Children*”, *Culture and Commitments: A Study of the Generation Gap*, Garden City, New York: Natural History Press/ Doubleday & Company, Inc.
- Varol, Murat. “*Etnik Yaklaşımlar Bağlamında Zaza Kimliği*”, *Kimlik, Kültür ve Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlıdan Günümüze Kürtler Uluslar Arası Sempozyumu*, Bingöl Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2013.
- Yanmış, M. Kahraman. “*Gençlerin Dini ve Etnik Kimlik Algısı: Diyarbakır Örneği*”, Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi, 2013.