

CONSTRUCTION AND RE-CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL CODES
THROUGH POLITICAL VIOLENCE: THE CASE OF KURDISH
NATIONALISM

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ABSTRACT

CONSTRUCTION AND RE-CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL CODES THROUGH POLITICAL VIOLENCE: THE CASE OF KURDISH NATIONALISM

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In this thesis, the aim was to explore and understand the discursive construction of Kurdish identity in 1970s. 1970s was determined for the period of the research because with 1970s, discourses on being Kurdish had been re-constructed with re-invented constituents. In this period, there had been the re-definition and re-construction of cultural subjects through political frames. Hence, it is aimed to reveal identity-society relation through how collective identity was produced by the formation of collective emotions, collective memory and collective action with the inclusion of discourse on violence in the Kurdish case. In this way, this thesis attempted to explain how feelings on ethnicity can turn into nationalistic movements. *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), which was a monthly published journal that had been printed between 1975-1979 was selected as the source, in order to search for in the re-organization of socio-cultural and political life of Kurdish people; how Kurdish culture was re-interpreted, what kind of a discourse on culture was produced by the integration of political issues and did this discourse include narratives on violence by using CDA and Maxqda software technique. It was observed that in the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu*

(Freedom Path) Kurdish cultural aspects were re-interpreted and combined by ethnic-national constituents. Kurdish culture that had been re-constructed was not the folk culture as it had been experienced in everyday life, but a culture that was invented through the establishment of a discourse on violence that carry nationalist connotations.

Keywords: discourse, culture, violence, critical discourse analysis, Kurdish identity

ÖZ

KÜLTÜREL KODLARIN SİYASAL ŞİDDET YOLUYLA İNŞA VE YENİDEN İNŞA SÜREÇLERİ: KÜRT MİLLİYETÇİLİĞİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tezin amacı, 1970'lerde Kürt kimliğine yönelik söylem inşasını anlamak ve araştırmaktır. Araştırma dönemi olarak 1970'lerin belirlenmesinin nedeni, Kürt kimliğinin söylem yoluyla yapılandırılan yeni unsurlarla yeniden inşa edilmesine dayanmaktadır. Bu dönemde, kültürel öğeler, siyasi bir çerçeve üzerinden yeniden tanımlanmış ve inşa edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu tezde kimlik-toplum arasındaki etkileşimden kolektif bir kimliğin; kolektif duygular, kolektif hafıza ve kolektif eylem üretimiyle sonuçlanan ilişkisi Kürt milliyetçiliği örneği üzerinden araştırılmıştır. Bu temelde bu tez, etnisite üzerine şekillenen duyguların milliyetçi hareketlere nasıl dönüştüğünü açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu amaçla Özgürlük Yolu isimli, 1975-1979 yılları arasında aylık yayımlanan dergi, araştırmanın kaynağı olarak belirlenmiştir. Söz konusu kaynakta Kürt halkının sosyo-kültürel ve siyasi yaşantısının nasıl yeniden organize edildiği, Kürt kültürünün nasıl yeniden yorumlandığı, siyasi hususların kültüre entegrasyonu ile nasıl bir söylem inşa edildiği, bu söylemin içerisinde şiddet anlatisinin yer alıp almadığı Eleştirel Söylem Analizi yöntemi ve Maxqda programı kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Araştırmanın neticesinde, Kürt kültürel özelliklerinin Özgürlük Yolu dergisinde milliyetçi unsurlarla yeniden

yorumlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Yeniden inşa edilen Kürt kültürünün gündelik yaşamda deneyimlenen halk kültüründen farklı olduğu, yeniden yorumlanan kültürün, şiddet söylemi üzerinden milliyetçi bir özellik taşıdığı tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: söylem, kültür, şiddet, eleştirel söylem analizi, Kürt kimliği

To Doğa and Volkan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party
KTV	Kurdistan Television
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party/Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan
RSPs	Reflexive Ritualized Symbolic Practices
SRT	Structural Ritualization Theory

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Identity is a dynamic phenomenon that is constructed and re-constructed. In this dynamic process, how the world is perceived by an individual depends on the aspects of the society. The products of society willingly or unwillingly in an inevitable way shape the identity of an individual. For instance; one of the most influential effect on identity is the language that is told in a society. By language, through the way how it is used, shapes the perceptions and cognition of an individual. Language of a society also re-constructs the culture of a society. As a result of this relational process, language and culture interactively construct and re-construct each other. In this interactively relation, politics is shaped, as well. The social relations between people are organized by politics in public space.

In Kurdish society, in the organization of social life, culture has a crucial place. The tribal structure of Kurdish society by strict customs and traditions were the main characteristics that organized the relations of the individuals. The most prominent feature of this tribal structure is observed by the communal activities in Kurdish society such as gatherings at homes for cultural activities. Additionally, in the organization of social life, tribal structure had a determinant role. However, this tribal structure had been started to change with the mechanization of agriculture and then industrialization period, which resulted with urban migration that also foster political mobilization. These developments led to changes in the cultural life of the Kurdish people that also resulted with the re-organization of social and political life of the Kurdish society.

Cultural knowledge that is represented by narratives, framings and symbols imply how a group defines itself and how it defines the other. In this thesis, the aim is to explore and understand the discursive construction of Kurdish identity

in 1970s. 1970s is determined for the period of the research because with the 1970s, discourses on being Kurdish had been constructed with re-invented constituents. In this period, there had been the re-definition and re-construction of cultural subjects through political frames such as the re-invention and re-interpretation of Nawruz as *Newroz* with its articulation of the Kawa legend. For this purpose, journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), which is one of the pioneer publications of its period, is selected for the research in order to reveal the discursive construction of Kurdish identity which had been defined in the past and re-defined in 1970s. 1970s is significant in the re-construction of Kurdish identity as the tribal identity received a political meaning with the rise of nationalistic attitudes in Kurdish culture.

This thesis is about the formation of a new re-constructed Kurdish cultural identity and its repercussions on the social and political life of Kurds in Turkey in 1970s. This thesis aims to reveal identity-society relation through how collective identity is produced by the formation of collective emotions, collective memory and collective action in the Kurdish case. In this way, this thesis attempts to explain how feelings on ethnicity can turn into nationalistic movements.

Özgürlük Yolu (Freedom Path), which was a monthly published journal that had been printed between 1975-1979 is selected as the source, in order to search for in the re-organization of socio-cultural and political life of Kurdish people; how Kurdish culture is re-interpreted, what kind of a discourse on culture is produced by the integration of political issues and does this discourse include narratives on violence. The journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) focused on cultural aspects of Kurdish culture through interpreting these cultural aspects by the political issues. It is observed that in the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) Kurdish cultural aspects are re-interpreted and combined by national constituents. Kurdish culture that had been constructed was not the folk culture as it had been experienced in everyday life, but a culture that was invented according to Kurdish nationalist discourse. These evaluations are confirmed by

the publishers' defining *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) as a journal, which included writings on Kurdish history, language, literature and Kurdish national struggle.

Therefore, I aim to analyze *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) and explain how the narratives are institutionalized in everyday life and in the mobilization of the group. I also aim to explore those discourses, metaphors, symbols and rituals which are produced and represented. Hence, the target of the study is to see if there is a relationship between cultural codification, discourse establishment and identity building in the discursive construction by the use of cultural constituents, political issues and discourse on violence in the re-interpretation of Kurdish identity.

The main questions of the thesis, are as follows:

- What is the relationship between cultural-political meaning production and construction of Kurdish national/ethnic identity in Turkey?
- What kind of a meaning does violence denote in Kurdish cultural and political discourse?
- What are the traits of ethno-symbolic approach in the cultural-political meaning production?

The aim is to examine the discursive construction of Kurdishness in terms of narratives, framings and symbols. Based on narratives, framings and symbols, what kind of an identity construction is produced and how Kurdishness is defined, and how cultural rituals and practices are re-defined in the discursive construction of Kurdishness are addressed. Moreover, I aim to reveal if and how narratives on violence had an impact on the construction of cultural and political meaning of being Kurdish.

Identity of the group is constructed and re-constructed through the production of the re-interpreted cultural codes. In this study, Kurdish identity construction process is searched on the basis of how discourse on political violence produced

new cultural codes and values for the group that is carried by collective action. Subject-group interaction results with the formation of a new meaning in group level through the formation of collective behavior that sustains the continuity and acceptance of the behavior as a norm by the group through the formation of new cultural codes.

In identity construction process how the other is framed is explained, because through the definition of the other, identity of the self is framed. In this study, how violence was narrated by the use of cultural aspects with political practices and how Kurdish identity building was constructed and re-constructed in this process is analyzed. In this way, how images of violence in Kurdish culture were represented and how conflict was framed in re-invented Kurdish culture is investigated and analyzed.

Additionally, this thesis explores the narratives that were used for the construction of the group identity and mobilization. Mobilization of the group and the maintenance of the collective action, required specific discourses, symbols and rituals which are included in the analysis of cultural materials in everyday language. In this regard, social movement theories and nationalism theories focus on identity-collective action relationship as they reinforce each other through certain feelings of belonging (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). However, there is also the effect of the construction and re-construction of cultural codes, which define the identity and the collective action that reinforce each other mutually. The aim of this study is to research for how collective action is shaped through the establishment of a discourse on cultural traits, political issues and violence, in which political violence is supposed as the catalyzer of the collective action that produces new cultural codes for the durability of the group identity.

Collective action is explained by identity. However, as the definers of the identity; ethnicity, gender and sexuality are shaped and defined by cultural codes that are established by collective action. One of the main aim of this study is to

research for the collective action and cultural code production relation under the effect of the political violence. Collective action that is shaped by political violence gains a different kind of an organizational structure.

By the weakening of the tribal structure of Kurdish society by the mechanization of agriculture, industrialization, subsequent revolts, rural-urban migration, political mobilization in party politics and mass communication resulted with a new wave of Kurdish discourse establishment, which mainly carried nationalistic characteristics with 1960s. Additionally, by 1970s, nationalistic connotations on being Kurdish had been introduced especially by the re-interpretation of the Kurdish classics such as *Mem u Zin* and *Sharafname*. In fact, the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) is crucial in terms of its interpretation of Kurdish cultural aspects through political discourses.

Therefore I attempt to explore and investigate the main research questions in the following way: first by analyzing those ‘primary sources’ that were accepted as the main historical and ancient sources in which Kurds and their socio-cultural, political lives were described. These are *Sharafname* by Sharaf Khan in 1596, *Mem-u Zin* by Ahmedî Hani in 1692 and *Kürt Çoban* (Kurdish Shepherd) by Ereb Şemo in 1935. In order to understand historical discursive construction on Kurdishness, I also analyzed Kurdish poems which are collected in the book of *Anthology of Kurdish Poem* from the 8th century till 1950s. I aimed to reveal the main topics in ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity. In order to grasp the ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity; oral culture, music, dance, *Newroz*, the conceptualization on *Kurdistan* and the use of violence in discursive construction of Kurdish identity are observed as relevant and analyzed. Therefore, as one of the other primary source, I analyzed the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) that focuses on cultural and political constituents on Kurdish identity and in which the writings have an ethno-symbolic characteristic.

I analyzed *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) that came out between 1975-1979 through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I have accessed the 44 issues of the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), through the website of *Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırma Vakfı* (Turkey Social History Research Foundation-<https://www.tustav.org/sureli-yayinlar-arsivi/ozgurluk-yolu/>).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a particular form of discourse analysis that provides a systematic descriptive framework for revealing the meanings in text and talk (Hart, 2010). CDA analyses the relationship between language and society (Hart, 2010). The central principles of CDA depend on the ideas that discourse constitutes society and culture, discourse is historical and by discourse the link between text and society is mediated (Hart, 2010).

CDA is a method that aims to reveal how and out of what identities are constructed, who constructs them and why. It is a particular form of discourse analysis that provides a systematic descriptive framework for revealing the meanings in text. CDA tries to explore linkages between language and social action and it is used in order to reveal how discourse is ideologically constructed. Hence, cognitive linguistic terms are important to understand the relationship between language and society.

Cognitive linguistic terms are described by frames, schemas and conceptual metaphors (Hart, 2010). Metaphor is central to CDA because by metaphors a coherent view of reality is framed (Hart, 2010). In order to understand the conceptualization on Kurdishness, there is need to examine the cognitive models. Cognitive models are represented in discourse space. Hence for revealing the discursive construction on Kurdishness, the discourse space is needed to be described. Discourse space consists of three intersecting axes around the discourse world, which are spatial/socio-spatial axis (S)=close friends/distant enemies, temporal axis (T)=near future/remote past, and evaluative axis=close to

the truth/far from the truth that is engaged with an epistemic and an axiological aspect (Hart, 2010).

Based on these axes, presupposed knowledge and value-orientations are found in shared cognitive frames (Hart, 2010). As a result material processes become apparent as an image schema in;

-Spatial proximization through interaction between an antagonist and protagonist,

-Temporal proximization through past-oriented and future oriented and

-Axiological proximization through the ability to imagine opposing axiological world views (Hart, 2010).

In the analysis of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) by CDA, the journal is examined on the basis of four steps, which composes of event space, time/place space, mental and discourse space. By event space, the positions of the subjects and their interaction with each other in spatial area is explored.

In time-place space; how past, present and future are defined and by this description what kind of a common history is constructed is elaborated. Exploring time-place relation also makes possible to understand what is carried from the past to the present in order to construct the future perception. This relational connection makes possible to examine how and what kind of a collective identity is established on the defined shared past, present and future.

By the search on mental space what kind of stories, metaphors and symbols are used is searched for in order to understand how the reality is represented. In order to reveal the descriptive preferences of the situations, it is searched for; what kind of conceptual metaphors, cognitive frames are produced and what kind of symbols, naming practices and analogical connectors are used. Under this purpose, naming practices on in-group, out-group, and situations are identified. Analogical connectors are represented. Additionally, mental space

construction strategy is explored by identifying situation/event, time/place and modal spaces.

In the analysis of discourse space it is searched for what kinds of frames, schemas and conceptual metaphors are used. Search on the structural characteristics of the discourse space of the journal, two additional methodologies are used, which are epistemic and temporal proximization and storyline formation. In epistemic and temporal proximization, it is searched for in the definition of present time, how past and future are narrated. In storyline formation, it is examined how specific ideas are conceptualized and represented with who the subjects are and how they are positioned. In discourse space, how Kurdish culture is re-invented, how violence is narrated in the re-invention of culture and construction process of Kurdishness are addressed.

In the second part of the analysis of the journal, by the use of Maxqda software technic, quantitative analysis is made through determining the frequency of the words. It is aimed to reveal in the process of discursive construction, what kinds of words are used and what kind of a meaning-making is established by the use of most repeated words. For each issue, words which are repeated up to six times are studied. They are evaluated according to their repetition, the words used together and according to their structure.

The statistical data constituted by the words that are mostly used, for each year from 1975 to 1979, are represented by tables and figures. The statistical data for the most repeated words represented comparatively through tables and figures, as well. In the evaluation of discourse on violence, words that are related with violence are analyzed and represented in separate tables and figures. Most repeated words are also analyzed according to the words they are used together. Additionally, presuppositions, words about certainty, antonym and use of adjectives are examined. Based on the structural analysis of the words; how group identity and the actions of the in-group and out-group with collective

consciousness are identified is studied. Furthermore, how cultural and political subjects are identified is analyzed.

In the discourse construction process of the journal it is observed that Kurdish folk songs, epics and myths are revealed as the stocks to convey political events. In the interpretation of the meanings of the events; shared myths and cultural traditions are used as the base for the formation of a collective memory. A common past is narrated historically. Through the framing of a common past, collective and shared present is constituted and a collective future is projected.

In the analysis of the journal it is observed that Kurdishness is established on the idealization of an imagined community. A newly defined Kurdishness that unites each Kurd on the imagined territory of Kurdistan is projected. The discourse construction is made by the reinvention of Kurdish culture through creating a new definition on Kurdishness by integrating political subjects and elements related with violence in the meaning-making process. It is elaborated that the discourse strategy of the journal is shaped on the basis of ethno-symbolic nationalism.

By the research on *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), the mutual and interactive relation between narrative and self is revealed. With this study, it becomes possible to observe the identity construction of the self through discourse. By the analysis of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), it is seen that with a historical, cultural and political context, how a new collective identity can be constructed by the use of discourse.

This thesis is an attempt to contribute nationalism studies through emphasizing how a new collective identity can be constructed through the re-interpretation of cultural constituents with political issues and integration of violence in discourse. By this study, with the systematic use of discourse, such as introducing new meanings through strengthening them with symbols and

narratives, how the cognitions, understandings and actions of individuals are affected and how collectivity on new identity formation is possible is revealed.

This study is descriptive on the basis of revealing how a collective identity is constructed by the use of discourse that composes of cultural and political subjects with narratives on violence. Based on the scope of the thesis, it is not searched and discussed for what kind of events or situations caused to the formation of such kind of a discourse construction on Kurdishness. This study addresses how ethno-symbolic Kurdish nationalism had been constructed in the sources that are analyzed.

The effects of ethno-symbolic nationalist discourse can be observed today in the social-political actions of some group of people such as in the celebration of *Newroz*, not as the welcoming of the spring but as the implication of resistance. Additionally, narratives, metaphors and symbols on assimilation, exploitation, domination and backwardness that were produced in *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) are still used in some publications such as *Özgür Halk* (Free People).

As a constructed identity, ethno-symbolic Kurdishness with its justification to use violence have been transmitted to next generations. Therefore, the discourse on violence which was established on the basis of cultural-political subjects can still be used as an ideological base for the justification to use violence. Today, in Turkish politics, there is a framing on ‘Kurdish problem’, which is still defined on the basis of past issues. In this study, the purpose is to reveal how past issues can be transmitted to present-day and makes it possible to form a collective understanding through the re-invention of cultural subjects by the integration of political issues with discourse on violence.

Following the introduction; as the first chapter of the thesis, chapter two is concerned with a literature review on identity, culture and violence. In the first part by the literature review on identity, it is aimed to reveal identity-society relation. I aim to reveal how a collective identity is produced by the formation of

collective emotions, collective memory and collective action. Additionally, by the literature review on identity, based on collectivity, how feelings on ethnicity can turn into nationalistic movements is addressed.

In the second part of the literature review, how culture is conceptualized and in everyday life of an individual how culture is experienced as a cultural identity under the effects of memory, cultural schemes, symbols and myths are revealed. In addition to these, how language is used in the construction of cultural identity by underlining the roles of narrative and discourse are underlined.

In the third part of the literature review, in order to understand the place of violence in culture and politics, literature review on violence is investigated by focusing on collective, cultural and political violence. By this way, how violence is conceptualized and experienced on cultural and political spheres are tried to be addressed.

In the third chapter, discursive reconstruction on Kurdish identity is explored first in historical and ancient primary sources of Kurdish identity. In addition, I have investigated the ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity in the secondary sources. In the secondary sources, how Kurdish socio-cultural and political lives are narrated is searched for. By this search, it is aimed to emphasize what is studied on Kurdish socio-cultural and political characteristics. With this analysis, a historical context on Kurdish cultural and political changes and developments is elaborated.

Under chapter four with the title of Freedom Path: Re-construction of Kurdish identity, the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) is studied through CDA and by the use of Maxqda software technic. The frequency of the words are studied through examining statistically the increase and decrease of the words and how they are structured. The analyzed data on the basis of each year are studied comparatively by tables and figures in the main text while raw data of the each issue are represented in the appendix section by tables and figures. The

conclusion is represented in chapter five through the discussion and evaluation of findings with a theoretical context.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Literature Review on Identity

In this chapter with the aim of literature review on identity, how an individual positions him/herself in a community and how this positioning affects the individual and communal identity construction and consciousness will be investigated. Moreover, how the individual-society interrelation is established will be analyzed.

I argue that identity is a constructed phenomenon and it is a dynamic process. With the literature review on identity, my aim is to indicate this is a constructive continuing process on the basis of structure-agency relationship. My focus will be on how an individual constructs his/her identity within a group and how this construction can result with conflict creation based on group motives through establishing a meaning system and evoking a narrative context.

2.1.1. Definition of Identity

The psychological idea of identity is related to a person's view or mental model of him or herself. The term identity refers to the capacity for self-reflection and the awareness of self (Trend, 2007). Identity has an ongoing dynamic (Bradley, 2008). Identity as a dynamic phenomenon includes both fluid and static characteristics. Identity is multilayered based on personal and social levels (gender, ethnicity and religion). This is also about what people attribute to their different aspects of their identity, which varies according to context and time

(Stewart, 2007). Hence, identity is built up and changes throughout a person's lifetime (Maalouf, 2001).

Erikson (1980) defines the conscious feeling of having a personal identity with two main components, which are the immediate perception of one's selfsameness and continuity in time that is recognized by the others. Through identity people define themselves. However, this definition in conscious level does not occur by itself, there is the effect of the society around the individual in the definition of his/her identity. Thinking, learning, forgetting are all the parts of the process of cognitive reorganization (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947).

In this cognitive reorganization, language and culture are the two basic frames how an individual define him/herself. Without the society and without the givens of that society, definition of an identity by an individual cannot be possible. This is the base for the collectivity of the individuals and this also explains how mobilization can occur at collective level. Sigmund Freud explains this process through the relationship between ego ideal and group psychology. Freud states that; "The ego ideal opens up an important avenue for the understanding of group psychology. In addition to its individual side, this ideal has a social side; it is also the common ideal of a family, a class or a nation" (as cited in Erikson, 1980, pp.159-160).

Bradley (2008) defines identity through putting emphasis on individual and collective sense of solidarity. Bradley (2008) states that; "Identities are socially constructed, dynamic and multifaceted. Subjectively, identification with a category is simultaneously a definition of self, so that groups come to identify themselves as ethnic, religious, national and other terms" (pp.43-44).

Bradley's (2008) emphasis on identifying an individual's himself/herself in relation to others' definition of themselves is formulated by Krech and Crutchfield (1947) through implying that beliefs and attitudes give continuity to the personality of the individual through giving meaning to the individual's daily

perceptions and activities and serving the attempted achievement of various goals.

Hence, identifying an individual's self, according to his/her environment also shapes the individual's beliefs and attitudes. Based on this; "a belief is defined as an enduring organization of perceptions and cognitions about some aspect of the individual's world. An attitude is defined as an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world" (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947, p.173). Based on beliefs and attitudes, behaviors are shaped. Thus, beliefs and attitudes are enduring organizations of perceptual, motivational and emotional factors that convey the social world of the individuals (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947).

2.1.2. Identity-Society Relation

The relation between individual and society is interactive. "...the intentional subject of a we-intention is we, while the ontological subject of a we-intention is a single agent" (Tuomela, 2006). Identities are lived out relationally and collectively, which means that identities must be negotiated collectively and they must conform to social rules (Lawler, 2008). Social world has a continuous structure, which depends on constantly becoming instead of being.

In identity construction, there is the dilemma between the structure-agency relationships, as if identities are pre-determined by structure or as if identities are the product of agentic discourses (Bradley, 2008). In discursive approach, identity-society relation is implied through underlining that structures and agents stand in a dialectical relationship to one another (Demmers, 2012). The discursive approach implies the systematic description of discourses within their specific historical and power context. It focuses on the dialectical formation and contestation of collective narratives deriving from shared stories that people define who they are and they are not.

From this perspective, conflict derives from “a discourse of exclusionist protection against a constructed enemy, who is deserving of any violence perpetrated against it” (Demmers, 2012, p.118). Discursive approach focuses on what kinds of limits that communities construct, their relationship to which they are not or what threatens them and the narratives which produce the founding past of a community, its identity and its projections of the future (Demmers, 2012).

Symbolic interactionism draws the relation between identity-society relation through stressing that the individual is treated as autonomous and integral in creating his/her social world in which meanings are continuously created and recreated through interpreting processes during interaction with others. (Carter and Fuller, 2016)

Anthony Giddens illuminate the identity-society relation through his structuration theory. Giddens’ structuration theory indicates that human beings are reflexive ‘knowledgeable agents’. Thus, agency and structure are mutually constitutive, in which social systems are produced and reproduced in interaction. Krech and Crutchfield (1947) underline the interactional relation between identity-society by pointing out the scope of beliefs and attitudes through the effect of culture stating that; “The range of available cultural patterns within any society tends to limit the range of possible beliefs and attitudes that individuals in that society can hold” (pp.200-201). Hence, cultural patterns of a society, which limit the range of possible beliefs and attitudes, determine the psychological borders of the relationships of a group.

People form perceptions of themselves and others in the process of the construction of identity (Bradley, 2008). Sense of identity is formed based on the image of the other based on what they value and how they behave (Bradley, 2008). This sense of identity sustains the group cohesion. In-group identity is shaped by certain stereotypes, biases and prejudices (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006). Stereotypes arise from processes of categorization Demmers, 2012).

Members of in-group form a sense of security and moral legitimacy for their perceptions, interpretations and actions towards the other (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006).

In this process, social categorization has a crucial role, which derives from the universal and fundamental need of the individual to categorize, need to belong and the need to secure sense of self. This process is named as identity impulse, which represents the need to form descriptions of the world as a way to try and figure out what is going on. Forming categories of description both physically and socially through imposing order on the world by mental processes represent the cognitive imperative (Demmers, 2012).

Social categories are evaluative and emotional. When people identify with a group that group becomes the basis for thinking, feeling and acting. Categorization of the self as an in-group indicates assimilation of the self to the in-group category prototype and enhanced similarity to other in-group members. This process of self-categorization nurtures the further social differentiation (Demmers, 2012).

Under this perception, it can be stated that identity is defined through community, which maintains enduring relationship among its members (Trend, 2007). Hence, in identity building, there is the formation of in-group and out-group. In-group identity contains: 1) predominance of in-group goals over personal goals, 2) the readiness to forget all internal in-group conflicts in situations of threat to the in-group and 3) the readiness to unite against out-groups (Korostelina, 2006). Korostelina (2006) elaborates the role of in-group primacy for in-group members through pointing out the importance of the willingness to disregard their own goals and values and to follow the modes of behavior required by the in-group.

Community identifications provide a cultural frame for layered identities (Bradley, 2008). Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) determine the collective

generality for a particular in-group with four criteria, which are; homogeneity of perceptions and behaviors of out-group members, long-term stability of their beliefs, attitudes and actions, resistance to change in their ideas about the other and the scope or range of category of the other.

In the definition of the identity, how the other is perceived and conceptualized is crucial as well. Baumann (2004) states that; “Othering and belonging are mutually constitutive components of identity (p.4).” In the definition of the identity, mirror imaging of the other is made. This determines who to include in the community and exclude the other. Accepting who we are necessitates defining who we are not, that is who are the others and such divisions are often contested and emotionally charged (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006).

Peter Berger defines the relation between individual and society through implying that society shapes our ideas, emotions and consciousness (as cited in Charon, 2009). By this way, society shapes the behaviors’ of an individual that he/she belongs to (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947). Krech and Crutchfield (1947) imply that the interrelationship among needs, beliefs and action shape the individual-society relation. They indicate that one of the defining characteristics of a social organization is the possession a common belief system by its members. Since a common belief system tends to eliminate the expected behavior differences by inducing a common method of expressing the different needs and by creating common needs among the members (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947). Through the identification with the group, members of the group put the virtues of the group center of everything by considering their own group as the best of all similar groups and believe that their group is righteous in its aims and must achieve those aims (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947).

2.1.3. Collective Identity: Collective Emotions, Collective Memory and Collective Action

Le Bon defines the most typical characteristic of the community through collective spirit, which brings each divergent individual together under common emotions and ideas creating homogeneity between them that result with collective action (as cited in Freud, 2015). Le Bon indicates that in the community, unique characteristic of the individual is lost; homogeneity evaporates in heterogeneity (as cited in Freud, 2015). Le Bon adds that in a community, an individual gets new characteristics, which he defines as;

- Feeling that having an extended power as being the member of the community in which conscience and responsibility can be lost easily by collective action,
- Sacrificing the individual interest for the sake of the community interest,
- Individual tendency for suggestibility (as cited in Freud, 2015).

Le Bon indicates that an individual acts according to his/her instincts when becomes the part of a community. He denotes that collectivity reinforces violence and show of enthusiasm and bravery (as cited in Freud, 2015). Reality can be easily diverted and collective action on fiction can be maintained by strong symbols (Freud, 2015). This can be explained by the regression in the formation of the community (Freud, 2015). We-intending agent intentionally participates in the joint action (Tuomela, 2006).

By we-intending agent, a community is established. A community is the entity that has the ability to create language, cultural aspects such as music, folklore that establishes the intellectual base of itself (Freud, 2015). An organized community is based on its continuity, emotional relations between the community members, existence of the other, communal relations based on institutions and customs with hierarchical relations (Freud, 2015).

Identity is conceptualized through the norms of the community, which standardize the language and behavior (Gingrich, 2004). Meaning systems are

contextualized by shared symbols and images. Shared symbols and images are established under the identity of a community. Through self-reflecting, mirror imaging and othering, identity construction becomes a dynamic phenomenon, which maintains interaction between individuals.

With sharing memories, socially and culturally collective constructions such as myths and stories are established, which shape and affect the perceptions of the individuals about themselves and the others (Reese and Fivush, 2008). Therefore, collective memory cannot be separated from the collective and its members, who are the creators and carriers of the memory (Wang, 2008). As Durkheim underlines, the community creates its own morality through its collective memory (as cited in Collins, 2014).

Collective memory is kept alive by collective emotions. Collective emotions are crucial drivers for collective mobilization. Group emotions include negative and positive motives such as fear, hatred, guilt, hope and security. For instance, fear is a collective emotion that tends to mobilize societies toward conflict by limiting the perspective of its members, linking past negative experiences to the present. Hence, fear as a collective emotion may result with act of violence (Coutant, Worchel, and Hanza, 2011).

Through the identification with the group, individual feels the welfare of the group as his welfare, the achievements of the group as his achievements (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947). Thus, the emotional dynamics play a crucial role in the solidarity and connectedness of a group. Emotion plays a crucial role in identity theory for the explanation of the individual-society relation. Based on this fact, Collins identifies two types of emotions, which are transient emotions and emotional energy. Collins defines transient emotions as joy, embarrassment, fear and anger, which are disruptive of the flow of everyday life. Emotional energy is defined as a long-term level of enthusiasm, a sense of connectedness and willingness to initiate interaction. Based on this, ritual interaction is used as a key term, which maintains solidarity experiences (as cited in Effler, 2002).

Collective emotions are the catalyzer of the collective memory. Durkheim defines this situation as; “Collective emotions imbue a community’s socially shared beliefs and values with affective meanings, thus making these values salient in everyday, mundane interaction, well beyond the immediate ritual context” (as cited in von Scheve and Salmela, 2014). Collective emotions provide the base for collective action through promoting solidarity and cohesion and affecting what people believe, desire and value (von Scheve and Salmela, 2014).

Wang (2008) elaborates this situation through the function of collective memory as a therapeutic practice; “a healing device and a tool for redemption” for a community (p.309). He implies that collective memory is an active constructive process in which shared past experiences have eventual memory representations in forms of narratives, rituals and etc. (Wang, 2008).

Hirst and Echterhoff (2008) imply that collective memory spreads across a group based on the combined effects of social practices and individual psychological factors. Hirst and Echterhoff (2008) indicate that; “A psychology of collective memory should consider: 1) the transmission of a memory from one person in the community to another person, 2) the convergence of disparate individual memories of an event onto a shared rendering of this event, and 3) the degree to which this shared rendering remains stable over time” (p.187). In addition, they underline that the process of collective memory does not only formed by collective remembering but also collective forgetting (Hirst and Echterhoff, 2008). Thus, memories are interpretations, they are social products and hence what we remember depends on the social context (Lawler, 2008).

Social memory is the connective structure of societies (Olick and Robbins, 1998). Memories become generalized over time into an “imago” that represents a generalized memory trace (Olick and Robbins, 1998). Memorials involve imagery, as well. Hence, imagery plays a significant role in the psychology of memorialization on the formation of collective memory. The formation of

collective memories represent how a society deals with its past (Hirst and Echterhoff, 2008).

Therefore, collective memory plays a significant role in the formation of the conflicts. Specific ethos of conflict is developed by societies and a dominant emotional culture and emotional conflict climate is maintained (Halperin, 2014). Collective memories of the conflict and ethos of conflict are activated when threats, real or symbolic are perceived (Bar-Tal, 2011). Because collective memory, which is one of the significant aspect of the group performance on cognitive tasks, limits the information what a group collectively remembers (Swol, 2008). Collective memory focuses on four themes during the conflict, which are; 1) it justifies the outbreak of the conflict and the course of its development, 2) it presents own society in a positive light, 3) it describes the rival society in delegitimizing ways, 4) it portrays own society as the victim of the opponent (Bar-Tal, 2011).

This situation can be explained by the aspects of collective remembering, which are detailed by Wertsch and Roediger (2008). They elaborated that collective remembering is conservative and resistant to change. Therefore, established narratives cannot be falsified by counter-evidence. Collective remembering composed of an identity project based on narrative heroism and victimhood that relies on schemas and scripts that ignores the other narratives, which do not fit the constructed narrative (Wertsch and Roediger, 2008).

Collective remembering is kept alive in large-group identities. Volkan (1997) defines large-group identities as; “the end result of a historical continuity, geographical reality, a myth of a common beginning, and other shared events: they evolve naturally...large-group identity is the psychodynamic process of linking individual selves to the canvas of a large-group tent (p.91).” Wagner and Hayes (2005) emphasize that collective memory makes possible for the representation of the past in the present through images which create everyday schemata that helps to judge contemporary events according to past events.

Lawler (2008) states that; “What we make of experience depends on what we know about the ways in which those experiences relate to the wider social circumstances of our lives (p.18).” Emotional information spread through emotional episodes, which spread easily through social networks. The spreading of emotional information establishes the shared collective knowledge about emotional events, which updates the individual emotions continuously (Rime, 2007).

Rime indicates that by collective emotions a chain reaction between individuals occur through sharing the common emotions (Rime, 2007). Such chain reactions can contribute to the construction of an emotional climate through nourishing group cohesion and solidarity on collective memory (Rime, 2007). According to the study of Marques et al., this was conducted in 1993 and 1994 in Portugal on youths who were not yet born at the time of war, “the trans-generational sharing of traumatic past events reinforces a negative view of the contemporary society and manifested the impact of the past over the appraisal of the present (as cited in Rime, 2007, p.315).”

Bietti (2011) underlines that the processes of remembering are always action oriented reconstructions of the past, which are highly dynamic based on communication and context, which establish the cognitive pragmatics of memory-making. With collective memory and through collective emotions, collective action is shaped. With collective action, knowledge is shared and learned. Shared affect and cognitions lead to the establishment of a particular task frame through presenting a particular course of action that increases the coordination in group (Kelly, Jannone and McCarty, 2014). Halperin (2014) implies this situation through underlining that people’s conception of the context determines their behavioral options and their chosen routes of action. Halperin (2014) defines this process as collective context, which dictates members of a society about their needs and goals. Hence a unique context is established between a society’s members and the society.

Collective action has been researched by new social movement theories. In new social movement theories, collective action has been studied on the basis of identity such as ethnicity, gender and sexuality as the definers of collective identity (Buechler, 1995).

In new social movement theories;

- Cultural sphere is a major arena for collective action,
- Processes that promote autonomy and self-determination are underlined,
- The role of post-materialist values in contemporary collective action is expressed,
- There is the problematization of the process of constructing collective identities and identification of the group interests,
- The socially constructed nature of grievances and ideology are stressed,
- There is the recognition of a variety of submerged, latent and temporary networks that strengthen the collective action and
- There is the emphasis on societal totality that provides the context for the emergence of collective action (Buechler,1995).

2.1.4. Ethnicity and Nationalism

In identity formation, ethnicity and nation are crucial conceptualizations in the determination of who we are and are not. Ethnic group is defined as largely biologically self-perpetuating organism, which shares fundamental cultural values based on unity in cultural forms through interacting and forming membership (Barth, 1969). Ethnicity represents the complicated kinship relations that are passed from generation to generation, long-term unity and common culture (Volkan, 2005).

Ethnicity derives from the beliefs about race in which there is the transformation of blood and culture from generation to generation (Köknel, 2000). Hence, ethnicity is a cultural construct, which includes the reference to real or imagined historical events, peculiarities of customs and the like (Schlee, 2008). Sandole

(2006) defines ethnicity as part of the nurture that interacts with nature that composes of culture, race, language, worldview, history and traditions. Ethnicity represents culturally distinctiveness through common descent, myths of common origin, collective historical memories, elements of common culture, association with a homeland and a sense of solidarity (Aronoff, 2011).

Demmers (2012) define ethnicity as;

...something we are socialized into. We are born into societies where the notion of ethnic affiliation, strong or weak, is apparent. From a very early age onwards children learn about ethnic categorization through their interaction with parents and significant others and internalize related cultural meanings, such as language, religion, history and beliefs. Through their early identification with family and relatives, children generate an affective sense of belonging. This process is an enculturation course (p.32).

Hence, in the process of enculturation through the production of narratives on ethnic identity, those narratives become the justification tools for the behaviors against the other (Bradley, 2008). There are three approaches that try to explain ethnicity, which are primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism. Primordialists argue that ethnicity is a cultural given, a quasi-natural state of being determined by one's descent and socio-biological determinants. Instrumentalists interpret ethnicity as being developed instrumentally, which is used by groups and their leaders in order to achieve political or economic goals (Stewart, 2007). According to constructivism, meanings are not given in nature but they are socially and historically constructed (Seidler, 2010). Constructivists express that human sociability and politics are represented and facilitated through the cultural construction of bonds of collective identity. By these constructions, processes of human cognition and social interaction are shaped and the included us and excluded them is determined.

Through the valuation of differences between us vs. them, the superiority of us leads to the transformation of the cognitive distinction into a socially recognized normative one. In this way, collective identity, particularly salient in the

formation of national identity is constructed (Aronoff, 2011). Hence, collective identities are neither natural nor static, which means they are socially constructed, politically negotiated, and dynamic (Aronoff, 2011). Past, present and future are culturally and politically constructed that create contested collective memories with competing visions of nationhood (Aronoff, 2011). So, in identity construction, culture plays a vital role, in which there is a mutual relationship between identity formation and culture. Thus, ethnic group and nation are interrelated concepts that carry cultural and political aspects (Schlee, 2008).

Nation represents the community who lives on the same territory with common history, language, culture, aim and expectations. Brockmeier (2001) defines national identities as narrative constructions, which are constructed in a linguistic mode and various textual modes. Brockmeier (2001) describes the types of these modes as discursive, iconic and inactive sign systems that compose the cultural memory. National identity produces nationality, which symbolizes the official identity of the individuals who establish the nation and their legal relations with their state (Köknel, 2000). Furthermore, national identities are related with normative judgments about in-group virtues and out-group vices (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006). Therefore as Aronoff states; “National identity is a dynamic and fluid cultural product of political processes (p.169)”.

Nationalism maintains the people’s need to belong, to have a place in the world, a sense of destiny, immortality and continuity. Anderson indicates that nations have cultural artefacts which result with emotional attachments. Anderson points out that members of a nation live the image of their communion without the actors are aware of each other (Anderson, 1989). Durkheim underlines these constantly living images of the nation through national symbols, which are sacred because they are emotionally charged.

Durkheim illustrates this emotional charge through the power of national flags on the community by the motive of an individual to die for his/her flag (as cited in Beyer, Scheve and Ismer, 2014). In this emotional charge, besides the images of nationalism, narratives on myths play a crucial role through the formation of bonding and solidarity among the group. The effect of myths on the formation of bonding and solidarity can be explained through the production of taboos and duties by mythic logics (Olick and Robbins, 1998). While the symbols of the ethnic or national group become objects of attachment, pride and admiration, symbols of the other groups become objects of contempt and hatred. Those symbols become collective and form the collective symbol systems that arouse ethnocentric emotions (Le Vine and Campell, 1972).

Table 1. The Facets of Ethnocentrism by Le Vine and Campell

IN-GROUP	OUT-GROUP
Seeing selves as virtuous, strong and superior	Seeing out-group inferior, weak and immoral
Seeing own standards of value as universal and intrinsically true	Hatred against out-group
Seeing own customs as original	Putting social distance against the values of out-group
Cooperative relations with in-group members	Absence of cooperation with out-group members
Willingness to remain an in-group member and willingness to fight and die for in-group	Virtue in killing out-group members in warfare
Trust in group membership	Blaming of out-group for in-group troubles, distrust and fear of the out-group

2.2. Literature Review on Culture

With the literature review on culture, my aim is to search for how identity is constructed through cultural characteristics of a society. Culture represents contextualization. It defines the production of knowledge and transformation of already existing awareness. In this process, narratives have a crucial role since they establish collective memories, which connect people across time and space

that are the products of social interaction and individual memory processes. Narratives are timeless images and metaphors, which evoke emotions that maintain a cultural repertoire.

2.2.1. Definition of Culture

Wang (2008) defines culture as a system in which values, schemata, scripts, models, metaphors and artefacts are included and a process in which rituals, daily routine and practices are involved that interact with each other through symbolic mediation. In the same manner Rogowski defines culture as an area that is socially shared through symbols, codes and norms (as cited in Wedeen, 2002). Furthermore, Olick and Robbins (1998) define culture on the basis of the effect of the symbols through indicating that culture that is composed of norms, values and attitudes is the constitutive symbolic dimension of all social processes.

One of the cultural studies' early theorists Raymond Williams defines culture as what we know and experience all the time (as cited in Trend, 2007). Culture includes the learned behavioral manners, which are transformed between generations socially (Altindal, 1982). Every individual is both the part of the existing reality and the re-producer of it (Altindal, 1982).

Krech and Crutchfield (1947) point out that culture mediates the relationship between the real and psychological worlds, which have an effect on the individual's beliefs and attitudes. Wagner and Hayes (2005) underline that; "Cultural imagination is the idea of the real. It integrates things into real life by naming them and allocating them meaning and by making them parts of culture and society (pp.161-162)."

Culture is by its nature both transformational and developmental. By this aspect, culture reconstructs history through renewing the custom, which is the nature of the culture (Altindal, 1982). Culture has both permanent and interchangeable

aspects. Cultural patterns prepare objective conditions through communication such as language, which is permanent (Altvindal, 1982).

On the other hand, culture's interchangeable characteristic derives from the meanings that are given to conditions. Geertz (1973) defines culture as "the social fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action (p.145)." Cassirer defines that individual experience affects culture as culture affects individual experience. He explains that natural world is interpreted in cultural forms by human beings (as cited in Bayer, 2001).

Charon (2009) adds to the construction of reality by culture through defining culture as;

...the consensus developed by people over a long history. It is their shared view of reality, the basic ideas, values and rules they have come to believe in. That culture is something we are born into and are socialized to accept. Its ideas become our truths; its rules become our morals, customs, and laws; its values become what we regard as important in life (p.19).

Korostelina (2006) identifies ten features of a culture; national character/basic individuality, perception, conception of time, conception of space, thinking, language, non-verbal communication, values, behavior, and social groups and relations. Freud underlines the ability of a cultural system to construct reality through the conceptualization of taboo (as cited in Gourgouris, 1997). Freud defines culture both as a natural and civilizational process (as cited in Gourgouris, 1997). Freud emphasizes that culture includes auto-affection and auto-destruction in itself as a dynamic process (as cited in Gourgouris, 1997). Freud indicates that culture is the constitution of a community, which shapes identity and identity politics (as cited in Gourgouris, 1997). Hence, culture both influences behavior and distributes power (Gibson and Mollan, 2012). Freud (2012) implies one of the crucial components of culture as taboo, which he mentions that means power. He indicates that while taboo contains the meaning

of sacred, on the other hand it carries the meanings of dangerous, forbidden and dirty (Freud, 2012).

Thus, taboo is the component of culture that shapes the culture's hegemonic power on the identity formation of an individual. Freud underlines that for the rules and prohibitions in taboos, there are not rational explanations and their roots are not certain. It is not known exactly where they are drawn. However, the rules and taboos are accepted as obligations and as reality without questioning by the society and its members (Freud, 2012).

Korostelina (2006) defines two types of cultures, which are collectivistic and individualistic. Each culture type has the influence on perceptions and social interactions within groups and towards other groups (Korostelina, 2006). Collectivistic culture contributes to the development of group identity through the manifestation of collective identity among members of the society (Korostelina, 2006). In collectivistic culture, group identity is formed before individual identity under the aim of maintenance on a membership understanding in order to reach common goals based on shared values, beliefs and feelings (Korostelina, 2006). The base of the cultural codification and identity building is established through membership formation under the aim to reach common goals, which establish the relation between identity and community. Group orientation and social identity are established by collectivistic culture (Korostelina, 2006).

Either individualistic or collectivistic culture, culture has a role in shaping the perceptions and objectives of the individuals. Hence perceptions and objectives are cultural constructions, which emphasize that meaning is given by the ones who use it (Sarıbay, 1992).

Politics is one of the areas where the members of a culture regulate their perceptions, experiences and make decisions. Hence, politics become one of the areas in which meaning is constructed by the ones who use it. Meanings are

constructed by the objectives of the users through establishing a political culture. Political culture can be defined as the system of symbols, which is the whole of attitudes, beliefs and emotions of a community. Attitudes, which are shaped according to the past experiences have a crucial impact on the future political behaviors. The life of collective representation depends on symbols and these symbols function as integrative components. By this way, symbols create solidarity, which is the precondition of the collectivity through connecting individuals to the communal integrity.

Moreover, symbols guide the agent and help them to understand the uncertain political world. This symbolic fabric has three goals;

- 1) Indexing the information and the experienced event; recalling an event with a representative word or phrase,
- 2) Communicating through tools such as rosette of a school or a club,
- 3) Identifying social and political identities (Sarıbay, 1992).

Political culture composes of symbols, which link the individual to the larger political order that makes the collective action possible (Elder and Cobb, 1983). Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba explain political culture as the internalization of a political system by a community through its thinking, perception and evaluation (as cited in Altindal, 1982). Political culture is the product of both political system's collective history and life histories of the individuals who constantly produce this system (Altindal, 1982). Political culture is the part of the wide culture. Hence, political culture is affected from the general culture and it can be defined as the sub field of the general culture (Altindal, 1982).

As culture, political culture is the product of individuals but it is also supra-individual, which means that without a community and without share, it cannot exist and function (Altindal, 1982). In political culture, there is the politicization of culture. Its vice versa is valid as well; through the tools of culture, cultural identity is politicized.

Thus culture as a system, which is shaped by the interaction of individual and society constructs and re-constructs the identity of an individual and aspects of a society. Ross' (2007) definition of culture emphasizes how a cultural identity is constructed and how the production and re-production of the aspects of a cultural system is formed by individual-society interaction. Ross (2007) states that;

Culture is a shared system of meaning people use to make sense of the world, an historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. Culture is a framework for interpreting the world that marks "a distinctive way of life" characterized in the subjective we-feelings among group members, and expressed through specific behaviors including customs and rituals –both sacred and mundane- that mark the daily, yearly and lifecycle rhythms that connect people across time and space (p.18).

2.2.2. Cultural Identity and Cultural Memory

Individual, social structure and culture are mutually related conceptions, which affect each other in a triangle (Köknel, 2000). In the process of the interaction between individual and society, through the repertoire of the cultural environment, a cultural memory is constituted, which nourishes the cultural identity. Culture is born from the struggle of the individual with nature. Culture is what the individual creates, which consists of custom, tradition, religion, family structure, economic relations and norms. Ross (2009) defines culture as a system of meaning that makes sense of the world in which they live and interpret the actions of others. Hence, shared meanings, behaviors, institutions, objects and social structures become culturally constituted phenomena (Ross, 2009).

Culture produces stereotyped modes of interpersonal contacts (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947). At this point, history has a crucial role in cultural identity formation through rewriting of the facts, and producing popular narratives (Bradley, 2008). Thus, remembering can be defined as a social event, which is based on the shared memories of the past derived from the common experiences (Barnier and Sutton, 2008).

Stuart Hall defines cultural identity as;

a matter of becoming as well of being. It belongs to the future as much as to the past, it is not something that already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation (as cited in Seidler, 2010, p.44).

Freud (2012) mentions this constant transformation through underlining that if the spiritual process of a generation would not pass to the other and if each generation had to reform its living attitude again and again, than there would not be improvement and development in the social living.

Therefore, Freud (2012) implies that there is need for generational transformation in order to keep the spiritual continuity. Wang (2008) implies that culture evolves in the historical era continuously through contributing new variables in collective memory. Cultural memory transmits the meanings from the past, which is explicit in historical reference and consciousness (Olick and Robbins, 1998). Memory is a process (Olick and Robbins, 1998).

Hall argues that meaning is given to things by individuals how they are represented by individuals through the words that are used, stories that are told, images that are produced, the emotions that are associated and how they are classified and conceptualized (as cited in Gibson and Mollan, 2012). Bietti (2011) refers to situation models, which enable the members of a society to construct and represent meanings from what is conveyed, expressed and perceived by sounds, writing, visual images and etc. as part of everyday action and experience. Cultural modes which are composed of socially shared knowledge and emotional codes are constructed and represented in memory (Bietti, 2011).

There is a cultural memory, which refers to a sense of meaning within a culture that connects tradition, historical consciousness and self-definition. The cultural memory constitutes the collective memory through a constructive process that a

socially sharable memory system is organized (Wang, 2008). The primary organizational forms of cultural memory are rituals and festivals, which aim the dissemination and transfer of specific knowledge and the reproduction of cultural identity (Marschall, 2009).

Collective memory maintains the collective identity, which shapes social life and sustain cultural cohesion (Wang, 2008). Wang (2008) points out that;

Throughout history collective memory has been central to the creation of community, from a small unit such as family to an entire nation. The social practices of collective remembering allow the members of a community to preserve a conception of their past, whereby a sense of who we were gives rise to a sureness about who we are. Interestingly, on the other hand, creating a shared identity entails an active, constructive process that may contribute to memory distortions. At the group level, this is often reflected in instances such as nationalism and political manipulation (p.307).

Hence, culture is a construction, which is based on collective memories of the past that are formed, shaped, reshaped, forgotten and renewed (Hirst and Manier, 2008). Cassirer emphasizes that there is a symbolic form of historical consciousness, which determines reality through recollection (as cited in Bayer, 2001). He defines history as the recollection in the present of events known as past and he implies that constructed historical reality based in a historical consciousness, which is a continual turning inward toward the past (as cited in Bayer, 2001). Lawler (2008) underlines that;

Frames of meaning are generated in the present and usually match the group's common view of the world... We rely on them to supply us with what we should remember and what is taboo, and therefore must be forgotten... As the past is remembered, it is interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of the person's knowledge and understanding (p.18).

Therefore, culture can be defined as a reality of past that is established on the basis of social interactions (Hirst and Manier, 2008). Wang (2008) underlines that the formation and maintenance of a collective memory can be sustained by multiple cultural forces such as shared mnemonic traditions, practices of rituals and individual storytelling (Hirst and Manier, 2008). Collective memories are

patterns of publicly available symbols that are objectified in society (Hirst and Manier, 2008).

Assmann defines collective memory through making a distinction between communicative and cultural memories. He describes communicative memory that is transmitted between people through communication such as an experience transmitted by a member of one generation to a member of the next (as cited in Hirst and Manier, 2008). Assmann underlines that communicative memory is the kind of memory that is created by the everyday memories of the individuals instead of collectivities (as cited in Hirst and Manier, 2008). He makes the distinction between communicative and cultural memory through the periods of them. He maintains that communicative memory rarely stretching beyond a hundred years, while cultural memories can last for centuries (as cited in Hirst and Manier, 2008).

Kansteiner argues that distant historical events are more collective than experienced events even though there is no individual memory interacting with the collective memory (Harris, Paterson and Kemp, 2008). This can be explained through the collective memory which is transformed through generations. By this way group consciousness is shaped based on the collective memory, which carries the cultural traits, as well. As a result group solidarity and cohesion is sustained by the transformation of collective memory.

Even though there is not an individual experience, as members of that group, each individual carries the collective memory and use the cultural aspects in their daily lives, because through collective memory, group solidarity, social cohesiveness and emotional bonding are maintained. These are nourished through public commemorations such as sacred or national holidays, festivals. So, interactively collective memory is promoted by these cultural practices, as well. Therefore, the cultural identity of the group is transformed through generations. This transformation also maintains and justifies the basic of the political ideology of that group.

Ross (2007) summarizes this process through emphasizing that;

Cultural identities, such as ethnicity, connect individuals through perceived common past experiences and expectations of shared future ones. In linking people across time and space, identity both defines and reinforces social categories that organize a good deal of behavior. People sharing a group identity possess, to a greater or lesser degree, a sense of common fate including expectations of common treatment, joint fears of survival/extinction, and beliefs about group worth, dignity and recognition. Identity involves group judgments and judgments about groups and their motives (p, 22).

2.2.3. Cultural Schemes, Symbols and Myths

Culture as a constructive process can be reconstructed, as well. Wagner and Hayes (2005) point out this process through stating that; “One’s culture provides the symbolic resources that can be put to use as nuclei in the ongoing construction of new meanings and representations (p.205).” Steffen (1998) implies that all individuals are born into a symbol and narrative dominated world.

Cassirer defines symbolic form as an;

energy of spirit (Geist) through which a spiritual (geistig) content or meaning is connected with a concrete, sensory sign and is internally adapted to this sign. A symbolic form, then has as its internal structure a bond between a universal meaning and the particular sensory sign in which the meaning inheres...A symbol is at once inseparably spiritual (geistig) and sensible (sinnlich) (as cited in Bayer, 2001, p.15).

Symbols have a pattern and they gain meaning together. Symbols are mental constructions, which provide meaningful tools for the people about their life world. Symbols determine schemata, which maintain the organized information about a concept. Social interactions through symbols maintain an interpretative social world. Fromm (2014) indicates that only common language in human history is symbolic language. Fromm (2014) implies that even though each country had been created various myths, all of them had been written in a symbolic language.

Geertz (1973) points out that symbol makes possible for the attachment to appropriate symbols. He defines this attachment as “finding a symbolic outlet” (p.207). Geertz (1973) underlines that cultural symbol systems are extrinsic sources of information, which maintains the organization of social and psychological processes. With symbol systems, which are man-created, shared, conventional, ordered and learned provide a meaningful framework for individuals to orient themselves around their world (Geertz, 1973).

Individual orientation through a constructed framework which is meaningful to him/her is sustained by the collective memory. Collective memory is an important driver for group dynamics in remembering and forgetting that includes oral stories, rumors, gestures, cultural styles, written stories and institutionalized cultural activities (Paez and Hou-Fu Liu, 2011). All these evoke emotional culture and these emotions maintain group unity.

Collective memory is facilitated through symbols, which reactivate the group mobilization (Paez and Rime, 2014). De Rivera (2014) emphasizes that; “Customary apparel, bodily marks, and language, evoke mutual sympathy and security, while strangers arouse suspicion, fear and dislike (p.218).” Durkheim explains the effect of symbols on group membership through state of self-transcendence and the generalized empathy, which are evoked by action levers of collective rituals (as cited in Paez and Rime, 2014).

Culture represents contextualization. It defines the production of knowledge and transformation of already existing awareness. Englund (2005) defines this process as “new knowledge grows out of old, not by a simple procedure of refutation, but by re-framing existing perceptions. The impetus to such a reframing comes from diverse sources. (p.60)” Harari (2012) implies that culture derives from the imaginative realities of the people who share the similar environmental conditions who define and represent themselves through various norms and values.

Hence, in culture there is the officialization of the inventory customs. "...integration of needs, demands and goals is accomplished through the development of a system of ideals, ideology and values within the individual. This system of ideals, ideology and values serves as a governing framework for the various needs, demands and goals (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947, p.68)." Erikson (1980) explains this process through the establishment of an ideological system. Erikson (1980) points out that;

...an ideological system is a coherent body of shared images, ideas and ideals, which (whether based on a formulated dogma, an implicit *Weltanschauung*, a highly structured world image, a political creed, or a "way of life") provides for the participants a coherent, if systematically simplified, over-all orientation in space and time, in means and ends...ideologies are simplified conceptions of what is to come (and thus later can serve as rationalizations for what has come about)...youth needs to base its rejections and acceptances on ideological alternatives vitally related to the existing range of alternatives for identity formation. Ideologies seem to provide meaningful combinations of the oldest and the newest in a group's ideals (pp.169-170).

For instance, in the formation of an ideological system, myth has a crucial place. Myth is an important concept that frames the cultural aspects of a society. Eliade (1998) defines myth as a narration, which composes of a sacred history that based on a creation through shaping the social world of a society. Eliade (1998) underlines that through the story that is narrated in a myth constitutes the knowledge, which is esoteric.

Moreover, Eliade (1998) points out one of the crucial functions of the myths as the justification of a new situation through narrating the new on the basis of the history. Eliade (1998) states that; "Myths are the most general and effective means of awakening and maintaining consciousness of another world...The apodictic value of myth is periodically reconfirmed by the rituals (p.139)." In a myth the hero, the scapegoat and the enemy are defined. The stereotyping is shaped through myths, as well. Myth is a contemporary conceptualization that is linked to society's imaginary, which has the capacity to make and alter history (Gourgouris, 1997). Myth has an infinity and indefiniteness (Gourgouris, 1997).

Fromm (2014) underlines that primitive instincts are hidden in the myths. Harari (2012) indicates that the ability to form imaginary realities makes the possibility of the humankind to form collective cooperation, which overreaches this collaboration through changing the forms of human behavior by altering the narratives and myths (Harari, 2012).

Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) emphasize the role of myth on identity formation through stating that; “Reliance on ideological myth becomes a powerful instrument for shaping in-group identity, demonizing the other, and providing cohesion in dangerous world (p.31).” Orellana (2006) emphasizes the role of myth as;

Myths translate complex problems into manageable and comprehensive cognitive structures. In times of conflict, myths become tools to make sense of human atrocities, to explain the reasons and sources of the conflict to the people in a clear way. These myths provide a deeper meaning to what is happening to the community. These myths may also be utilized to clearly separate what is considered legitimate from what is considered illegitimate (p,225).

Fromm (2014) indicates that myths are represented through symbolic language that defines the history. Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) define mythic narrative as the stories of the threatening other, which lead to the dissemination of shocking images, harrowing anecdotes and accounts of violence. They point out that over time, such stories solidify perceptions of the other through constructing and nurturing fixed negativities. This process continues in a cycle as Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) imply through underlining that certain particularities of places, times and actors become sacred to both storytellers and listeners.

Overgeneralizations, stereotypes, and negative characterizations are resorted through constructed stories, which lead to the perception of the out-group as alien that result with the willingness to interact minimally (Korostelina, 2006). Ethnic mythologies produce emotion laden symbols and hostile mass attitudes (Demmers, 2012). Ross (2007) points out that; “Framing interests and demands around culturally significant accessible images and metaphors heightens each

party's emotional commitments, enhances within-group communication and coordination, and strengthens group boundaries (p.316).”

Ritual is a significant phenomenon that metaphors of a meaning system take a shape in the perceptions and behaviors of the individuals. Geertz (1973) defines a ritual not only as a pattern of meaning but also as a form of social interaction. Douglas (2003) underlines that ritual is a form of communication. Collective ritual events influence the agents' emotional states and this emotional bonding leads to the agents' commitment and solidarity within their group. Knottnerus (2010) explains this process by structural ritualization theory (SRT), which focuses on the role of symbolic rituals through emphasizing that they play a crucial role in the social interaction and in the generation and transformation of social structure.

Ritual events have a crucial role in the development of shared feelings of pride among the members of groups (Knottnerus, 2014). Geertz (1973) states that; “The world of everyday life, itself, a cultural product, for it is framed in terms of the symbolic conceptions of stubborn fact handed down from generation to generation, is the established scene and given object of our actions (p.111).” About this conceptualization Reflexive Ritualized Symbolic Practices (RSPs) are developed, which denote collective rituals based on value or goodness of the collectivity (Knottnerus, 2014).

Cassirer emphasizes the connection between myths, narratives and symbols in order to elaborate how they reinforce each other in the formation of a commonality between individuals (as cited in Bayer, 2001). He defines myth as the most primordial of all symbolic forms that are carried through narratives (as cited in Bayer, 2001). Narratives and mythologies of blood and belonging fortify enculturation. Symbolic references to kinship, ancestry and a common history construct a moral community that is characterized by reciprocity, trust and a sense of solidarity (Demmers, 2012).

Ferguson (2003) points out the importance of popular history as an ultimate symbol of collective identity. Ferguson (2003) describes the role of popular history as; “it is the becoming how we came to be who we are (p.30).” Ferguson (2003) points out that; ideas of historical origins are crucial in providing lessons and symbols that can be used to define collective identity and to construct understandings of current circumstances and options. Ferguson (2003) indicates that symbols are enfolded within a version of the past through gaining their power from perceived historical association with the group. In this process, he emphasizes that with political leaders, idea workers in education and media play a significant role through emphasizing, ignoring and recasting events in the past (Ferguson, 2003).

Hirst and Echterhoff (2008) states that; “Shared reality is conceptualized as the product of experiencing a commonality between one’s own and other’s representations and evaluations of the world. The creation of a shared reality is a process by which individuals achieve subjectively reliable and valid representations of their world as well as relationships with other people (p.204).” Orellana (2006) indicates that interaction of the individual with the social structure generates meanings through cultural schemes and symbols about the interpretation of the life-world. Harari (2012) explains the evolution of sapiens through their ability to think, talk and socialize on fictions. Harari (2012) indicates that in the process of the cognitive revolution, fiction does not only provide the ability to imagine the things but also ensure the ability to imagine collectively.

Harari (2012) points out that by this way, myths on religions and nations can be created. The transformations of myths through generations are sustained by narration of those myths. Harari (2012) argues that all these extensive human collaborations are organized around the myths, which are the products of collective imagination. Harari (2012) defines this process as complicated story network, which transforms the fiction into the practical daily lives of the humankind that is called as imaginative reality or social construction.

In the production of imaginative reality, symbols have a crucial place. Cassirer implies that all contents of consciousness are products of the symbol, which these symbolic forms characterize human culture (as cited in Bayer, 2001). Cassirer defines symbolic forms as the cultural orderings of reality (as cited in Bayer, 2001).

The symbolic form of reality shapes the behavioral patterns. For instance; blood revenge is accepted as a virtuous behavior for the protection of the human pride and hence murder is supported and this behavior is encouraged by the society. Individuals who reject to obey these kinds of traditions or customs are stigmatized negatively and they may be punished or excluded from the society (Köknel, 2000). Collins (2014) explains this situation through interaction rituals, which create a feeling of belonging and solidarity through symbols that group members respect and identify themselves with these symbols. Symbols also become the base of the behaviors of the members of a society. They remind common membership to the individuals. Those symbols include objects such as a flag, actions, gestures, words. They give emotional energy to the group through establishing confidence, enthusiasm and initiative (Collins, 2014).

Knottnerus (2014) explains this symbol-ritual interaction with SRT, which focuses on the role of symbolic rituals in social interaction and the development of social structure. Knottnerus (2014) identifies SRT as stating that symbolic rituals lead to the formation, reproduction and transformation of social structure. Knottnerus (2014) points out the basic assumption of this theory through the focus on the characterization of daily life in which various symbolic meanings shape the actions of the agents by being fed and feeding into larger societal levels of interaction. Knottnerus (2014) implies that everyday behavior and interaction in various social milieus are patterned.

Geertz (1973) adds to that perception through mentioning that; “In sacred rituals and myths, values are portrayed not as subjective human preferences but as the imposed conditions for life implicit in a world with a particular structure

(p.131).” Hence Geertz (1973) indicates that culture is public because meaning is. Geertz (1973) defines culture as an ordered system of meaning and symbols, in which individuals define their world, express their feelings and make their judgments.

Knottnerus (2010) underlines that;

Ritualized activities refer to the widespread form of social behavior in which people engage in regularized activities when interacting with others. An action repertoire is defined formally and schema, which refers to a cognitive structure is patterned. Action repertoire is schema-driven and emotion laden, which is formalized in cognitive maps and symbolic frameworks. Therefore high emotional intensity and commitment to the ritual event and group, the collective experience becomes more reaffirming (pp. 42, 44, 57).

By these symbolic rituals, behaviors of the individuals are shaped. Geertz (1973) points out that ritual strengthens the traditional social ties between individuals. Geertz (1973) indicates that “social structure of a group is strengthened and perpetuated through the ritualistic or mythic symbolization of the underlying social values upon which it rests (p.142).” Rituals nourish emotional energy and raise consciousness. By the high levels of emotional energy, environment of the individual is reframed.

For instance in the case of a struggle regardless of consequences, victory can be reframed by the flaming of the emotional energy. Durkheim underlines this process through the emphasis on moral solidarity, which “transforms the group itself into a sacred object or a source of emotional energy, and therefore it builds community within the group (as cited in Effler, 2002).”

Knottnerus (2014) defines this situation through emphasizing that ritualized practices determine everyday practices by shaping group dynamics. Another conception Knottnerus (2014) describes about this symbol-ritual interaction is ritualized symbolic practice, which is defined as an action repertoire that is schema-driven. Knottnerus (2014) defines this conception as “standardized

social behavior that is grounded in actors' cognitive maps or symbolic frameworks with emotional content (p.315).”

Through the cognitive maps or symbolic frameworks of the actors, schema driven action repertoire also nourishes the othering, stereotyping and other kinds of negative derives. Negative constructions about the other prevent the various interpretations of the other, which is defined as tunnel consciousness that means the perception about the representatives of other groups, situations, and activities within a narrow perspective (Korostelina, 2006). Broch-Due (2005) adds to tunnel consciousness through underlining the violence factor and he implies that;

For all their projective force and for all their cryptic projects, myths, imaginaries and rituals are deeply embedded in everyday experience and everyday relationships. As part of social practice symbols produce their own effects in the world and they are often violent. While the distance between image and referent remains fixed in most situations and in most people's mind, so that a compelling story remains within its fictive universe, the image and referent may move so close to one another that they collapse into a tangled experiential entity. Thus at certain heightened moments, the fictive violence of myth which captured the imagination and rapt attention of its audience, or the violent drama enacted on the ritual stage, can erupt into an all too terrifying reality (p.21).

Symbols are intentionally used, which are purposefully developed. Symbols act in the center of socialization, shared culture, communication, cooperation and cumulative knowledge (Charon, 2009). Therefore, symbols have a crucial role in the socialization of the people through;

- Naming, categorizing and creating memory,
- Forming perception,
- Shaping thinking and deliberating,
- Transcending space and time,
- Abstracting reality and
- Promoting creativity (Charon, 2009, pp.63-67).

Symbols are core mechanisms for the establishment of social organization and communication. Elder and Cobb (1983) indicate that; “Man does not live by

symbols alone, but man orders and interprets his reality by his symbols and even reconstructs it (p.28).” Two basic components of an individual’s orientation toward a symbols involves, which are emotive and cognitive in nature. In cognitive dimension of symbolic orientation, an agent does not only respond to external reality but also to his conception or interpretation of that reality. Hence, the meaning that is given to the symbol based on the stored information of the agent (Elder and Cobb, 1983).

The stored information of the agent forms his/her action patterns in a community. Common action patterns such as mores, folkways, fashions, which are displayed by the members of a given culture construct the group determined patterned behavior (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947). Krech and Crutchfield (1947) distinguish group determined action patterns as; technological, ritualistic and ceremonial patterns, which represent the goals of the group.

Collins defines four products of ritual interaction, which are the transient immediately shared emotion, longer term feelings of solidarity toward the group, longer-term individually oriented emotional energy and an emotional energy loaded symbol of the solidarity interaction (as cited in Effler, 2002). It is defined that once the symbol exists, it becomes the shortcut of the solidarity understanding of the group through recreating rituals. This process continues through the recharge of the symbols by recreating rituals (as cited in Effler, 2002). Effler (2002) adds that emotions on solidarity maintain collective identity, which is enhanced by rituals that also feeds collective identity by forming collective action.

In conclusion; symbols, myths and cultural schemes are produced in Geertz’s conception of “common sense as a cultural system”, Bruner’s idea of folk psychology, Foucault’s concept of “episteme”, Bourdieu’s idea of “habitus” through establishing a reciprocal bond between the individual’s mind and the culture that he/she belongs. This interaction between individual and culture forms the everyday knowledge. Wagner and Hayes (2005) point out that

“...everyday knowledge can be understood as modern myth making, legitimized by its social authority (p.146).” This cultural process maintains the political aspects of a society.

Hence, in collectivity, individual learns how to be political through the political symbols. This also provides the emotional bonding between individuals and establishes cooperation on meanings and values. Thus, symbolically political community is the production of community consciousness. According to their social roles, meanings and use of political symbols can change (Saribay, 1992). Myths have a place in the political culture, as well and they represent the fragments of the political culture.

2.2.4. Language, Discourse and Narrative

Symbols are stored learning vehicles and language is a communication mechanism. Hertzler states that; “The key and basic symbolism of human beings is language. All the other symbol systems can be interpreted only by means of language (as cited in Charon, 2009, p.52).” Language determines the scope of the communication. It frames the everyday life and therefore organizing experience and interpreting reality is constructed according to the use of language. Cassirer indicates that real is composed of objects in language; reality is formed in the act of naming (as cited in Bayer, 2001). Cassirer points out that language is not merely a method of thinking but it is thinking itself (as cited in Bayer, 2001).

By language, sharing of experiences and their transmission becomes possible, which operates as a social factor in individual thinking (Bayer, 2001). By this way, for a community a cultural repertoire is constructed and carried out through discourses, which turned out as natural for individual and group identities (Bradley, 2008). These cultural values are rigid and it is difficult to alter them. Traditions and customs have a coercive and repressive power (Köknel, 2000). These cultural values, beliefs, standards and rituals of behavior are not open to

individual interpretations and interventions. A cultural knowledge is established through the use of group narratives. These nourish collective emotions and this collectivity is strengthened by sharing and re-experiencing the customs and traditions. Gavin Brent Sullivan defines images, films, texts, documents, symbols, and structures of a culture as collective emotion nodes (Sullivan, 2014).

Cassirer points out that the understanding of life is possible with language, it requires discursive knowing (as cited in Sullivan). Hence, language is a tool that maintains and shapes cultural norms and frames. Trend (2007) states that; "...language helps people to understand the ways they resemble and differ from others, how they fit in and are excluded from various groupings, and how society and the world are organized (p.106)." With language, semiological system is established as well. Signifier and signified are determined through the use of language.

Signifier and signified shape the meaning-making process of the individual. In the process of enculturation, how meaning-making is constructed is explained by discursive approach. Discursive approach defines identity construction as a component of the process of meaning-making, which includes three components that are narratives/storylines, moral commitments/positions and discursive acts (Bradley, 2008). Orellana (2006) indicates that; "Meaning-making is a dynamic process in which the narrators compete with one another for legitimacy (p.226)." Through storylines; past, present and future are implicitly and explicitly linked and they constitute the rationale in given episodes for actions as appropriate or not for that given episodes (Bradley, 2008).

Giddens explains discursive and institutional continuities as being born into societies which are organized along certain rules of social life (as cited in Demmers, 2012). Hence, social life becomes visible and researchable in discourses and institutions in the form of norms and values (Demmers, 2012). Discourse can be defined as stories about social reality, which is considered as the social truth (Demmers, 2012). Discourses are social relations represented in

texts where the language that is contained in these texts gives the potential to construct meaning and representation, which also have social and political implications (Demmers, 2012).

Language is the most significant factor that implies what an agent feels and thinks about the politics (Saribay, 1992). Language reveals the feeling and understanding of the community about its world. In the formation of an attitude there are three sub-systems which are; affect, judgment, and appreciation. In the use of discourse one or another of these subsystems are on the foreground according to their way of use. By this way, positive or negative values of attitude are formed on the basis of the use of the discourse, narrative and language (Hart, 2014).

At this point language reveals the aspects of the political culture of a community, which reveals the understanding, attitudes and behaviors of the community. Hence the use of language is an important signifier for indicating the characteristics of the life world and how it is constructed and reconstructed historically. Furthermore, the way of generational transformation of the culture can be understood by the use of language.

According to Saussurean linguistics, there is a theory of language, which has been framed through a relationship between signifiers and the signified. In this relationship, meanings are established within an autonomous sphere of language through the contrasts that are maintained by a system of signs (Seidler, 2010). Saussurean linguistics emphasize that meaning is established through a system of signs, which indicates that meaning is discursive that can only be expressed through language (Seidler, 2010).

Power is constituted in the use of language (discourse) and is supported by symbolic and material resources, which has the potential to embrace and reconstruct symbolic orders, modes of discourse and codes of conduct (Demmers, 2012). Discourses are represented in the cultural landscape as images

on walls, buildings, flags, banners and clothing. Hence, discourse analysis is about the politics of portrayal (Demmers, 2012). Narratives carry the ideologies and ideologies shape and affect the social action (Hart, 2014).

Discourse defines the kind of episode, which also defines the actions of the individual and the community (Bradley, 2008). Orellana (2006) defines discourse as a symbolic order, which is linguistically and culturally specific that makes it possible for all subjects who have been socialized under its authority to speak and act together. A discourse can contain more than one narrative within its body (Orellana, 2006).

Language and symbols shape the cultural codification of a society and determine the main traits of the social environment. For example; art and education are the arenas where these signifiers are represented. These arenas are not only the spheres to represent the cultural traits of a society but also these arenas shape the othering and who, why and how to exclude the other.

Thus, language is the way to represent our mental existence (Charon, 2009). By language, cultural and national grammars are defined in which actions of inclusion and exclusion are shaped (Sjorslev, 2004). In the definition of cultural and national grammars, narratives have a central role. Broch-Due (2005) defines narrative as; “a story (historie), the content or chain of events (actions, happenings), plus what may be called the existents (characters, items of setting), and a discourse that is the expression, the means by which the content is communicated (p.29).”

Narratives give meaning to the various identities and for the agents make it possible to understand each other. Lawler (2008) indicates that; “The narratives we produce in this context are stories of how we come to be the way we are. But it is through the narratives themselves that we produce our identities in this way. This revolves around interpretation. The constitution of an identity is configured over time and through narrative (pp.13,16-17).”

Besides the function of narratives on identity construction, through narrative practices, individual situates himself/herself in a place in the symbolic space, which is communicated through narratives. Brockmeier (2002) defines narrative practices as cultural symbol systems, which integrate them within one symbolic space. Brockmeier (2002) identifies three narrative orders, which are linguistic, semiotic and performative or discursive, which are particular forms of meaning construction. Brockmeier (2002) states that these narrative orders maintain a symbolic space for remembering and forgetting.

Ross (2007) identifies four main aspects of narratives, which are about how groups understand their social and political worlds, what are their perceived threats, what kinds of certain actions they are taken towards other groups and by storytelling what they construct.

Narrative forms shape the understanding of the past of a community through establishing a shared collectivity on history (Wertsch and Roediger, 2008). Through sharing collectivity, members of a society become part of a discourse that expresses what symbol formulated interests that hold them together (Collins, 2014). The reality described by the text constructs the mental model of the situation for the individual (Franklin and Tversky, 1990). By the construction of mental models, collective memory is constituted by transformed images and discourses.

Ricoeur calls that through the narratives, emplotment is maintained, which represents a shared cultural understanding (as cited in Lawler, 2008). Ricoeur emphasizes that the self defines itself by cultural signs based on symbolic mediations that determine the narratives of everyday life (as cited in Lawler, 2008). Ricoeur points out that the reason for seeing the self as it is depends on constantly telling and retelling stories, which produce it as something continuing through time (as cited in Lawler, 2008).

Narratives establish collective memories, which connect people across time and space that are products of social interaction and individual memory processes (Ross, 2009). Narratives are timeless images and metaphors, which evoke emotions (Ross, 2009). Narratives have four main characteristics, which are; 1) a narrative's metaphor and images represent how individuals and groups understand the social and political worlds in which they live and explain the conflicts in which they are involved, 2) narratives imply deep fears, perceived threats and past grievances that drive a conflict, 3) narratives privilege certain actions over others, and 4) narratives through storytelling construct and strengthen communities (Ross, 2009).

By the help of mythic narratives, sacred past and sacred future are constructed (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006). Ross (2006) indicates that the themes of a group's narratives link past experiences to strong emotions through providing support for certain courses of action. These certain courses of action shaped by narratives played out in the public arena through rituals (Steffen, 1998).

Armbruster and Meinhof point out the role of narrative in identity construction through indicating that narratives are constitutive of the self instead of the reflective action of an already constituted individual (as cited in Bradley, 2008). Benhabib implies identity construction as the process of interweaving narratives through emphasizing that fragments of narratives compose unique life stories of individuals (as cited in Bradley, 2008).

Stories guide action and experience is constituted through narratives, therefore people are guided to act in certain ways on the basis of the projections, expectations and memories through available social, public and cultural narratives. Narratives link self and other, past and present and hence this process of identification makes identities dynamic (Lawler, 2008). Through narratives, collective identity of the community is constructed and reconstructed.

Steffen (1998) underlines that symbol-narrative interaction construct and re-construct social values and social relations. According to Steffen (1998), collective meaning is formed by social communities regardless of their size, ethnicity, geographical location, social environment, economic level or religion through shared symbols and stories.

Hence, in the construction of history, narratives have a crucial role. Volkan states that; “Narratives rely on timeless images and metaphors, and this time collapse evokes the emotional rather than the chronological immediacy of the past (as cited in Ross, 2007, p.34).” Ross (2007) states that narratives shape emotions, beliefs, identity and culture, construct collective memories linking individuals together and mobilize action. Thus, narration is a process of remembrance and forgetting that carry contexts from past to present and to future (Lawler, 2008).

Specific narrative conventions are established that are culturally specific and socially conditioned (Broch Due, 2005). Hence, the formation of violence in language is sustained by metaphors. Language also reflects how discourse is established through violence in identity construction and group mobilization. Language mirrors the relationship between violence and identity construction through discourse setting. In narrating violence, experience is moulded. Through giving voice to violence through narratives, a whole series of non-explicit dispositions and orientations evoked by violent events are shaped and made comprehensible. Hence, a whole range of idiosyncratic and social experiences become framed, formed and filtered through structures of meaning.

In the process of structuring meaning through social experiences, culture acts as the way how people communicate with each other. Culture is the arena for people to represent themselves to the others. It is the arena for othering, as well. Culture is the way how ideological base for national awakening is sustained and how symbiotic organizational connections are established for collective identity construction. In this construction process, discourse strategies maintain and

regulate joint remembering (Bietti, 2011). Furthermore, discourse of the othering is maintained on the basis of these symbiotic organizational connections. Structure-agency relationship is sustained by these organizational structures.

In this process, use of metaphors plays a crucial role. The use of metaphors in discourse aims to promote one particular image of reality over another (Hart, 2014). In this relational process, connectors play crucial roles, which are analogical connectors (Hart, 2014). For example; through metaphors textile and immigration can be connected through frames such as “bounded cloth=Britain, filling=population, holes in the fabric=border control, packing the cloth=current immigration policy” (Hart, 2014, p.139).

Benedict Anderson indicates the role of narratives how nationality is shaped through them and their effect on the understanding of the history. He emphasizes that remembering and forgetting of historical experience work with national narratives. There is effect of the reinterpretation of the history through the use of national narratives (as cited in Gourgouris, 1997). Meaning-making through narratives frame the perceptions, understandings and interpretations of the people.

By narratives, violence can be legitimized and rationalized through negative stereotyping the other. Negative stereotyping nourishes the perception of the other as enemy, which results with collective fear. Through the process of stigmatization, threat perception about the other is rationalized and legitimized, which is nurtured through threat narratives that result with being a major source of protracted conflicts (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006). Social environment is organized according to the constructed narratives and social environment becomes the arena for the continuation and transmission of narratives about the group identity, which nourish the group identity, as well.

Therefore, collective fear is one of the results of this structure-agency relationship. As a social construction collective fear is facilitated by uncertainty

(Trend, 2007). By this, ethnic polarization can be created, mobilized and triggered. In this polarization, dehumanization of the other is used as a mechanism. Dehumanization leads to the extreme exclusion of the other through extreme inclusion of selves into in-group (Verrips, 2004).

Through dehumanization, other is portrayed as a threat to the group identity (Bradley, 2008). Everyday realities are socially constructed systems of knowledge and meaning, which are taken for granted by group members. Therefore, through this system of 'thingification' or 'institutionalization', meaning is embedded in society (Demmers, 2012). Value systems have the potential to denigrate the other through establishing a lens towards the other in a negative sense that devalues the other and denies the virtues of the other (Korostelina, 2006). Culture also represents the institutionalization of the norms and codes of a society. Institutions have a major role in the legitimization of narratives and mobilization of society (Orellana, 2006).

This institutionalization in the cultural aspects of a society can be observed in the political characteristics and political representation ways of a community. Lange (2012) indicates that the institutionalized channels of politics are also contestation arenas. Throughout history, discourse changes. This change in discourse occurs according to the political needs of the community and according to these needs, political culture is reconstructed.

Coates (2009) emphasizes that in the socialization process, there is the potentiality for the institutionalization of racial narratives. In this process, he points out that there is the internalization of racial narratives that create stereotypical filters in which individual differences are interpreted and reinterpreted. Coates (2009) indicates that racial narratives interact with historical, social, economic, political and cultural factors through reproducing racial identity and racially ascribed socio-cultural products, which include music, art, life-styles, group membership and language patterns.

Humboldt defines language as an organism, which never ends (as cited in Karabağ, 2010). Humboldt indicates that language is dynamic, mobile and constantly in formation as an action (as cited in Karabağ, 2010). A word gains a new meaning according to its place in the text and the other words that it is used with. Derrida (2010) questions that is the essence of the language consists of only the indicators or is it just an appearance that is not connected to communication through indicators? Derrida (2010) emphasizes that language and social coercion find place in the same performative act. Hence, language has the role to produce and transform violence. Cultural values shape the violent elements in language. Habermas denotes that the phenomenon of the violence, which is found in language naturally show ups with the use of language (as cited in Karabağ, 2010). Word is an indicator and a tool. Violence in language derives from social relations; it is the result of communal relations.

Foucault emphasizes that the legitimization of narratives have a regime of truth, which leads to the acceptance of the discourse as true (as cited in Orellana, 2006). Power enables a certain narrative to be considered as true in the process of legitimization (as cited in Orellana, 2006). Foucault implies that the chosen discourse shapes the style of communication through the delivery of the words and expressions. By this way, symbolic orders and meaning structures are legitimized. Threat narratives shape in-group responses. These narratives have the effect from individual attribution to collective denigration (Korostelina, 2006).

In times of conflict, discourses are legitimized through the symbolic orders embedded in cultural traditions, which lead to mobilization of the community through shared norms, myths and symbols against the other by justifying violence (Orellana, 2006). This situation can be explained by social decision schemes, which get its power from the idea that groups have better memory than individuals, because through social decision schemes individuals' memory is pooled toward a determined direction (Swol, 2008).

In the construction of reality, symbol is shaped in the narrative and their combination formed the context-specific schema that refers to reality for the perception of the agent (Steffen, 1998). Schemas are created by the societies through loading meanings to these schemas. Present needs and present contexts interact with past traces to determine the nature of the present perception. This is also true of our perception of words. People therefore can and do perceive words in entirely novel ways, depending upon the present psychological field of the individual. Wagner and Hayes (2005) explore that metaphors produce mutual accommodation between language and experience.

2.3. Literature Review on Violence

With the literature review on violence my aim is to search for how violence can be the part of a cultural behavior as a representation mechanism. Violence is a learned behavior and acts of violence invest the material by giving it structure. Violence produces cultural codes and values through collective action. As a result of this, violence has recreated past impressions and formed future ones. Hence, violence that is loaded with ethnicity has historically and culturally defined contexts. Even though contexts are defined, they have the potential to change and through contexts, construction and re-construction of cultural codes by political violence can be maintained.

2.3.1. Definition of Violence

Violence is a multifaceted, dynamic and an episodic phenomenon which is the part of a socialization process, instead of a conceptualization that is related with antisocial behavior. It is the part of social life, social structure and institutions (Kilby and Ray, 2014). Broch Due (2005) defines violence not only as a matter of categorical grouping but as a process of identification and differentiation. Ferguson (2003) describes violence as a unified language of material signification, a performance, ritual, symbol and a communication in itself that is related to one's sense of self and other. Violence can be defined as the

destruction of the other, which takes a different form in the social discourse through ending the dialogue (Erşen, 2007).

Demmers (2012) defines violence as not a quantitative degree of conflict but a qualitative form of conflict with its own dynamics. Wallace (2003) defines violence as “delivering physical blows (with or without weaponry), displaying and misusing one’s power, or bombarding a person with destructive misinformation and myths so that, in effect, an assault occurs either on a person’s physical body or to the self-concept, identity, cognitions, affects, and consciousness of the victim of violence” (pp.7-8). Wallace (2003) examines the psychological oppressive types of violence as;

- The projection of negative and low expectations, as well as stereotypes from the spreading of misinformation and myths,
- The practice of domination and hierarchical authority by a controlling superior seeking to subjugate one deemed inferior,
- One feeling superior talks down to another as though he or she is inferior in one way communication (p.9).

Thus, violence has a performative quality that is communicative and expressive. Violent acts are efficient because of their staging of power and legitimacy to an audience, which by this way makes violence as socially meaningful (Demmers, 2012). Through the formation of power by the use of violence, Wallace (2003) indicates that power produces reality and rituals of truth. Galtung (1990) claims that; “...any single culture is in itself an act of direct violence (meaning intended by the actor), usually implying de-socialization from one culture and re-socialization into another-including the very first socialization of the young (defenseless) child” (p.303).

Arendt (1970) states that; “Violence is by nature instrumental; like all means, it always stands in need of guidance and justification through the end it pursues. And what needs justification by something else cannot be the essence of anything” (p.51). Arendt (1970) indicates that violence always needs justification and as instrumental by nature, violence is rational to the extent in

reaching the end that may justify it. Schröder and Schmidt describe how violence becomes as the legitimate course of action through the imagining of violent scenarios, which include narratives, performances and images (as cited in Demmers, 2012). Moreover, Arendt (1970) points out that; “Violence does not promote causes, neither history nor revolution, neither progress nor reaction but it can serve to dramatize grievances and bring them to public attention” (pp.77,79).

Galtung (1990) classifies violence in three categories, which are direct, structural and cultural violence. Galtung (1990) explores that direct violence is an event, structural violence is a process with ups and downs and cultural violence is an invariant, permanence, long duree. Galtung (1990) points out that with the institutionalization of violent culture, it becomes easier to internalize violence.

Wallace (2003) argues that a multicultural approach to violence includes cultural variables, which function in the origin, manifestation and dynamics of violence on the level of individual, family, organization, and society. Therefore, Wallace (2003) points out that types of violence varies according to cultural variables. Violence can be in the shape of symbolic and physical. Braud indicates that symbolic violence is a fundamental dynamic for the creation of physical violence (Orhan, 2012). Culture is the arena where symbolic violence takes place and culture is used in order to legitimize violence (Galtung, 1990). Another crucial feature about violent conflict is about their persistency. Conflict images are highly resistant to new information that may challenge the validity of the problem (Fisher and Kelman, 2011).

Halperin (2014) identifies the characteristics of intractable conflicts as;

- They occupy a central place in the lives of society and its members,
- They are perceived as being essential, based on existential goals, needs and/or values,
- They are perceived as irresolvable,
- They comprise an enduring and destructive element of mutual violence,

- They persist for a long period of time, lasting for decades through high levels of perceived threat and uncertainty,
- This threat perception is central in public discourse,
- Individuals living in such an environment have black and white thinking and have higher sensitivity to various threat cues (pp.282-283).

2.3.2. Collective Violence

Violent conflicts are organized and mobilized by identity, which results with dying and killing in the name of identity. Group motives are crucial drivers for violent conflicts, and in their continuity (Stewart, 2007). In violent conflicts, differences are exaggerated, which foster hatred and fear. The other is essentialized as enemy. While the other is demonized through negative opinions about out-groups, members of the in-group are positively positioned through shared values and norms (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006).

Hence, solidarity among members of a group is achieved through demonizing the other (Korostelina, 2006). The formation of in-group consciousness nourish the false threat perceptions of the out-group, which also increase in-group solidarity and out-group hostility. Furthermore, differences between in-group and out-group will be exaggerated through mutual stereotypes (Le Vine and Campbell, 1972).

Dovidio, Gaertner, and Thomas (2013) state the effect of stereotyping on group consciousness through underlining the effect of stereotyping through systematizing bias. As a consequence, people are more likely to generalize the behaviors of out-group as a whole. This generalization leads to the understanding of the in-group to perceive out-group's negative, stereotypic behaviors as inherent in the character of the out-group (Dovidio, Gaertner and Thomas, 2013).

In the formation of violence, conflict perception plays the key role. In the formation of conflict perception, the processes of group formation and social identity have a crucial position. Because through the formation of the group and

shaping the social identity, the seeds of ethnocentrism by producing positive attachments and attitudes toward the in-group while nourishing prejudice and stereotyping toward the out-group is on the foreground (Fisher and Kelman, 2011).

Le Vine and Campbell (1972) imply that stereotyping leads to generalizations and judgments which maintain social and cultural boundaries. According to the social psychological approach of Henri Tajfel, who is the founding father of social identity theory, collective phenomena such as inter-group violence cannot be reduced to the individual drives, instincts or personality traits (as cited in Demmers, 2012). He argues that the derivation of inter-group violence results from the individual's membership in social groups (as cited in Demmers, 2012). Thus, he underlines that inter-group relations can be understood by the help of their cognitive aspects (as cited in Demmers, 2012). Therefore, social categorization sets in motion an escalatory dynamics of group comparison, group competition and group hostility in the formation of group violence (Demmers, 2012).

Bar-Tal (2011) emphasizes that when members of a group are involved in the causes of conflict, the tendency of the members to support the conflict and participate in it actively becomes more akin. Volkan (2006) emphasizes that us vs. them understanding through regression lead to the degradation and dehumanization of the other even these feelings, understandings, perceptions derive from concrete events or even they are imagined. Therefore, under the aim of the annihilation of the threat, groups can be mobilized easily and quickly for killing the other (Volkan, 2006).

Images that are related with historical events and related duties with those historical events establish the imagery bonds with the generations through storing these images (creating reservoirs) from the generation to next generation. This process is also the base for the transformation of chosen trauma from the generation to next generation, which represents specific experiences that

symbolize a group's deepest threats and fears through feelings of helplessness and victimization (Volkan, 2006).

Galtung (1990) explains this situation through the creation of needs-deficits as a result of direct and structural violence, which leads to trauma. Galtung (1990) indicates that when it happens to a group; a collectivity, then this is called as collective trauma, which sediment into the collective subconscious and become the main source for major historical processes and events (Galtung, 1990). Emotional meaning of the traumatic event is incorporated to the identity in which the emotional and symbolic meanings are passed from generation to generation.

Hence, as a result of incorporated traumatization in the group identity, actions of the group towards violence is rationalized and legitimized by the group. In addition, little differences between in-group and out-group are exaggerated in order to legitimize violent actions (Volkan, 2005). Galtung (1990) underlines that violence leads to violence and defines violence as needs-deprivation, which results with “a feeling of hopelessness, a deprivation/frustration syndrome that shows up on the inside as self-directed aggression and on the outside as apathy and withdrawal” (p.295).

Volkan (2006) defines this process as the transformation of trauma into an “exaggerated legitimacy ideology” for a group's actions. By exaggerated legitimacy, group thinks that it has the right to conflict with the others in order to get its desired target (Volkan, 2006). Volkan (2005) emphasizes that under threat perception, thinking and feeling differences between individuals tend to diminish, which facilitate the group mobilization. Volkan (1997) states that; “When ethnic groups define and differentiate themselves, they almost invariably develop some prejudices for their own group and against the others' groups” (p.22).

Ross (2006) indicates this case through psycho-cultural dramas that derive from each group's historical experience that nurture the suspicions and fears about the opponent. Volkan (1997) emphasizes that psycho-cultural dramas produce reactions that are emotionally powerful because identity is linked to a group's core symbols, which contain historical narratives, key leaders, ritual actions, places or objects.

Therefore, emotional meaning attachments merges time and space and stresses in-group solidarity and out-group hostility (Ross, 2006). Kelly, Iannone and McCarty (2014) explain this case through bonding function. They imply that shared events result with shared affect that increase bonding in group members (Kelly, Iannone and McCarty, 2014). Moreover, they emphasize that in negative affective experiences, groups display more belongingness, such as using we and other morale building comments (Kelly, Iannone and McCarty, 2014).

We-ness is a crucial actor in the mobilization of the collective violence. Narratives have a significant role in the construction and feeding of we-ness. Moreover, narratives imply how participants think about and characterize a conflict (Ross, 2006). Threat narratives can be converted into ideologies of terror through totalizing a threat-logic (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006). Arendt explains this situation through totalizing threat-logic in which self and other are pre-formed through dogma (as cited in Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006). In cycles of violence, this dogmatic threat-logic necessitates the continuity of security, which perpetuates the conflict (Rothbart and Korostelina, 2006).

Arendt (1958) explains this understanding through the society's monopolization of the culture for the definition of a society's traits and boundaries. Arendt (1958) indicates that in culture not knowledge or truth is at stake but judgment and decision are on the foreground. The security need of a society is determined by its culture. Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) denote that threat narratives reaffirm images of a dominant group through suppressing individualistic values, lifestyles and actions. Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) explain that these

constructions are tied to fabricate notions of historical inevitability, rationalizing national policies, which foster a need for unquestioned obedience of the in-group members.

In the formation of narratives and in their transformation through generations, education has an important role. Lange (2012) points out the effect of education in the formation of ethnic antipathy and violent ethnic movements as the inclusion of metaphors on ethnic antipathy foster frustration, aggression and mobilization against the other.

Lange (2012) makes a connection between the socialization mechanism and mobilization mechanism through education through emphasizing that education is a tool that maintains socialization mechanism, which strengthens the mobilization mechanism. Lange (2012) indicates that socialization mechanism has the potential to disseminate, strengthen and legitimize antagonisms and at that point education can be a source of competition and exacerbate frustration. Lange (2012) underlines that in the formation of the collective violence; mobilization mechanism provides the resources for collective violence. Through these mechanisms, education intensifies, legitimizes, and mobilizes ethnic divisions and increases the risk of violence (Lange, 2012).

Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) indicate the role of education through pointing out the effect of stories on children. Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) emphasize that while stories including collective sense of pride and self-esteem develop and promote in-group identity, the negative perception of out-group is also established. Wallace (2003) underlines this situation through stressing that misinformation and myth impact cognitions and consciousness.

2.3.3. Cultural Violence

In the middle age, it is seen that instead of the justification of the violence, there was the symbolization of the violence, which means that individuals had been

taken violence as one of the part of their identities. Hence, the concept of hate and related to this concept, anger and revenge mechanisms in the middle age had been become socially institutionalized. By this way through the threat of the individual and social violence, a covert social cohesion is produced. Thus, violence becomes not only discriminative but also integrative socially (Gümüş, 2007).

Social environment is the crucial base for social behavior. The behaviors of individuals are determined by the regulations, mores, rituals and taboos (Krech and Crutchfield, 1947). Ross (2006) indicates that social identity starts to develop at the earliest stages of the life cycle through the formation of enemies and allies.

The perception of the other is not based on objective assessment of the others' values in which members of other ethnic groups are perceived as negatively (Korostelina, 2006). Volkan connects this negatively loaded emotional derivation with the feeling of chosen trauma, which is carried through generations and negativity towards the other is nourished by this way constantly (as cited in Ross, 2007). Volkan states that; "Adopting a chosen trauma can enhance ethnic pride, reinforce a sense of victimization, and even spur a group to avenge its ancestors' hurts. The memory of the chosen trauma is used to justify ethnic aggression" (as cited in Ross, 2007, p.49). Therefore, ethnic aggression becomes the core factor for the continuation of violence.

The relation between identity and conflict is established based on negative stereotyping, rigid and simplified conceptions of the other in which the social atomization is sustained through stereotyping (Bradley, 2008). Stereotypes lead to lack of information, unwilling to be informed in a proper way about the other. Ross (2007) expresses that cultural expressions are reflectors of groups' worldviews and an on-going conflict emphasizes what a group's deepest hopes and fears and how it understands an opponent's actions and motives. In ethnic

conflicts, there is the polarization and escalation around contested cultural expressions (Ross, 2007).

Bradley (2008) defines the relation between identity construction and conflict creation based on establishing a meaning system. Bradley (2008) conceptualizes this process in three steps, which compose of evoking a narrative context, evoking certain identities within this context and arousing rights and duties that are allocated to persons in accordance with their constructed identities (Bradley, 2008). In this contextualization, violence is rationalized through establishing a contextualized rationality on society by holding a monopoly over the means of definition (Gourgouris, 1997).

Thus, acts of violence invest the material with meaning by giving it structure (Munck, 2000). Violence and aggressiveness are learned behaviors. From childhood, through socially learned mechanisms, individuals learn/get from the society patterns of offensive and violent actions (Köknel, 2000). Krech and Crutchfield (1947) state that; “Among the maladaptive reactions to frustrations that are of greatest importance to an understanding of social behavior are the following: (1) aggression, (2) regression, (3) withdrawal, (4) repression, (5) sublimation, (6) rationalization and projection, (7) autism, (8) identification” (p.55).

If there are aggressive/offensive behaviors and violent actions in the patterns of common behaviors, then this creates an environment that is prone to social violence (Köknel, 2000). Tronvoll (2005) emphasizes that violence as an enduring social and political phenomenon reproduces past impressions and formed future ones, which affects the formation of identities. Schröder and Schmidt indicate that violence is a form of symbolic action that carries cultural meanings, which includes ideas of legitimacy (as cited in Demmers, 2012). Halperin (2014) underlines this situation through the conceptualization of repertoire. Halperin (2014) indicates that with the de-legitimization of the out-

group, the belief of victimization is associated with collective angst and hate culture which is learned by the repertoire of the in-group.

Through the in-group positivity principle, people identify with groups as a way to feel good, which is the basis of group violence. Since, members of a group achieve this positivity only through degrading an out-group (Demmers, 2012). The groups which use violence as a representation mechanism believe that through the use of violence, they sustain pride and superiority to their group (Köknel, 2000). Ferguson (2003) implies that collective violence is a process with a developmental history.

Stereotyping and bias shape the categorization way of the group consciousness and categorization has a crucial impact on individuals' behavioral orientations. By this way, a physical readiness to approach in-group members and avoid out-group members occurs. While in-group members are evaluated more favorably, out-group members are differentiated, which results with bias and generalizations toward out-group members (Dovidio, Gaertner and Thomas, 2013).

Symbols have a significant position in the physical readiness to approach in-group members and avoid out-group members. For instance; political symbols do not only unify the groups but also distinguish them and play a significant role in the dynamics of social conflict. Symbolic images can result with the exaggerated self-images of the other, which may include superficial, inaccurate and ill conceived (Elder and Cobb, 1983).

Violence that is loaded with ethnicity has historically and culturally defined contexts. In addition, ethnic attachments create emotionally powerful perceptions, interpretations and understandings which result with high mobilization levels (Demmers, 2012). A discursive approach to violent conflict includes the mutual relationships between agency, social practices, structure, discourses and institutions (Demmers, 2012). Hence, social identity is a product

of communication, power relations, contestations, discursive and institutional practices (Demmers, 2012).

Stuart Kaufmann indicates the relation between ethnic group's myth-symbol complex and violent conflict (as cited in Demmers, 2012). According to his model of symbolic politics, the critical causes of extreme ethnic violence depend on group myths that justify hostility, fears of group extinction and a symbolic politics of chauvinist mobilization (Demmers, 2012). Moreover, Wallace (2003) indicates that "symbolic concepts reveal the nature and forms of invisible covert violence" (p.38). Derrida (2010) defines that mythic violence has a moment which is constitutive and based on sacrifice that has an expanding nature as a result of radicalization.

Instead of addressing ethnicity in the meaning-making of violence, Ferguson (2003) introduces a conceptualization named as identerest. By this conception, he proposes that naming the relationship between identity, interest, group and conflict relations as identerest rather than labeling all these kinds of relationships as ethnic (Ferguson, 2003). Identerest conflicts have four main characteristics, which are; 1) formation of a core identerest group, 2) creation of mutual fears or a security dilemma, 3) polarization and projection of negative attributes, and 4) calculated violence (Ferguson, 2003).

Galtung (1990) defines the relation between violence and culture through stating that; "The culture preaches, teaches, admonishes, eggs on, and dulls us into seeing exploitation and/or repression as normal and natural or into not seeing them (particularly not exploitation) at all" (p.295). In cultural violence, collective memory is the trigger factor. The representations of the past composed of the history of the conflict with socially constructed narrative, which is biased, selective and distorted meets the present needs of the society.

Bar-Tal (2011) defines four themes of collective memory during the conflict as;

- Justifying theme that justifies the outbreak of the conflict and the course of its development,
- Presenting the own society in a positive light,
- Describing the rival society in delegitimizing ways,
- Portraying own society as the victim of the opponent.

2.3.4. Political Violence

The collective behavior approach focuses on the emergence and construction of new norms of social relationships and new meanings of social life (Gusfield, 1994). This is a collective learning process, which is productive as a result of active participation in collective social and political communities (Westrheim, 2013). In the process of the construction of politics, violence can be used as a mechanism. Based on this issue, the production of political discourse and political behavior can be shaped according to the use of violence.

In political philosophy, violence is defined as the use of force which is not legitimate that is used over the others without their consent (Çelebi, 2010). Political discourse and behavior which are under the effect of the violence produce cultural codes and values through collective action. Members of a society become part of society's discourse that defines the interests of them. This converts people in a political interest group that are committed to material interests in an emotional and moralistic way (Collins, 2014).

In the use of political violence, there is the aim for the construction of new norms of social relationships. Through the use of political violence, new meanings are constructed. In this construction process, organizational structure has a key role because "associations and organizations are instances and embodiments of meanings" (Gusfield, 1994, p.61). In the use of political violence there is the existence of utilitarian interests, and these interests are carried by organizational agents and they have the attempt to alter the existing institutions. However, in the new social movements, aim of the movement does not target an institutional change. In new social movements, there is room for

being apolitical. However in political violence there is no room for being apolitical, political violence is politically motivated.

Another issue is about the production of cultural codes and values. There is also the effect of the construction and re-construction of cultural codes through political violence. There is the debate in new social movements based on the distinction between political and cultural movements deriving from the supposition that more culturally oriented new social movements are inherently apolitical (Buechler, 1995). Della Porta and Diani (2006) underline that identity develops through various definitions on reality, symbols, collective practices and rituals.

Production of cultural codes and values both establish and nourish collective consciousness. This is the process of socialization in which individual positions himself/herself in a community. In the processes of socialization and social interaction there is the promotion of groupthink (Corte, 2007). Hence there is need for expression materials such as symbols of an identity in order to determine its characteristics. Poletta and Jasper (2001) imply that cultural materials such as symbols, clothing, verbal preferences describe collective identities, which are both imagined and concrete.

Therefore, large group dynamics is the basis for the explanation of political violence (Varvin, 2003). There is the construction of social identity on the basis of group level, and each member of the group internalizes the group identity. Erikson explains this process as “individual at a given stage is strong enough to integrate the timetable of the organism with the structure of social institution at a specific stage of development” (as cited in Eyadat, 2009). The question ‘who am I?’ is replaced by ‘to whom do I belong?’ and this represents the symbiotic unity (Bohleber, 2003). Sullivan (2014) underlines this symbiotic unity through collective pride. Sullivan (2014) emphasizes that collective pride in conflicts indicates collective emotional orientations such as fear, hatred or anger that activate affiliation, solidarity and cohesiveness among the group members.

In political violence, there is the production of a rationality and justification. Justifications of the violence by the ones who act on violence establish the reality in detail (Cover, 2010). This process is maintained through meaning making of violence, which represents before making violence there is the establishment of a meaning on it. Bar-Tal (2011) explains this situation through rhetorical and emotional strategies, which are used for justifying the goals of the conflict through focusing on delegitimizing and the intransigence and violence of the opponent by being victim, fear, hatred and anger.

Collins (2014) explains this derivation of victimhood, fear, hatred and anger from cultural units, which are the key feature in shaping and mobilizing political interests and in determining patterns of violence. There is the influence of the communicative strategy in the formation and sustaining the durability of the collective identity. This communicative strategy is maintained according to the construction of discourse and cultural codes, there is the production and reproduction of a cultural violence through the use of language which leads to the production of the language of violence. This violence laden discourse also includes and carries political-cultural messages in society. Furthermore, repetition of the discourse based on violence leads to the normalization of the violence.

There is a process from the subject-discourse dimension to subject-group dimension. Discourse includes memorized signs of living in a culture, which are composed of converging and diverging myths, narratives, ideologies and paradigms of beliefs and argumentations. Furthermore, pain, conflict and desire express itself in culturally determined forms (Varvin, 2003). However in the use of political violence and group formation based on this consciousness necessitate identification with the group as a member of it. In political violence, the collective memories of the conflict and ethos of conflict are in an organized mood in the memory system, which is activated when threats, real or symbolic are perceived (Bar-Tal, 2011).

Galtung defines cultural violence as; “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence, exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics), that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence” (as cited in Demmers, 2012). These maintain the cultural codes of the political violence. Discourse of violence and symbolic communication are shaped according to the specific characteristics of each group, which constructs the group’s structural identity and characteristics.

For instance in the case of nationalism, under the motivation of taking revenge, discourse based on violence is used for the justification of the use of violence. In other words, taking revenge under the name of nationalism nourishes the use of violence towards the other who is seen as the enemy and who is dehumanized. By this way, use of violence is normalized and the feeling of revenge is localized in the collective mind (Öztañ, 2007). Dehumanizing the other nourishes the victimization of the subject, which also leads to the feeling of the victimization collectively. The revenge theme shows up in many social areas such as lyrics, computer games, films, comics and so on (Öztañ, 2007). Politically motivated violence becomes a cultural aspect of the society and this cultural characteristic turns into a transformative object through generations that makes the sustainability of the violence.

CHAPTER 3

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION ON KURDISHNESS

In the construction of cultural and intellectual knowledge, meanings are shaped based on the invention and popularization of myths, symbols, traditions and folklore of the past, which are reinterpreted and/or imagined (Bozarslan, 2003). Hence, historiography is a crucial element that reveals the characteristics of a society. Vali (2003) states that; “Historical arguments are discursive representations of the past, conceptual forms of knowledge grounded in specific epistemological formations and also that representations of the past are always retrospective, heavily laden with the political and ideological concerns of the present” (p.3).

In this chapter first of all, how discursive construction on Kurds/Kurdishness is represented in the primary sources will be introduced. The main purpose of the search for the primary sources is revealing what the main discourses are constructed in its own historical process, how Kurds define themselves in the original texts. What the constituent elements of discursive construction in the historical process is tried to be elaborated. Then, in the secondary sources based on anthropological and political science perspectives what kind of discourses are used for the description of Kurds/Kurdishness will be researched. In the third section, historical discursive construction on Kurdishness in the terms of political culture will be elaborated. Through historically how Kurdishness had been defined and redefined in political terms will be explained. The questions of what does it mean to be a Kurd and as a political community how they are imagined in the historical context will be tried to be addressed.

In the fourth section, ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity will be examined. How Kurdishness; Kurdish collective identity has been constructed

discursively through the use of myths, symbols and values will be elaborated. This section will be examined under four subheadings, which are;

1. Oral culture, music and dance
2. Nawruz as *Newroz*
3. Imagined community: *Kurdistan*
4. Introduction of violence in discursive construction on Kurdishness

3.1. Kurds in the Primary Sources

There are three main written pieces that are accepted as the primary sources, which are entreated Kurds and Kurdishness that are *Sharafnama* by Sharaf Khan, *Mem-u Zin* by Ahmedi Hani and *Kürt Çoban* (Kurdish Shepherd) by Ereb Şemo. In this section, based on these three primary sources, what kind of a discursive construction on Kurdishness was established will be studied. Sharaf Khan bin Şemseddin (B.D. 1543-D.D. 1603/04) was a politician who was interested with poetry and literature. He wrote *Sharafnama* in Persian in 1596. Sharaf Khan described political history of Kurdish tribes, their structures and relations between tribes in *Sharafnama* (Biyografya, 2021). The other primary source on Kurds was written by Ahmedi Hani (B.D. 1651-D.D. 1707) who was a poet and dealt with Islamic philosophy. He wrote *Mem-u Zin* in Kurdish in 1692 (Biyografya, 2021). Ereb Şemo (B.D. 1897-D.D.1978) was a Kurdish novelist who wrote *Kürt Çoban* (Kurdish Shepherd) in 1935 in Russian. In this piece he described the cultural, economic and social lives of nomad Kurds (Biyografya, 2021). Additionally, *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) is identified as one of the primary sources in the formation of Kurdish identity in 1970s, which is analyzed in Chapter-4.

The term Kurd was used firstly by the Arabs. After 900 years of its first use, the Kurdish *mir* (prince) Sharaf Khan wrote *Sharafnama*. *Sharafnama* is accepted as the first primary source that defines Kurdishness through describing who the Kurds and what their characteristics were (Özoğlu, 2007). In *Sharafnama*, root of the Kurds is narrated by a myth. According to this myth, Kurds were the

group of people who ran away from Dahhak, who was a tyrant. Dahhak was defined as the enemy of the religion and as a ruler who used excessive violence. On the shoulders of Dahhak, two boils occurred that was defined as cancer and for its treatment, young human brains were used. Each day, two brains of humans were taken. It is told that the killer who took the brains of the humans could not bear this situation and released secretly one of those. Kurds were defined as the ones who ran away to the mountains from killing for the cure of Dahhak.

In this myth, it is defined that humans who ran away to the mountains were spoken diverse dialects, they gathered together, married each other and proliferated and named as Kurds. As a result of living far away from the settled areas, these various originated people formed their own cultures, art and civilization (Şerefhan, 2009). Another myth is also introduced in the same source, which depends on religious narration. According to this story, Kurds are the group of people who are the children of Eve's daughters and jinn (Şerefhan, 2009).

In *Sharafnama*, Kurdish groups and tribes were classified into four groups based on their language, custom and social positions, which were Kurmanc, Lor, Kelhur and Goran (Şerefhan, 2009). Sharaf Khan wrote that most of the Kurdish groups are Sunni and Shafii who devoted themselves to the path of religious discipline (Şerefhan, 2009). Characteristics of Kurds were defined by Sharaf Khan as very brave, trustworthy, generous, and honorable.

In his narration, Sharaf Khan gave an example in order to define the braveness and honesty of the Kurds and he wrote that Kurds would prefer to be known as the ones who block the roads and usurp in the mountains instead of being known as the ones who steal and attack suddenly. Sharaf Khan underlined that this type of behavior depended on a rare found braveness. He implied that under the purpose of getting these adjectives, Kurds annihilate each other. He expressed

that the Kurds' behavior based on the understanding that 'the man who thinks the consequences, cannot be brave'.

Sharaf Khan expressed that the name of the Kurd is a cognomen that was given to them as a result of their excessive braveness. In *Sharafnama*, the main characteristics of Kurds were defined based on tribal divisions. Tribe is one of the main characteristics of the community life. Ahmadi Khani refers to the tribal structure of the Kurds in his epic, as well and stated that;

Look, from the Arabs to the Georgians, the Kurds have become like towers. The Turks and Persians are surrounded by them. The Kurds are on all four corners. Both sides have made the Kurdish people targets for the arrows of fate. They are said to be keys to the borders, each tribe forming a formidable bulwark. Whenever the Ottoman Sea (Ottomans) and Tajik Sea (Persians) flow out and agitate, the Kurds get soaked in blood separating them (the Turks and Persians) like an isthmus (Şerefhan, 2009).

Another main characteristic of the Kurds in these primary sources are underlined by the need for an authority for maintaining a common identity between separated groups. Ahmadi Khani indicated this need through stating that; "If the Kurds would have a sultan and if God would grant a crown to that sultan, then the Kurds would have a new fortune." Ahmadi Khani explained the reasons why the Kurds had to be under the authority of the others through underlining that Kurds could not come together except Islam and because of the tribal structure, which prevent Kurds to become united (as cited in Bozkurt and Işık, 2013).

As Ahmadi Khani points out that in traditional Kurdish society, belief is one of the main components of the social structure. It is observed that in the discursive construction of Kurdishness, belief is one of the main constituents, which imply that belief system has a great impact on the configuration of mental codes, perceptions, ideas, values, behaviors and social relations (Yazıcı, 2013).

Sharaf Khan also explained the effect of Islam and the effect of a lack of an authority on Kurdish society in his piece. He underlined that the only bond that

holds Kurds together is Islam (Şerefhan, 2009). Sharaf Khan described that Kurds do not cooperate and form alliance with each other. He indicated that according to a historical record, Kurds were defined as the ones who prefer to live alone and free at the top of the mountains. He stated that any small reason can lead the Kurds to rebel. He noted that as retribution of the killing of someone; a girl, a horse or more than one goat is taken. About the family life, Sharaf Khan implied that based on the belief on Islam, Kurdish men marry with four women and if their power is enough, they can take four bondwomen (Şerefhan, 2009).

The third crucial primary source that gives information about the livings of Kurdish communities were written by Ereb Şemo in recent past. In his piece *Kürt Çoban (Kurdish Shepherd)*, Ereb Şemo told about the community livings of the Kurdish society in 1900s. He draws attention to the tribal structure of the Kurdish communities and their agricultural livelihoods. Based on the tribal structure, Şemo underlines that conflict between tribes was inevitable. In the case of conflicts before they trigger into violence, a common place is determined between tribes and for problem-solving everyone meet in that common place. However, when a conflict turns into violence then only a woman who is an outsider, not a member of the conflicting tribes intervene into the conflict through throwing her scarf on the ground in order to end up the violence between the conflicting tribes (Şemo, 1977).

3.2. Kurds in the Secondary Sources

It is claimed that Kurds came from Medes, who had lived in the 6th century BC, which was a community that belonged to Persian Empire. On the other hand some resources indicate that the historical past of the Kurds depend on the mixture of Indian-European groups (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). From the 7th until the 16th century, the term Kurd was not used in order to define a community politically or socially intended even by the Kurds themselves (Özoğlu, 2007).

Kurds are community based entities. In traditional Kurdish family structure, family is the smallest unit while the tribe is the inclusionary. This structure can be schematized as; family>lineage>clan>tribe (Yazıcı, 2013). The basic social-political entity in Kurds is tribes. Van Bruinessen (1992) defined the Kurdish tribe as; “a socio-political and generally also territorial (and therefore economic) unit based on descent and kinship, real or putative, with a characteristic of internal structure. It is naturally divided into a number of sub-tribes, each in turn again divided into smaller units: clans, lineages, etc.” (p.51).

In the Kurdish social structure, tribal leaders; *agha* and religious leaders; *sheikh* are key figures, which have a dominant authority over the society (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). Kurds prefer to be under the authority of a leader instead of living without an authority (Dilek, 2013). Van Bruinessen (1992) indicates that membership in a particular tribe based on traditional tribal law, Islamic jurisprudence, Ottoman and Persian feudal practices. Van Bruinessen (1992) defines the aspects of a tribe as an organism of defense, which is inward looking and has the feeling of its superiority over the other groups that do not have the same character because kinship is the basic organizing principle in the tribe.

Tribes, which are indigenous characteristic of Kurdish social structure, include social, political and economic structures, which are formed on the basis of kinship relations, which based on strict customs and traditions (Işık, 2006). A suitable example for indicating how this community life functions can be given from the understanding that the responsibility of committing a crime or stealing does not depend on the individual but to the tribe (Gökalp, 1992). This aspect comes from the traditional Kurdish family structure in which a family member can either bring prestige to his family or lead to the diminishment in prestige of his family (Yazıcı, 2013).

Blood feud is another crucial cultural trait, which reveals the effect of the tribal characteristic of the Kurdish society. The effect of the blood feud in the formation and justification of violence in the Kurdish cultural norms also shape

the political perspectives and claims of the society. Hamit İzol who is a member of İzol tribe indicates in his book *Aşiret ve Öteki Yüzü* (Tribe and its Other Face) that as a result of the effect of the blood feud in the first case only killing in the name of honor is acceptable but after a while; “Committing murders become an honorable act. The ones who killed more gain a crucial statue in the community” (İzol, 2009, p.100).

This characteristic of Kurds derived from the effect of Islam, as well. In Kurdish society, religion has a key role in everyday life. Hence, blood feud as an example implies how Kurdish society’s perception and behavioral structure is heavily shaped based on religion. The Kurds imply that in Koran, it is stated that ‘a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and a wound for a wound’. İzol (2009) expresses the understanding of blood feud as; “When one of us was killed by someone from another tribe, his close relatives went after that tribe and killed the first man they saw. Sometimes they killed not one man but four or five. Then of course the other tribe came to take revenge” (p.64).

Social relations in traditional Kurdish family are regulated according to age, gender, blood tie, belief, statue, common values, norms and values on religious belief, which depend on a strong social control (Yazıcı, 2013). In social control mechanisms, there are social sanctions, which are condemnation, disapproval and cutting communication (Yazıcı, 2013). In traditional Kurdish family, there are three main priorities, which are protection of the family and respectability, maintaining solidarity between the members and supply the needs of the family members (Yazıcı, 2013). Vali (2003) states that;

Kurdish society is generally presented as a conglomeration of tribal, nomadic, pastoral, and non-urban formations. The concept tribe in its general and even specialized (anthropological) uses implies primitivism, especially in the evolutionary sense of a pre-state level of social and political development. Culturally, tribalism and nomadism are associated with the oral tradition and the absence of literate intellectual traditions (p.109).

Derived from the aspects of tribalism, oral culture is defined as one of the most crucial characteristics of the Kurdish society, which also shapes the collective social structure of the Kurdish society. Mourning and folk tales are products of the oral culture, which is practiced collectively. Finnegan (1977) states that; “Oral literature is more flexible and more dependent on its social context” (p.29). Oral traditions through its repetitive actions, also lead to the construction of one’s self-identity (Demir, 2010) which is shared collectively and inevitably result with a mutually interaction between the individual and the society that he/she belongs to. When *Dersim Mournings*, which are compiled by Özcan (2002) are analyzed, most of the mournings’ themes are defined by the losses because of the deaths as a result of tribal and neighborhood conflicts, which usually stemmed from armed conflicts. Individual experiences are shaped according to the cultural aspects of Kurdish society, which results with the collective practices that turn into rituals.

Thus, oral traditions have a significant place in the discursive construction of Kurdishness. In this discursive construction process, there is also the effect of the diverse dialects of the Kurdish language. Kurdish language has main dialects, which are Kurmanji; the Northern Kurdish group of dialects, Sorani; the Kurdish spoken in north-eastern Iraq, and the Southern group, which is composed of several heterogeneous dialects spoken in the south of Iran, Gorani and Zazaki (Blau, 1996). Hassanpour (1996) implies the reasons for the delay in the development of Kurdish literate culture and its evolution through stating that; “the persistence of feudal relations of production in a predominantly rural society with a significant tribal component imposed numerous limitations on the proliferation of literate culture. Kurdish literature was born in the city and village mosque schools, and was nurtured in the guest houses (diwan) of the landed aristocracy” (pp.50-51).

Through the development of Kurdish literature, discursive construction on Kurdishness orally expands into literally especially carrying nationalistic inspirations. Ahmadi Khani’s *Mem u Zin*, which was inspired by an oral epic that

was *Meme Alan*, (Özoğlu, 2007) is recognized as the first Kurdish national epic based on its references to Kurdish nationalist beliefs (Gunter, 2007). In the section *Our Troubles*, Ahmadi Khani wrote that:

Why have the Kurds remained stateless, dispossessed?
For what crime had they become fugitives, condemned?
...
If we had unity amongst themselves,
If we all, together, obeyed one another
The Turks, the Arabs and the Persians
Would one and all be in our servitude.
Then would we perfect the art of government and religion.
Then would we acquire all wisdom and command all nature (Özoğlu, 2007, p.27).

In the 17th century with Ahmedi Khani, a need of a sultan for bringing all the Kurds under a common authority was declared, while in the 18th century an emphasis made on Kurdish people by Hacı Qadiri Koyi (Çiçek, 2013). In spite of the emphasis on bringing all the Kurds under a common authority and Kurdish people, tribal structure was still the main characteristic of the Kurds in their collectivity and therefore they did not identify themselves as ethnic groups (Çiçek, 2013) because the corner stone of the social system in the Kurdish society depends on tribes. The smallest unit of the tribe is composed by family clan and the loyalty of the individual is primarily directed towards this unit. A Kurdish tribe based on a mixture of blood ties and territorial allegiances associated with strong religious loyalties (Meho and Maglaughlin, 2001).

Tribal segmentation and *sheikh* fragmentation were the main aspects of the Kurdish society during that period of time (Orhan, 2012). Hence in that period of time, even though there started the use of references about nationalism discursively; this did not result with a collective action because of the variety of religious and social authorities on the basis of the Kurdish tribal structure.

Galip (2012) in her thesis states that Kurdish identity adjust itself according to the requirements of a changing context, which makes fluidity a crucial aspect of Kurdish identity. During the rise of nationalism in the international system, with

the effect of Islam, Kurds as tribes preferred to be loyal to Arabic entities in order to be included in that group, in spite of the use of nationalistic themes discursively (Kutlay, 1997).

Kutlay (1997) explains the reasons behind the delay in the evolution of written literature and Kurdish nationalism as tribal and nomadic structure, feudal production relations, effect of Islam and use of Arabic language. Kutlay (1997) underlines that as a lack of society's production of means, feudal sects were seen as a protector by the community and they were dependent on the feudal sects in every way. Kutlay (1997) implies that therefore Kurdishness as a political identity could not be formed, since they could not form stable organized entities.

Kutlay (1997) emphasizes another explanatory point that resulted with the delay in Kurdish nationalism through underlining that in the construction process of Kurdish nationalism, landlords put a distance to Kurdish nationalist awakenings under the purpose of protecting their interests. Kutlay (1997) gives an example from the statement of an English diplomat about the characteristic of the construction process of Kurdish nationalism as; "They are not a political entity as a race. There are tribal entities which are not willing to become together. As long as these tribal entities protect their interest, they prefer to be loyal to central government" (p.46).

Discursive use of nationalistic themes did not result with the construction of a defined Kurdish nationalist identity in that period of time. Anderson (2007) defines Kurdish nationalism as a double-edged sword. Anderson (2007) elaborates that while Kurds hold to arms resistance against stronger powers, on the other hand they cannot mobilize in order to pursue a common nationalist cause. He explains the main cause of this lack of mobilization through the tribal and religious structure of Kurdish society. Anderson (2007) points out that *sheikhs* and tribal leaders create factious rivalries.

Therefore, in the secondary sources; *mirs* (princes) of the autonomous Kurdish principalities, the *aghas* (tribal chiefs), the *sheikhs* of the religious orders and the urban religious intelligentsia were pointed out as the key figures in the discursive construction of Kurdishness (Vali, 2003). In the social organizational characteristic of Kurds, tribal structures had multi-functional roles. Barkey and Fuller (1998) explain the position of these roles as mediating roles between the individual and the tribal leadership.

Özoğlu (2017) points out this situation through putting emphasis on the conflicts between Kurdish elites and tribes, which derived from tribal aspects and various perspectives on religion (Islam). For example; in 1891 by the participation of some Kurdish tribes, *Hamidiye Alayları* was formed by the leading of Ottoman Empire. This entity was religiously motivated and hence there occurred a distance between this group and merchants with town-dwellers (Kutlay, 1997). Therefore these factions lead to different nationalist understandings and commitment to the nationalist movements. Hence, discursive construction on Kurdishness in that period of time derived from and shaped by the roles, effects and relations between the historical key figures.

Until the end of the World War I, most of the Kurds had been living under Ottoman and Persian Empires as feudal tribes (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). Hence, Kurds did not use being Kurdish as an identity marker in this period. Locally Kurdish families identified themselves with their tribe and universally with Islam (Özoğlu, 2007).

Moreover, in the 19th century, during the evolution of nationalistic movements, tribal and religious leaders were the distinguished characters of the society. There have been changes in the elite structure of Kurdish society as a result of the migration of some Kurds to cities after the dissolution of the empires. However, this does not alter the main cultural traits of the Kurdish society (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997).

Kirişçi and Winrow (1997) indicate that various ethnic groups under the rule of Ottoman Empire had defined their identities through religion instead of their ethnicity. Hence, Kurds in this period did not act on the basis of their ethnicity, instead they became motivated through religiously (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). Kirişçi and Winrow (1997) underline that the reason why the Kurds could not form a national movement depend on the lack of a common ethnic self-consciousness. After the dissolution of the empires, religiously motivated identity in Kurdish society was the foreground concept (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997).

During the foundation of the Turkish Republic, against the centralization policy, there occurred 23 rebellions during 1919-1921 and there were three Kurdish tribes that rebelled, which were *Çeto*, *Milli* and *Koçgiri*. These rebellions could not succeed because the other Kurdish tribes did not support them and as Van Bruinessen underlines, the Kurds who did not support the rebellions participated in the suppression of them (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). This also indicates the inability of forming Kurdishness, which resulted with the lack of mobilization around Kurdishness. During that period of time, the mobilizer was the religion between Kurdish groups. Tribal structure, lack of a modern leader team and the loyalty to the tribes and religion suppress the rise of a national consciousness between Kurds (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). Kurds identify themselves with religion and this identification motivates the actions of the Kurdish society. Kirişçi and Winrow (1997) point out that in the Kurdish society; tribal, religious and regional diversities are the obstacles in the formation of the ethnic and national Kurdish identity in a unity.

About the construction process of Kurdishness, especially motivated by nationalistic themes, various historical-cultural traits are debated. Smith (2009) enlightens the reason behind the debates on historical-cultural traits through stating that; "...cultural nationalists hoped to place their political projects on firm historical foundations and convince their kinsmen, as well as a hostile world, of the truth of their claims" (p.71).

Hassanpour (1996) claims that the *Sharafnama* and *Mem u Zin* establish the historical origins of the Kurdish nationalism. *Mem u Zin* is interpreted as a symbol in which love is designed as a country (Temo, 2013). Hassanpour (1996) points out that in *Sharafnama*, autonomous political entities are narrated, which can be interpreted as the base of statehood. Bayti Dimdim treats the siege of *Dimdim* as a Kurdish struggle against foreign domination and considered it as a national epic. The defenders of *Dimdim* (the place which was taken by Persians) committed suicide not to be captured by foreign powers (Gunter, 2007). Hence, this event is also accepted as the milestone for the construction process of Kurdishness based on defending a territorial piece against foreign powers.

In Kurdish culture, oral literature has a rich place, while written literature is backward. However, Kurdish written literature has been developed with the rise of use of nationalistic themes discursively in a parallel manner (Kutlay, 1997). In 1880 Kurdish religious books were published, which indicated that written literature in Kurdish firstly developed on religion (Kutlay, 1997). The first newspaper came out in Cairo in 1898 named *Kurdistan* (Blau, 1996). This newspaper was published by Miktad Mithat Beg in Kurmanci dialect and in Turkish. With this newspaper, the terms Kurd and Kurdistan gained an ethno-political meaning (Çiçek, 2013). After that period respectively in 1913 *Hetaw-ı Kurd* (Kurdish Sun), *Roj-a Kurd* (Kurdish Day) and in 1919 *Jin* were published (Çiçek, 2013).

With 1919, meaning-making on the discourse of Kurdishness had gained a new dimension by the contribution of the Kurdish intelligentsia who were educated in the Westernized schools of the Ottoman Empire. One of the crucial signifiers in the politicization of the discourse on Kurdishness was the formation of *Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti* with its publication of the periodical *Jin* (Bozarlan, 2003).

The foreground indicators of discourse construction on new Kurdishness in this period by Kurdish intelligentsia had been made by the use of mythological figure

Kawa the Blacksmith, Nawruz as *Newroz* and *Mem u Zin*. By Kurdish intelligentsia the Kurdish mythological figure Kawa the Blacksmith was introduced as an ethno-symbolic figure under the purpose of establishing the perception of liberating the Kurdish nation. Nawruz was introduced as another symbolic conception for achieving the political mobilization. Moreover, the construction of a discourse of a national past had been introduced. By Kurdish intelligentsia, one of the founding works of Kurdish literature; *Mem u Zin* was rediscovered. Figures of the past such Ahmadi Khani were transformed into political and mythological symbols. Anthony Smith explains this process as placing own time-frame of an ethnic group through relating the present to a rediscovered past (Smith, 2009).

After 1923, in the process of the construction of discourse on Kurdishness, especially the main theme had been maintained on us vs. them through the use of othering, stereotyping constituents and defining the absolute enemy. One example for this can be given from the Kamuran Bedir Khan's work which was *The Case of Kurdistan against Turkey in 1928*. He stated that;

The Turks are portrayed as having pursued throughout the whole of their co-existence with the Kurds and other races the aims of extermination and assimilation...The Turks, descendants of Atilla and Jingiz Khan, are an unchanging entity, barbaric and evil by nature (as cited in Gunter, 2007, pp.13-14).

Gunter (2007) indicates that even though Bedir Khan's writings based on propagandistic and misleading analyses of Kurdish and Turkish history, they have a crucial importance in the development of we-ness on Kurdishness. Another piece of Kamuran Bedir Khan was *Der Adler (Eagle) von Kurdistan* that was published in 1937 was also constructed on the discourse of defining we-ness through heroism, patriotism, and respect for the land, identification with the mountains, pride in the language, heritage, folk tales and songs, Kurdish solidarity, patriotic and strong Kurdish women under the purpose for the identification of a Kurdishness under the purpose of the promotion of the nationalistic feelings (Gunter, 2007).

Martin Strohmeier makes an analysis on Kamuran Bedir Khan's literary work and he indicates that Kurdish elite postponed political activity in order to give priority to the cultural field. This situation is explained through the emphasis that nationalist visibility firstly occurred in the cultural field (as cited in Bozarslan, 2007). In other words, cultural field became the arena and tool for the political activities in the construction process of Kurdishness.

In 1942, Kurds around Mahabad¹ had formed political organizations. The *Komala J.K.* was one of them, which was established by urban middle class intellectuals and city notables. It had a flag with three colors, which were red that was symbolizing the bloody past and struggle, white that was indicating the good-hearted and well-intentioned Kurdish people and green that was emphasizing the greenness and fertility. The oath of loyalty was made on the Quran (Kamali, 2007).

With the mechanization of agriculture, industrialization, subsequent revolts, rural-urban migration, emigration, political mobilization in party politics, the expansion of public education and mass communications have weakened the tribal structure of the Kurdish society and led the development of a new wave of Kurdish discourse establishment mainly carried nationalistic characteristics with 1960s.

1970s has a crucial place in the discursive construction of Kurdishness through the use of nationalistic subjects by the Kurdish diaspora in Europe, which became both a producer and consumer of intellectual resources. With the beginning of 1970s, especially the use of mass communication became a significant tool in the construction of a new Kurdish identity that tried to unite all the Kurds under common shared cultural and political aspects. Based on this purpose the editions of the Kurdish classics; *Mem u Zin* by Ahmadi Khani, *Sharafname* by Sharaf Khan, *History of Marvani Kurds* by Ibn al-Azrak, *History*

¹ Mahabad is a city in West Azerbaijan Province of Iran.

of the Kurds by Ihsan Nuri, *Dersim in the History of Kurdsitan* by Nuri Dersim, *Kurdistan's Cause* by Kadri Cemal Pasha were re-published. In addition, journals such as *Rizgari* and *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) were published (Bozarslan, 2003). Additionally, during 1970-1980, pro-Kurdish publications in Kurdish multiplied (Heper, 2007).

Consequently, with the beginning of the 19th century, Kurdishness had been started to be constructed on the basis of forming it as a political community. Under this purpose, cultural traits were transformed into political tools. In other words, culture is politicized discursively through the transformation of historical discursive pieces into symbols. By this way a country; *Kurdistan*, statehood and political entities are imagined.

In this construction process, meaning-making on the discourse of Kurdishness had been established by the use of myths and symbols, which also used for the definition of we-ness and the others. Hence, this historical discursive process resulted with the construction of us vs. them through othering and stereotyping. Unless the other is defined, then to define we-ness become impossible. Hence, if there is even sameness with the other, then the difference on this sameness should be revealed become the political objective for the protection of cultural uniqueness. Smith (2009) strikingly describes this construction process as; "...in the tale of the nation, turning legend and history into popular theatre and memorable imagery" (p.90).

3.3. Ethno-Symbolic Construction of Kurdish Identity

In this section, the main question is how a collective identity can be constructed ethno-symbolically. Ethno symbolism indicates that myths, values and symbols form the nations and their nationalistic characteristics. Historical ethno-symbolism consists of myths, memories, traditions and symbols of ethnic heritage that maintain the main components of nationalism (Canefe, 2002).

Smith (2009) implies that sets of myths constitute ethnic polity, which ensures the long-term persistence of ethnic identities.

In ethno-symbolism, one of the important aspects is its differentiation on commonalities. Smith emphasizes that same cultural elements are represented distinctively based on the construction of symbolic repertoire in terms of language, religion, customs and institutions, which set the boundaries between us and the other (Smith, 2009). In nation-building, commonalities between groups are differentiated through attaching new meanings to national entities. Myths, ethnic symbols of solidarity and uniqueness turn the nationalism into an organic formula in order to establish political legitimacy (Smith, 2009).

The mythology made possible the renewal of the traditional collective imagination. Canefe (2002) explains this process through the elevation of selected customs and traditions into rules, development of national languages out of regional dialects and territorial nationalism via populism in which the masses are invited into history. Canefe (2002) defines ethno-symbolic nationalism through stressing that it depends on the existence of a cultural capital of myths and symbols, which encourages the mind.

In order to understand what kind of a historical discursive construction on Kurdishness had been took place, Kurdish poems from the 8th century till 1950s that are collected together in the book of Anthology of Kurdish Poem (Temo, 2013) are analyzed according to their themes. Themes of the poems are determined according to their content and main subjects of them.

Table 2. Themes of the Kurdish Poems according to the Historical Sequence

Time Period	Themes
8th-9th century	Tribes
10th century	Religion
11th century	Kurdistan and Nawruz
15th century	Being Kurdish and Myth of Dehhak
16th century	Religion, Governance and Unity
17th century	Territory (Kurdistan) and Language (Kurdish)
18th century	Religion
19th century (early)	Language (Kurdish), Tribes and Unity
19th century (middle)	Language and Religion
19th century (late)	Nawruz, Language, Religion, Unity and Territory

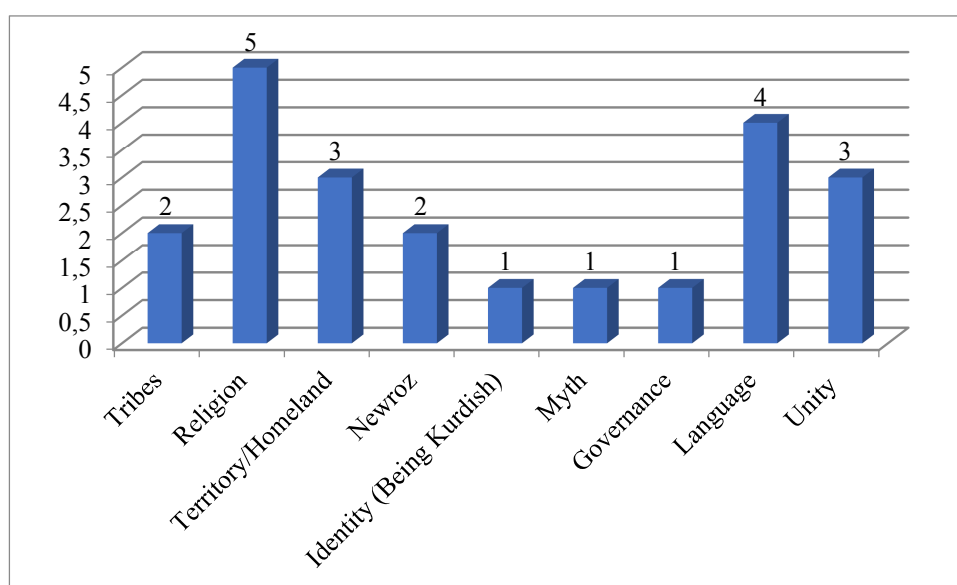


Figure 1. Intensity of the Kurdish Poems According to their Themes

Themes are explored in the graphic according to their historical sequence. Based on this data, it is observed that respectively religion, language, territory/homeland and unity are the foreground themes in Kurdish poems.

In a society, groups and individuals promote their own versions of memory under the purpose of serving their interests in the present. Therefore memory functions not only as forming memberships in groups but also creating a sense of their past, present and future (Özyürek, 2006). Moreover, collective

consciousness on a common cause is motivated through politically. Collective memories, experiences and political knowledge are key components for the development of collective consciousness focusing on a common cause (Westrheim, 2013). Collective consciousness establishes a sense of belonging on the basis of a common history and the imagination for a common future (Westrheim, 2013).

This commonness is constituted by the form of symbolic togetherness, which is defined by Victor Turner as *communitas* that underlines the role of emotions in maintaining social cohesion and social structure through ritual practices (as cited in Westrheim, 2013). This situation represents, as Westrheim (2013) states; “People experience that they are part of something bigger than themselves” (p.141). In ethnic identity formation, symbolic resources represent a society’s identical characteristics. Smith (2009) argues that in the origins of the nation; political myth of descent, a shared history and culture, a specific territory and a sense of solidarity are needed. Hobsbawm (1983) defines this process as invented tradition. Hobsbawm (1983) emphasizes that through invented, constructed and formally instituted traditions, a set of practices are organized which are represented through symbols, rituals and rules that also form of certain values and norms of behavior that imply the continuity with the past.

In the discursive construction on Kurdishness, in order to refer to a static group under the purpose of establishing a common identity, cultural elements have been used. Therefore, in the literature, what kind of cultural elements are elaborated in the discursive construction on Kurdishness will be addressed through focusing on the studies based on Kurdish oral culture, music, dance, the transformation of Nawruz into *Newroz*, the use of *Kurdistan* and the use of violence in discursive construction on Kurdishness.

3.3.1. Oral Culture, Music and Dance

With 1960s, in the discursive establishment on Kurdishness; literature, folklore, art and music played crucial roles in fostering the establishment of a common Kurdish national identity (Meho and Maglaughlin, 2001). Kurds were peasant and farmer communities. Derived from these characteristics, especially in the long winter nights, main social activities were singing and storytelling. Hence, as a result of this cultural historical process, professional *dengbej* (bard) and story tellers came out (Kutlay, 1997).

Semantic world and memory of the Kurdish society are constructed basically on oral culture. *Dengbej* is the transmitter of the Kurdish community's collective oral memory. *Deng* means voice, *bej* means the teller. *Dengbej* carries, establishes and transfers the main cultural codes of Kurdish society. In *dengbej*, events are told through songs, mourning, lullabies and tales. It includes communication and interaction, which results with the continuance of cultural traditions (Özağaçhanlı, 2013).

In every period of a society, oral culture takes the characteristics of the period through carrying the past aspects to the present. Continuity between past and present defines the characteristic of *longue duree* (Smith, 2009). Hence, culture is re-constructed according to the historical developmental (positive or negative) phases. In these historical developmental phases, language has a crucial role. Language is socially contextualized and constructed.

Allison (1996) indicates that one of the crucial aspects of the oral history depends on the structuring of the material along more or less stereotyped lines, which is partly an aid to memory. Allison (1996) gave an example from Yezidi songs dealt with battles between feuding families, tribes or against the government (usually the Ottomans). Allison (1996) underlined that many of the accounts of the battles followed a similar pattern and included the same

elements, which also composed of the list of who was killed, motifs of women urging men to fight well.

For instance; songs in Kurdish culture are crucial transmitters of cultural memory through generations. By this way not only the narrative but also the musical styles affect and shape the structure of social and political events (Demir, 2010). Weeping indicates in Kurdish culture what kind of a problem one has, especially the pain. Weeping is a way of legalization of giving one's voice out (Demir, 2010). Every song is performed within its subjective context.

Hence, based on this subjectivity for example; family relations or unrequited love, people can prefer not to listen to the performer (Demir, 2010). The audience can criticize the text of the song if it is found distance from socially constructed reality (Demir, 2010). Therefore, it can be said that weeping has a selective role both representative and constructive effect on the Kurdish society.

In local entertainment before the advent of the television, singing and storytelling were important parts of local entertainment in Kurdish society, which were transmitted from past to the modern period. Especially in winter evenings people gathered together indoors. At the guest house of the most important man in the village; information exchange, gossip were made, songs and stories were often told (Allison, 1996). These aspects reveal how Kurdish culture depends on collectivization (Allison, 1996).

The rural life is one of the crucial aspects of Kurdish culture. Derived from the characteristics of rural life, "mountainous landscapes are believed to be among the most distinct symbols of Kurdishness" (Sheyholislami, 2010, p.117). Sheyholislami (2010), in his textual analysis of Northern Iraqi television channel Kurdistan Television (KTV) which is owned by the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), emphasizes that images of the mountains are used purposefully to "construct a common and shared attachment to the same land and home territory: *Kurdistan*" (p.117). Sheyholislami (2010) points out that even though large

portion of towns and villages of Northern Iraq are located on flat lands, the hilly landscape and mountains are the foreground repetitive used scenes that represent the Kurdish rural life. Sheyholislami (2010) indicates that;

...images of rugged hills, hidden valleys, inaccessible caves and defiant peaks symbolize Kurds' long history of struggle and resistance, most of which might have not happened without having the mountains as the strongholds of rebels. Mountainous landscapes connect like-minded Kurds (p.117).

Ideologically and politically attached meanings to events motivate collective action. Kurdish culture that was constructed was not the folk culture as it is experienced in everyday life, but a culture that was invented according to the Kurdish nationalist discourse (Saritaş, 2010). For instance; with the arrangement of folk songs in similar ways through same or similar instruments result with the standardization of folk songs that leads to the disappearance of the unique, local characteristics of them (Saritaş, 2010).

Music and dancing are other ideologically and politically motivated actions that are interpreted according to the Kurdish nationalistic discourse. Especially in the gatherings of Kurdish society, music and dance are on the foreground in the definition and the representation of feelings. Music and dance reinforce and reproduce collectivity among people around common political causes (Aksoy, 2013). Music and dance create a sense of common cultural tradition and historical bond. Aksoy (2013) defines this process as the creation of a new habitus of bodily-inscribed communal action and a group cohesion building process.

Aksoy (2013) indicates that; “Music and dance can foster engagement between peoples at political rallies. In dance, the engagement between individual bodies and with the collective kinesthetic whole is expressed in the line dance (*govend*)” (p.227). Aksoy (2013) underlines that togetherness in music and dance form slogans in unison, as well. Aksoy (2013) defines the effect of dance in Kurdish society through stating that; “They dance hand-in-hand to the same rhythm with

complex foot movements, which are reminders of a shared entertainment history...the *govend* becomes a tool to discipline the body and create a unified collective” (p.227). Aksoy (2013) emphasizes that Kurdish music has a crucial role in the mobilization of the Kurdish society around their ethnic identity and furthermore becomes a catalyzer in their social and political struggles. Aksoy (2013) points out that the folk music tradition of the *dengbej* has a vital role in the transmission of old Kurdish folk melodies and stories to new generations.

3.3.2. From *Baro-Dan* to Nawruz as *Newroz*

Through the politicization of Nawruz as *Newroz*, it becomes a common ground for the differences among the Kurds derived from language, religion or class based. Hence, Nawruz plays a role in the creation of a homogenous identity, which enables a new identity that is, superimposed an older one (Aydın, 2005).

Nawruz composes of two words *naw* and *ruz* which means new day. Nawruz is one of the oldest festivals in the world that its history goes back to more than 5000 years. Its derivation depends on the seasonal variations. With the welcoming of the spring, fertility and productivity in the nature are celebrated. Understanding under the celebration of Nawruz derives from the ability of the human beings adopting changes and signification of the life cycle continuously (Baytanrev, 1993). Moreover, with the historical process Nawruz has gained symbolic meanings, which are fertility, wish, protection and healing (Gönüllü, 1998).

When the historical cultural aspects of the Kurdish society are examined, *Baro-Dan* which is defined as the spring fest draws the attention with its similarities between Nawruz. Ereb Şemo who was a Kurdish writer who especially focused on the daily livings of the Kurdish society in his books, told about *Baro-Dan* in his book named *Kürt Çobanı* (Kurdish Shepherd). While he was describing the living properties of the Kurdish communities in 1900s, he mentioned that *Baro-Dan* was celebrated by the Kurdish communities as the welcoming of the spring.

He wrote that according to the customs, when snow melts and lambs get bigger, the leader of the nomad groups announces the beginning of *Baro-Dan*. With the beginning of the celebrations, everyone wears their festive clothes and broad tables are prepared for everyone to eat together (Şemo, 1977). As it is observed that celebrating the welcoming of spring in the Kurdish society as a cultural event has its roots from 1900s. However, this cultural event gains a political meaning with the nationalistic movements.

The beginning of the construction of Nawruz as a nationalistic symbol started with the infusion of the legend of Kawa into the festival with the *Jin* journal published in İstanbul during 1918-1919 (Aydın, 2005). *Jin* introduced that for the Kurds to find their characteristics, which are distinguishable from the other nations; special days have a significant place. Hence, 31 August; the day Kawa defeated Dahhak, which was perceived as a national day was integrated into 21 March, which had been celebrated traditionally in some Kurdish regions as the New Year's Day and a social day (Aydın, 2005).

As Bourdieu (1993) points out that myth is one of a crucial instrument in cultural reproduction. Through the infusion of myth of Kawa with Nawruz, the base of a national identity was produced culturally, named as *Newroz*. Bourdieu (1993) emphasizes that nation-building process becomes the process of identifying itself in cultural manners through creating homogenization in collectivity.

By this way, Nawruz becomes one of the ritual practices that function for the maintenance of collective consciousness and social cohesion. Nawruz which was a public holiday during the period of Ottoman Empire (Yanık, 2006) and has been celebrated every 21 March under the purpose of celebrating the arrival of the spring in Central Asian Republics, Afghanistan, Iran, Azerbaijan and Turkey, had been transformed into a nationalistic symbol (Aydın, 2013). It is integrated into Kurdish culture with Kawa legend, which symbolizes resistance.

Hence in order to reach the ultimate common goals, resistance through the use of violence is legitimized by assigning the symbolic meaning to Nawruz. With this myth 'worthless blacksmith's apron' is converted into a flag with the formation of a public leader and Nawruz into a resistance through revolt against tyranny (Aydın, 2013).

Moreover, Nawruz is used as a sign for ideological battlefield. Nawruz as a festival is combined with mythological and symbolic values and converted into a political symbol. For instance; gathering and jumping over a bonfire became the symbolic act of resistance. Hence, by this way, Nawruz through its combination with a myth, Kurdish political identity has been started to be shaped (Aydın, 2013).

In Nawruz, lightening fire symbolizes rebellion and freedom against tyranny (Aydın, 2013). A heroic discourse is established through the use of Kawa legend on Nawruz through the reinvention of a myth. The heroic discourse is represented by jumping over a bonfire, gathering and dancing together side by side especially through footing on the floor rigidly and dominantly. With the celebration of Nawruz, group identity on Kurdish nationality is clinched and group mobilization is sustained. It has a mobilizing affect between Kurds.

Nawruz as an invented tradition based on the legend of Kawa constitutes the origin of the imagination of the Kurdish national unity (Aydın, 2013). It is used as a cultural homogenization mechanism for the fragmented Kurdish population as an instrument of identity transfer (Aydın, 2013). This case can be framed as Kawa legend is tried to be kept alive through Nawruz and Nawruz as an ideological myth becomes the mobilizer for the reason behind the resistance of Kurdish people.

Nawruz is one of the construction entities of the Kurdish identity and through the celebrations; mobilization of the people is achieved. By this way, Kawa becomes the symbolic mobilizer for the resistance understanding of the Kurdish people.

Smith (2009) emphasizes that myths have the power to link a community to its history and destiny. By the use of myths, present time's actions become justifiable on the basis of the past. With the 1970s, in the celebrations of Nawruz, violence has been started to be used. In some cases Nawruz fire is symbolized through burning the body itself. Nawruz is used as a space for the reconstitution of a politics of Kurdish mobilization that includes violence (Aydın, 2013).

In the period of pre 1980, the class based emphasis on the discourse of Nawruz was replaced by ethnicity based emphasis with the introduction of Kurdistan Workers' Party/Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan (PKK)'s discourse. Mazlum Doğan's suicide action in Diyarbakır prison on 21 March 1982 was taken as the basis of this discourse establishment through naming Mazlum Doğan as the contemporary Kawa. On the 21 March 1990, Zekiye Alkan who was a university student set herself on fire through pouring gasoline on herself, which was combined with the event of Mazlum Doğan.

PKK, with its discourse aimed to turn Nawruz into a rebellion day from a national festival. Burning one's self to death was framed as purification by *Özgür Halk* (Free People) in its March edition in 1995 and by this way lighting the *Newroz* fire on the body (Aydın, 2013) became a symbol by the introduction of violence mythically, which also used as a catalyzer in the ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity. There is the framing of the cultural values through the use of a discourse that is politically motivated and constructed on violence. By this way justifying the use of violence both against the other physically and over the other in the construction of cultural values is started to be introduced discursively.

Smith (2009) explains the reason behind the formation of sacrifice and myths of war in the ethno-symbolic construction of a common identity through stating that;

Sacrifice and myths of war are particularly effective in creating the consciousness and sentiments of mutual dependence and exclusiveness, which reinforce the shared culture, memories and myths of common ancestry that together define a sense of ethnic community. In this sense, political action, when combined with existing cultural differences, constitutes a powerful and recurrent source of ethnic community...rival visions confront the members of national communities with the basic questions of 'who we are' and 'what purpose our existence' serves (pp.28,35)

3.3.3. Imagined Community: *Kurdistan*

Another significant component in the ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity is based on the formulation of *Kurdistan*. Smith (2009) underlines this process as the “territorialisation of memories and attachments”, which created ethno-spaces (p.94). For Kurdish imagined community, *Kurdistan* becomes a unifying element for uniting diverse Kurdish groups, whose identical characteristics have been constructed according to different time, place and social context (Galip, 2012). Master symbols through the use of narratives transcend localized differences and they are constantly re-interpreted according to the historical context (Aly, Saks and Weimann, 2014).

Discursive formation of linguistic and symbolic practices nourishes the imagined community (Smith, 2009). By this way, the shared belief in an ancestral relatedness, which is fictive determines the aspects of an ethnic group through distinguishing it from other kinds of cultural communities (Smith, 2009).

The use of *Kurdistan* in the discourses of the Kurdish political and cultural materials resulted with the unification of various Kurdish groups under a common base. This ethno-symbolic unification had been started discursively especially between the groups who lived abroad. Alinia (2004), who studies Kurdish diasporic communities in Sweden, emphasizes that these communities reaffirm a sense of belonging to a “we identity and an imagined community that exceeds many national boundaries” (p.328). Alinia (2004) implies that maintenance of Kurdish transnational social networks exceed diverse places.

According to Galip's (2012) analysis of Kurdish novels that were written in diaspora until 2010,

...diasporas are more strongly affiliated with homeland than with the host country and...diasporas are highly politicized social formations, since the literary expression of homeland politics in Kurdish diasporic novels show how historical and current political activities are centralized in the construction of Kurdish identity and Kurdistan (p.234).

For instance as an imagined community Kurds who live in different countries become together in one place such as Germany for the celebration of *Newroz* as an expression of belonging to a collective Kurdish identity (Sheyholislami, 2010).

Ethnic groups are formed through the boundaries that they define their differences from the others. These boundaries basically depend on the psychology of the group, which is supported by objective measures (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997). Malkki (1992) defines this situation through indicating that; "...widely held commonsense assumptions linking people to place, nation to territory are not simply territorializing but deeply metaphysical" (p.27). Conceptualization of the *Kurdistan* in the ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity is a fitting example for this explanation. Galip (2012) points out that Kurdish novelistic discourse reveals that *Kurdistan* has an essential significance for all Kurds as an entity instead of a territorial meaning that refers to one's birthplace or hometown. Hence, she underlines that Kurdish community bases its national identity on the idea of *Kurdistan* as a mythical homeland that this identity is re-imagined and reconstructed (Galip, 2012). Malkki (1992) emphasizes the invention of a homeland mythically through stating that;

...notions of nativeness and native places become very complex as more and more people identify themselves or are categorized, in reference to deterritorialized "homelands", "cultures", and "origins". There has emerged a new awareness of the global social fact that, now more than perhaps ever before, people are chronically mobile and routinely displaced, and invent homes and homelands in the absence of territorial, national bases-not in situ, but through memories of and claims on places that they can or will no longer corporeally inhabit (p,24).

Sheyholislami (2010) points out another angle in the formation of a mythical homeland in his textual analysis on KTV based on the weather forecast news. Sheyholislami (2010) found out that the map of *Kurdistan* is “reproduced and reinforced instead implicitly and subtly, in both verbal and visual languages. The weather forecast is an interesting site for this semiotic construction” (p.119). Sheyholislami (2010) found out that “twice every day, KTV reminds its viewers of their homeland by redrawing the national boundaries of a greater Kurdistan” (p.119).

This mythical formation of a homeland is supported by songs, as well. Sheyholislami (2010) analyzed the song of *Kurdistan* and he states that this patriotic song; “...is a significant discursive tool that contributes to the imagination of a collective Kurdish identity and the Greater Kurdistan” (p.123). Some parts of the lyrics of the song compose;

Listen to the tombstone and grave of the martyrs that are calling
Listen to the heart and chest of your mountains that are calling
We are all in frontline trenches, oh Kurdistan!
For your sake, we will remain in the frontlines, oh Kurdistan!
Our existence and yours are one and the same!
Your life and freedom are equal to our death, oh Kurdistan!
We swear by Nawroz, the uprising; we swear by your hundreds year history
We swear by the river of exodus and blood, and hundreds year freedom
We will never forget you Kurdistan, you are always in our hearts
Like breath in our lungs you're a part of our existence
Do not worry, we will not allow them to burn down this spring of yours
Raise your head, oh Kurdistan! The storm of Kurdistan sword has become
known to the world
Your children like eagles have crossed the world's last frontiers
Oh Kurdistan! How interference and occupation, then, can prevent you from
living or your lips from smiling (Sheyholislami, 2010, pp.124-126).

In that song, *Kurdistan* as an imagined homeland is figured out as a person that needs to be protected. Its fictive life and freedom is put on par with the death of the people. The need for the existence of *Kurdistan* is illustrated with the breath in the lungs. A symbiotic relationship between the people and the fictive land is constructed through the emphasis on we-ness. By the metaphor of martyrs past is evoked.

By *Newroz*, the reason for the uprising and the pursuit of it in the present time are justified under the purpose of defending *Kurdistan*. Moreover, the continuation of the same behavior for the future is guaranteed through stressing that the struggle will continue because the undefined enemy still exists and *Kurdistan* is defined as the part of their existence. Hence, for the protection of the self, first of all *Kurdistan* should be protected. By this way, common past constructs the common present and the formation of a common future is guaranteed based on this process, which nourishes itself through the reinvention of the homeland continuously.

Smith (2009) defines this process as the formation of a historic homeland through creating an ethno-space in which a symbiotic relationship is established between the people and the homeland. Kurds who lack a territorial nation-state of their own construct a sacred homeland, which converts a space into a place. This conversion emphasizes how a space can be transformed into a sacred homeland by literary, cultural and political discourses that are historicized, mythologized and idealized. By this way knowledge about the past determines the meaning construction of the present time while shaping the future. Anderson (1991) points out that a sense of continuity and attachment meaning to the modern life is sustained by immemorial past and limitless future.

3.3.4. Introduction of Violence in Discursive Construction on Kurdishness

The daily life's terms can be used in different contexts based on the diverse conceptualizations of the people. Hence the meaning changes according to its use according to the context. In this changeable contextual understanding, violence has the ability to empower the emotions of the people (Riches, 1989) and can be justified based on divergent contextual understanding.

The power of violence derives from its ability to be used both as a practical and a symbolic tool. Riches (1989) who is a social anthropologist describes these two roles of the violence as the ability to change the social environment that

represents the practical purpose and the ability to take attention to the determined social ideas under the purpose of representation.

As it is pointed out that in the ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity, introduction of violence discursively has a crucial place in this construction process through determining the characteristics of Kurdishness. 1970s have significance in the re-construction of Kurdishness. The tribal identity received a political meaning with evoke of the re-construction of nationalistic characteristics on Kurdishness in 1970s (Gürbey, 2000). In the discursive construction, especially the mottoes of party discipline, leadership, armed struggle and violence became on the foreground (Bozarslan, 2000). Deriving from these mottoes, symbols based on Kurdish leadership, Kurdish flag, and Kurdish national aim had been formed, which became the elements of internal cohesion of group building (Bozarslan, 2000).

By this way the reality of daily life is shaped according to the symbols and messages of the rituals. Kurdish nationalism based on these symbols and discourses legitimize the existence of violence in Kurdish politics. In other words there is “the use of violent means of contest in order to assure their legitimization inside the Kurdish political arena” (Bozarslan, 2000, p.26). Use of violence symbolically, discursively and in the other areas of social interaction turns into a strategy in the maintenance of daily experience (Riches, 1989). Based on the mottoes and symbols that were introduced in 1970s, ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity gained a new dimension in 1980s with the introduction of PKK’s violence in the frame of terrorism.

Another symbolic transformation that is violently laden in the discursive construction on Kurdishness is made through the interpretation of women’s identity as freedom fighters. Even though in Kurdish traditional life style, women have a secondary role when it is compared with men and they are under oppression socially, with ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity, a heroic meaning is attached to women. This understanding is derived from ‘the

myth of the golden age of the Kurdish nation' (Açık, 2013). Ancient Mesopotamia is narrated as the golden era of the Kurdish nation, which is defined as a matriarchal society based on the equality of both men and women (Açık, 2013). It is believed that women in matriarchal Mesopotamia are possessed of the secret of life through having the ability to give birth and close association with nature (Açık, 2013).

Hence women have decision making roles in social life without domination or exploitation (Açık, 2013). According to this narration of 'the golden age of the Kurdish nation', the matriarchal society ended with the replacement of a patriarchal and oppressive system (Açık, 2013). The loss of Kurdish identity and end of Kurdish independence are related with the replacement of matriarchal society with the patriarchal one (Açık, 2013). The re-taking role of women in social life is symbolically identified with the awakening of Kurdish nationalism and its resistance.

In other words, emancipation of women is identified with national movement (Açık, 2013). Women are assigned as carriers to disseminate Kurdish culture and the national identity through conveying national consciousness to their children (Açık, 2013). The role of women is assigned as cultural transmitters (Açık, 2013). Women's role is shaped on the production and reproduction of national community (Açık, 2013). This process can be named as a learning process in which awareness about the historical and political situations are combined and reshaped on the basis of changing the current situation (Westrheim, 2013).

Westrheim (2013) defines the outcome of the collective learning process through responsibilities, which raise social and political awareness about the motives of action. In this collective learning process, another role is given to Kurdish women. This other role of women in the ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity is assigned with the sacrifice of women's themselves. Death is mythologized through becoming martyr for a holy assignment. Women who sacrifice themselves especially through suicide bombings are considered to be

immortal like the goddesses of ancient Mesopotamia (Açık, 2013). By this way, individual educational element is turned into a collective one. In addition, from this collective action, knowledge is produced, shared and a common understanding is constituted (Aronowitz, 2000), which is transmitted as a result of a collective learning process through generations.

Another legitimization of violence is made through wanting women to teach their children to sacrifice themselves for the national cause (Açık, 2013). With this social construction of sacrifice and the legitimization of violence, mothers are labeled as patriotic and unpatriotic mothers. Moreover, unpatriotic mothers are negatively stigmatized and perceived as betrayers of the national cause (Açık, 2013). This pushes each individual that is the part of the Kurdish society to be the part of collectivity through a learning process. In her study Westrheim (2013) quotes one of the respondents' perception and feeling about collective action and its learning process as;

Collective action is an important element in the lives of the Kurds. It is not easy to organize the masses, but we learn. Mobilizing for action is a learning process and the sites where collective action takes place become a school for life where you learn how a single voice can be transformed into millions...I have learnt that even if we are different we can fight for a common cause and share the same feelings. Imagine the feeling when thousands of people sing together...What I feel is engagement, devotion, and belief. The entire process from preparation to action for a cause I believe in gives me an overwhelming feeling of love. I am in love with this life, and I have learnt a lot from it (p.149).

In this learning process, discourse and action interact with each other and the social environment is shaped according to this reciprocal interaction. Social identity is discursively; by means of language and other semiotic systems, produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed (Galip, 2012). Through attributing symbolic meanings to a festival turning it into a rebellion day by re-naming it *Newroz*, a space turning it into a place as *Kurdistan*, identifying women as martyrs and transmitters also imply the symbolic use of political violence in the ethno-symbolic construction of Kurdish identity.

A link is established between the past and the present in order to construct the future. Hence, collective memories of the past maintain the justifiable base for the use of violence both in discourse and in action that is also transmitted from one generation to the next through crafts, rituals, songs, stories, poetries and etc. As a result, "...framing statement guides the reader toward the future and justifies bringing past memories into the present" (Iğsız, 2006, pp.169,174). These cultural products lead to renegotiation of homogenously ascribed identities by re-framing narratives symbolically and politically (Iğsız, 2006).

CHAPTER 4

FREEDOM PATH: RE-CONSTRUCTION OF KURDISH IDENTITY

In this chapter, the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), which is identified as a primary source will be analyzed by the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The aim of analyzing this journal is to investigate if there is a relationship between cultural codification, discourse establishment and identity building in the use of discourse. Additionally, how discursively construction of Kurdishness is established will be studied. In this discursive construction process, whether there is the establishment of a discourse through the use of violence that takes cultural and political characteristics will be searched, as well.

The reason for deciding on this journal is because it was one of the leading journals in that period that published articles on political developments and Kurdish culture. 1970s were the period that modern Kurdish movement gained politicization character through the cultural and national constituents. Thus, the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) was selected in order to reveal how these cultural, political and national components are constructed discursively and what kind of a Kurdishness is defined based on these constituents.

Özgürlük Yolu (Freedom Path) was a monthly published political journal, which was published between 1975 and 1979. By Kemal Burkay² and Kurdistan Socialist Party. In some sources, the journal is regarded as the media outlet of the Kurdistan Socialist Party. In the first years of its publication while its circulation was 5000, it increased to 12.000. The reason of its being over is explained because of the state of martial law. *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) was described by the publishers as a journal, which included writings on Kurdish history,

² Kemal Burkay is a Kurd writer and politician.

language, literature and Kurdish national struggle that had cultural and theoretical characteristics (Denge Kurdistan, 2020).

44 issues were published between 1975 and 1979. All these 44 issues were examined in order to understand what kind of a discourse was constructed on Kurdishness during 1970s. In this examination process, CDA was used to study the discursive construction process on Kurdishness as well as discursive strategies and practices in order to identify the linguistic elements. In the process of identifying the linguistic elements in a text through CDA; it is necessary to examine what kind of a discourse space is established.

In the methodology of CDA, to understand the structure of a discourse space, it is necessary to reveal the event, time/place and mental spaces, which are intertwined with each other. By revealing the event, time/place and mental spaces, it becomes possible to understand how perceptions, beliefs and memories are represented and how metaphors and stories are conveyed.

The positions of the subjects and their interaction with each other in spatial area is tried to be denoted with event space. Moreover, how the antagonist and protagonist are positioned is aimed to be implied in the event space. This positioning is defined by territorialization. For example, east as a territorial region is identified as a victim.

Identifying time/place space in discourse represents how the relation between time and place is maintained. The relation between time and place emphasizes how historical and cultural contexts are constructed. What meaning is given to past, present and future are described in the search for time/place space. Elaborating mental space explains how the social world and reality are represented by the use of discourse. What kind of stories, metaphors and symbols are used is investigated in the process of exploring the mental space. In the next parts, the methods of CDA, which are event space, time/place space and mental space will be studied in the issues of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path).

4.1. Event Space

In order to identify the discourse space, event space is one of the methodologies to understand what kind of a discourse space is constructed. In this section as one of the methodologies of CDA, event space will be studied in *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path). The event space in discourse represents the area where entities, actions and processes are defined. In the event space; entities, actions and processes are conceptualized through territorialization. Therefore, in the study of event space how territorialization is identified, is investigated. The territorialization of the values means that the event space is constructed on a real or imagined territorial area. Hence, in the study of the event space, how meanings are territorialized in Kurdish nationalism will be explored.

It was found that the territorialization of the values in the journal was achieved by the conceptualization of *Kurdistan*. The territorial definition of *Kurdistan* is accepted as the place that is composed of regions from Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran. In a wide spectrum, various kinds of values are attached to *Kurdistan*. Additionally, *Kurdistan* is used for the definition of Kurdishness. What kind of a definition on Kurdishness is constructed by the use of “*Kurdistan*” conceptualization will be represented through pointing out how the past, current and future situations are narrated.

In this context, *Kurdistan territory* is the generally repeated conceptualization. The current situation of *Kurdistan territory* is defined as an extorted land. For future projection of *Kurdistan*, a discourse is constructed based on autonomy. Hence *Kurdistan territory* is defined as a place where the Kurds should courageously and gloriously clash with the enemy powers. The emphasis is especially put on the mountains of *Kurdistan*. In fact, a lyrical narration is used for the mountains of *Kurdistan*.

Another attention grabbing conceptualization is made on the definition of the East. The east part of Turkey is narrated as the *East*, which is defined as one of

the regions of *Kurdistan*. The term East is not only used for a location but it is used for the definition of an identity by people in the East.

In the framing strategy of territorialization, personification is another preferred use of narration. A direct link is established between territory and Kurds in the definition of Kurdishness. Another point is about setting a relationship between backwardness, eastern region and the people who live in the east. Between these three concepts a conceptual link is established. When the east is subject matter, backwardness of the people in the east is conceptualized and recalled. Hence, in the definition of specific situations in the *East*, backwardness is another repeated phenomenon.

Implementing a policy to let the Eastern Anatolia stay behind has economic, social and cultural dimensions. This means that Eastern Anatolia is made to stay behind in all the spheres of life. As it is known the reason for making the Eastern Anatolia stay behind is economic. (Issue 7, p.47)

Geographical boundaries are constructed to identify a place in order to specify the Kurds. Territorialization is made through personification. Kurds are described by a territory, whose boundaries are set. A directional link is established between geography, a defined territory and Kurds.

As a result of the planned policies of ceasing Eastern Anatolia, economic developments in the region cannot be established. However, based on political benefits and the interests for exploiting the resources of the region, some industrial facilities were constructed every now and then. Nevertheless, these facilities were not built to contribute to the interests of the local people economically, socially and culturally...Also, factories were established in the remote areas of the Eastern region, like Erzurum, Erzincan, Elazığ, Malatya and Gaziantep. (Issue 6, p.48)

This territorialization strategy is used in the discourse construction in various ways. Specific places are indicated to determine where the inner and outer circles start and end. For instance, a city is narrated as a border for the definition of an identity. In the quotation below, Sivas is framed as an outer circle for the Kurds in that if they are beyond Sivas, they cannot enter to an university.

According to rumors, it is stated by the administration of Hacettepe University, the ones who are from beyond Sivas will be dismissed from the university and they will not be allowed to attend another university in Turkey. (Issue 11, p.87)

In the definition of a Kurdish identity/Kurdishness, place; as a territory or as a geographical location is used as one of the basic discourse strategies in the journal. Through the definition of *beyond Sivas* collective identity over territorialization is made, which is also tried to be strengthened by being under threat. Territory is imagined on the basis of Kurdishness. Additionally, specific situations are described for the people who live in the eastern region of Turkey.

Exploitation and cruelty over our people in the East are violently endured. (Issue 4, p.76)

The thing that shapes the backwardness of the East is the ongoing racist, chauvinist, and discriminatory policies towards the people of the region. The majority population of the region is composed of Kurds. That's why there is an intended policy to recede the eastern region of Turkey. (Issue 6, p.48)

These specific situations are narrated as being under exploitation, cruelty, racism, chauvinism and discrimination.

The reason why a person living in the east stays uneducated and uncultured is because of all types of pressure and cruelty that is the result of exploitation and racist governance. (Issue 7, p.51)

In the definition of specific situations such as being under exploitation, the discourse strategy of the journal is based on comparison. This comparison is made between the whole country and the eastern region of Turkey. The comparison is constantly made between a region and the whole of Turkey. In other words, the comparison is not made between two regions such as the Eastern region or Aegean region. In fact, the eastern part of Turkey is narrated as a separate region from the rest of Turkey.

Improving the conditions in the underdeveloped regions is a deception. For example, even though the Keban Dam was constructed in the Eastern region and supposed to benefit to the region, it serves to whole Turkey. (Issue 6, p.50)

It is framed as if the eastern region of Turkey does not belong to Turkey. It is specifically indicated that even though the Keban Dam has benefits to the region, it serves to whole of Turkey, which is represented as a conflict. The use of the benefits of the dam for whole of Turkey is represented as a conflict. The discrimination is made between Turkey and the East but not between the Eastern Anatolia and Central Anatolia or Eastern Anatolia and Aegean region. The separation narration targets alienation of a region from the rest of the country. The narration strategy is constructed on the alienation of the Eastern region from the rest of Turkey.

The health services function according to the order of exploitation. This is a mechanism that functions in the same way in every part of the country. However, this exploitative mechanism functions heavier in the east compared to the other regions of Turkey. (Issue 7, p.53)

In the comparison strategy in narration, another method depends on the purpose to imply a specific area, *the East*, is more disadvantaged according to the other regions of Turkey. Discourse is established on the assumption that the eastern region is more disadvantaged compared to the rest of Turkey in the areas of education, economy and social life.

The schooling rate in Turkey in the 1971-1972 education period was %88.2, while this figure was under %80 in the East. (Issue 9, p.54)

In the East, the education depends on the oppressive, chauvinistic, and separatist policies. That's why; education system is more anti-democratic in the East. The education in the East turns into a tool of racism and oppression policy. (Issue 9, p.69)

Kurdish populated regions of the East and Southeast regions are different when they are compared with the rest of Turkey. The feudal production relations are still alive and feudal entities are still strong powers in the regions. Additionally, tribal social relations are still dominant. The backwardness in the social and economic structures combined with segregationist policies and oppression in the regions result in a huge gap between these regions and the rest of Turkey. This also creates disadvantaged exploitation relations towards the East region. (Issue 19, p.43)

Feudalism and tribal social relations are defined as one of the distinctive features of the regions, which are listed as the reasons for backwardness. Feudalism and tribal social relations are related to exploitation. With the emphasis on Kurdish populated regions, their feudal and tribal structure and segregationist policies including oppression, a cognitive frame on making the Kurds in the East stay behind on purpose is tried to be established.

By the definition of the East as the territory that only belongs to Kurds, discourse is constructed on differentiation. With the use of differentiation strategy, the description of who they are and whom we are conceptualized. With this framing, east as a region is differentiated from the rest of Turkey as a geographical space and it is alienated from the rest of Turkey through narrating as the most disadvantaged, oppressed and exploited region.

Our country (*Kurdistan*) has rich mineral stratum, energy resources, fertile nature and it is an important region for farming. However, imperialism and the obscurantist chauvinist regimes' policies lead to the backwardness of our country economically, socially and culturally. As a result, our country turns into a poor and neglected country. (Issue 20, pp.8-9)

Based on the idea that making them stay backward, discriminated and oppressed, it is examined that a conceptualization over struggle is maintained. A conceptual linkage is established between the concepts of territory and struggle. The reason for the struggle is firstly defined, and then how to form a struggle against whom and what ways to adopt is described.

The racist-chauvinistic oppression policy towards our people in the East continues with more determination, which reaches higher levels. Besides, the murders, oppression and terror towards the youth try to create an opportunity to establish an authoritarian rule. (Issue 12, pp.17-18)

The reason for the struggle is defined because of the racist-chauvinistic oppression policy. Therefore, it is narrated that people of the East accelerate their struggle against cruelty and oppression. This defined oppression policy

associated with the territory of the East. In other words, the territory where cruelty is practiced is identified as the East.

Our people in the East accelerate their struggle especially against cruelty and oppression. Hence, the east becomes an insecure area for the fascists. (Issue 13-14, p.70)

Efforts of infiltration of fascism into our people in the East fail. This area is totally becoming close to these groups that they cannot dare to enter these regions because our people are becoming more aware of the purposes of these fascist groups and they will not give them any chance to live in the East. (Issue 17, p.23)

In the process of territorialization, identification is also constructed. The territory of the East is purified for the Kurds and banned for the other groups, which are alienated. Forming a conceptual linkage between the concepts of territory and struggle continues with emphasizing specific places and naming people on these specific places as Kurds. The conceptual linkage is carried on to a level of certainty in definition from East-people of the East to Diyarbakır-Kurds.

It is not for no reason for the people's enemy and fascist powers to concentrate their attacks in Diyarbakır. Fascists make their attacks constantly in a planned effort in order to eliminate crucial resistance points of revolutionist, democratic powers. (Issue 20, p.55)

The fascist terror in the East and especially the last incidents in Diyarbakır indicate the importance of anti-fascist struggle of our people. Therefore, the ones who underestimate the significance of anti-fascist struggle and do not see this as a problem of Kurdish people should take lessons from these events. (Issue 20, p.57)

Diyarbakır is identified as a place where the attacks of the enemy are concentrated. Therefore, Diyarbakır is framed as a place that signifies the importance of anti-fascist struggle against the enemy.

As it is known the people of Diyarbakır and the young generation who are students are progressive. Diyarbakır is the city where fascist servants cannot hold on. (Issue 24, p.79)

With the emphasis on Diyarbakır as a territory, it is narrated through identification. Diyarbakır is specified with its people and young generation. Us vs. them is constructed on territorialization. Besides, Diyarbakır is identified as the central city of *Kurdistan*.

Diyarbakır is the central city of *Kurdistan*. The reason behind the success of revolutionist movement in this city derives from the resistance of Kurdish people against the exploitation and tyranny. The Kurdish intellectuals and peasants gained consciousness about exploitation and tyranny. The more the chains of sheikh and tribal institutions are broken the more revolutionist struggle becomes progressive. (Issue 31-32, p.10)

In addition to the conceptual connection between territory and struggle, the target of the struggle is defined. Purification strategy is used through defining the inner and outer groups and an imagined line is drawn by emphasizing who can enter their space. In this purification strategy, inner group is defined as good, while outer group is described as bad and the enemy. Hence, the line between us vs. them is underlined strictly.

Another discourse strategy that is used in the journal depends on naming events with their geographical locations. Geographical names are used in order to define a problem or conflict. For instance events are named according to their geographical locations such as Lice earthquake, Elazığ incidents or Doğubeyazıt incident.

Doğubeyazıt incident is the evidence for the oppression, cruelty and torture by the officials. These incidents are not new. However these cruelty, oppression and torture will reinforce the solidarity of our people. (Issue 15-16, p.93)

Another discourse strategy is detected through the change in the use of the definition of the territory from the East to *Kurdistan*. The regional naming is turned into naming as *Kurdistan* in order to construct a cognitive frame on underlining that *Kurdistan* is a country.

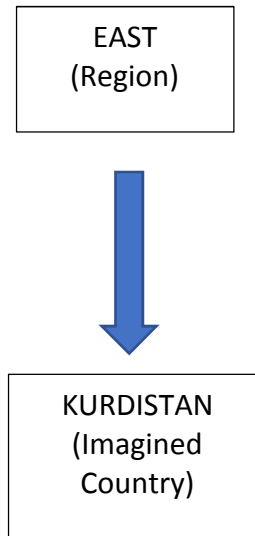


Figure 2. Transformation Process

Through the territorialization of the values, establishment of an imagined community perception is established by forming a discourse on *Kurdistan*.

The exploitation and cruelty that has been continuing for centuries, rebellions, wars, and exiles turned *Kurdistan* to an economic wreckage. Additionally, these events prevented the social development of Kurdish people. Despite having rich natural resources, they have to live in poverty. The bourgeoisie and landowners share *Kurdistan* with each other and exploit the natural resources and man power of this country. (Issue 21-22, p.4)

Each region of *Kurdistan* is the most underdeveloped region of the hegemon countries. In all these countries, national and democratic human rights of Kurdish people are not recognized by the hegemon powers. Each kind of demand is suppressed with cruelty. That's why, Kurdish people cannot get education in their mother tongue and lack the abilities to develop their culture. (Issue 21-22, p.4)

While suppressing the Kurdish uprisings, bourgeoisie repressed these uprisings very consciously because *Kurdistan* was a significant stock resource for it. (Issue 28, p.16)

In the establishment of a discourse on *Kurdistan*, its backwardness and underdevelopment because of getting suppressed with cruelty is underlined. The territory is imagined through the “exploitation of its natural resources”. In the process of territorialization, subjects are positioned precisely such as tribal chieftains versus villagers, hegemon classes versus dominated classes.

The problem of land maintains its importance especially in *Kurdistan* because today the tribal chieftains hold extensive territories and cause great distress for the villagers just like they did in the past. By this way, they prevent the emancipation of the villagers and the masses from waking up. Tribal chieftains hold the villagers close to themselves ideologically and politically. The traditional bonds and tribal relations provide benefits to the tribal chieftains and sheiks. These bonds and relations make it possible to hold the masses under domination and control. (Issue 36, p.14-15)

Hegemon classes in Turkey practice exploitation in *Kurdistan*. While the state tried to establish bourgeoisie in Turkey, *Kurdistan* was excluded from this. In *Kurdistan*, infrastructure such as electricity, roads and hospitals were not established for a long period. The purpose was not to develop Kurdistan but to exploit its natural resources. (Issue 36, p.19)

In the establishment of discourse, the actions of the subjects are also defined precisely. For instance, the actions of the hegemon classes are named as exploitation. Additionally, the imagined country is positioned as excluded.

As it is seen from the analysis of the event space; subjects, actions and processes are constructed on the conceptualization of an imagined country; *Kurdistan*. In the process of territorialization, subjects are positioned on the basis of us versus them. *Kurdistan* is framed on the basis of backwardness, exclusion, exploitation and oppression. By this way, a national consciousness on a territory is established. In the next section, how this national consciousness is shaped will be elaborated through the analysis of time/place space, which is about how past, present and future are interpreted.

4.2. Time/Place Space

Time/place space in discourse represents what kind of a relation is constructed between time and place. For this purpose, it is needed to study and find out which tenses are used in the definition of particular situations. By this way, what kind of a cognitive frame is structured and what kind of a perception is tried to be created will be addressed.

The aim is to reveal how past, present and future are defined and to reveal what kind of a common past/history is constructed by this definition. Time-place relation also makes it possible to understand what is carried from the past to the present in order to construct the future perception. This relational connection makes it possible to examine how and what kind of a collective identity is established on shared past, present and future.

The quotation below represents how past is carried to the present. As a group of people who are identified as Kurdish people are gathered under a common threat, which is named as the denial through racist tyrannical policies.

With its population over ten million, Kurdish people have been denied and ignored through racist tyrannical policies. (Issue 35, p.66)

The present condition of Kurdish people is described on denial. Against denial and tyranny, national movement of Kurdish people is framed as the way to reach the autonomy of *Kurdistan*.

The national movement of Kurdish people will last until it reaches the goal of autonomy for *Kurdistan*. For this purpose Kurdistan National Unity will pursue the revolutionist struggle through mobilizing the masses and organizing the all progressive and revolutionist constituents. (Issue 3, p.26)

Fascist-racist powers will not succeed. Our progressive, proletarian people will get the upper hand against them and our people will defeat them inevitably. (Issue 15-16, p.90)

The struggle of our people will continue in a revolutionist path. (Issue 17, p.10)

It is noticed that in the construction of time/place space; simple present, present and future tenses are generally used. Especially, if the importance of a situation wants to be underlined, present perfect tense is preferred in order to stress the continuity of such as, cruelty or struggle. First of all, conditions are defined in the present time and future is projected according to the things that should be done in the present conditions. Future tense is especially used to motivate through good messages that are promissory.

The future that is imagined and promised is characterized as a target that has to be reached. In order to reach the promised and imagined future, the things that have to be done are framed through ‘organized, active struggle’. Being organized under a party is framed as a solution to resist against ‘fascist oppressions’. ‘Masses should be organized’ is a repeated emphasis for requirements of the present time.

The future will show the defeat of the tyrants and the victory of the oppressed people. (Issue 6, p.80)

Our people’s unstoppable revolutionist and democratic struggle will surely end all pressure and exploitation. (Issue 10, p.44)

In any part of *Kurdistan*, the conditions may change and for the other parts of *Kurdistan*, positive conditions can be evoked. (Issue 42, p.56)

In the projection of future, ‘a promised future’ is narrated. It was revealed that narration of a promised future is one of the discourse strategies of the journal.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, Kurdish nation will break the chains of captivity and will become a free, democratic, peaceful and developing society. (Issue 35, p.5)

Present time is projected with the existence of a constant threat. For instance; ‘People of Kurdistan are today under the threat of the annihilation of the Kurdish nation’ is a specific repeated narration that is noticed in most of the issues. Shared present is framed through being under a constant threat. Another example about stressing the existence of a constant threat is; ‘They prepare the environment for new bloody attacks’. It is emphasized that there will be again bloody attacks in the future again. Present time is generated based on the future through the emphasis on the constant continuation of the bloody attacks.

A trap is prepared by the most reactionary, chauvinist, and bloody hegemonic powers, which target to dominate the proletariat people of the East through cruelty. This trap can be used as a new excuse for pressure, terrorization and tyranny. (Issue 6, p.7)

On the other hand, it seems that the number bloody events and provocations will increase. In that case, significant duties fall on the revolutionist and democratic powers. They should strengthen the ranks and should not panic because of the fascist attacks. (Issue 9, p.87)

Present situation is framed through the use of future threats. Therefore, struggle in present time is underlined as a sine qua non. Present time is defined as ‘the period of revolutions which is the age of salvation of the oppressed people and working class.’ Therefore, present time is defined as the period of constant struggle and fighting. The future is framed through present time’s conditions. Hence, it is pointed out that the future will be possible as long as the constant struggle and fighting is carried on.

Masses are not aware of how to solve their problems. Revolutionaries are the ones who will show them the ways to solve their problems. Organized revolutionist power will gain the confidence of the masses, and obscurant tendency of the masses will dissolve. (Issue 3, p.47)

Our people always know how to resist against fascism and exploitation and they never give up. In order to strengthen the struggle of our people, progressives, patriots, revolutionists should strengthen the ranks and bring the fascist tyrants and the ones who slaughter our people to account. (Issue 26, p.86)

Additionally, the leader of the struggle is described. By this way, the type of struggle against whom and by the lead of whom are defined.

Another significant point about the description of time-space depends on victimization. It is observed that past is projected based on victimization. Each selected event is constructed on victimhood. On September 06, 1975, there was an earthquake in Lice/Diyarbakır. It is stated that the government did not help the people of Lice. As it is indicated in the first section, territorialization is used as a discourse strategy. With the re-interpretation of event space, time space is combined with event space and characterizing an event with its people is constructed as a discourse strategy. In this way, victimization of the specific kind of people is framed.

The government abandoned people to dying alive under ruins and the ones who did not die to starving and sickness. After the earthquake, the authorities in charge did not help the people. On the contrary, they abandoned them to misery and loneliness. (Issue 5, p.8)

In the projection of a constant threat, enemies are identified in detail. Turkey is narrated as a place where there is excessive dominance and exploitation over masses. Turkey as a place is narrated by chauvinism, race discrimination and pressure over local language and culture. East is narrated as a place where the feudal class dominates the proletariat by its economic and politic power that is derived from the tribal structure, which makes the customs possible to exist as the tools to dominate the masses. The existence of feudal class is narrated mainly associated with the eastern region.

The common policy of imperialists and obscurantist and racist regimes towards Kurdish people has been continuing. For about a century, they have been trying to suppress the Kurdish people's freedom struggle by blood. In spite of these rough conditions, thousands of victims and bitterness, they could not annihilate our people's national and democratic struggle, and they will not be able to eliminate our struggle. Like the other oppressed people, Kurdish people will reach its freedom and end every kind of exploitation and cruelty. (Issue 20, pp.87-88)

It is the reality that in Turkey, the comedy of ignoring Kurdish nation and the oppression and cruelty policy do not have validity any longer. (Issue 26, p.81)

The ability to make a change is trying to be indicated by stressing the possibility of a promising future. Under the sections of event and time/place spaces, what kind of a discourse strategy is constructed for the definition of Kurdishness is attempting to be revealed. With the establishment of event and time/place spaces, the main base for the mental space is constructed. With the section of mental space, how event and time/place spaces are constructed for the establishment of the modal space will be examined, which is about the representation and the legitimization of an idea.

4.3. Mental Space

Perceptions, beliefs, and memories are the parts of cognitive processes. These represent the mental models for how people and events are represented. By the construction of mental space, a common sense is trying to be established. Therefore, in the formation of the mental space, use of metaphors and stories has a crucial place. By the use of metaphors and stories, specific discursive terms are reproduced and re-contextualized (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008). In this construction process, mapping between elements, which includes time, place and reality statutes are made (Hart, 2014).

In the re-contextualization of events, metaphors have a significant part, which maintain the base of ideology by establishing a cognitive framework for the worldview, which is partial and shaped according to the ideological motive (Hart, 2010).

Mental space is interpreted through how event and time/place spaces are constructed. In order to understand how the mental space is constructed, the descriptive preferences of the situations should be considered. In order to reveal the descriptive preferences of the situations, it is needed to search for; the use of personal pronouns, what kind of conceptual metaphors are produced, what kind of cognitive frames are established by these conceptual metaphors and, what kind of naming practices and analogical connectors are used.

In the examination of the journal, it was noticed that personal pronouns, especially, I and we in the definition of inner group, and you and they in the definition of outer group are used.

We should open the democratic ranks to everyone who can resist against fascism, racism and feudal obscurantism. (Issue 3, p.34)

The strength of the ones who have been trying to repress the struggle of the oppressed people will not be enough to prevent the struggle of our people. No one should think that their threats will frighten us. We have the faith for an

undefeated future, despite the oppression and cruelty. We can give victims one by one, however, more people than the ones we lose will join us. Essentially, the tyrants are the ones that are afraid of us because the future is not safe for them. (Issue 8, p.8)

The formation of the mental space is established through enhancing the collective identity. Togetherness is underlined in order to create a struggle against the defined threat. Through the projection of the future, an abstract reality is created on the basis of an undefeated future. Being suffered by the enemy in the present time is used to foster we-ness.

We are aware of our people's suffering. There are not only racist-chauvinistic oppressions towards our people through the domination over our language and culture, but also our people lack nutrition, cannot go to hospital, cannot have the possibility to have a shelter in good conditions. (Issue 17, p.11)

In the definition of an inner group, the pronouns of I and we are used. The current position and what actions should be taken are identified. It is observed that the definition of the present time is specifically made, and a promissory future is identified.

As you know, the ones who, you try to oppress are not the enemy of the people and the homeland. They struggle against the tyrants and the enemy of our people for real happiness and our people to have a good future...They are not separatists or subverters, but they want their rights. Why do you get so angry against these people who just only want their rights? (Issue 8, p.7)

In the framing of the promissory future, an abstract reality for the future is drawn. Future is identified with the words such as real happiness and good future. Social values are constructed on the promissory future, and youth is addressed as the responsible for the establishment of the promissory future.

The youth is aware of its responsibility in our people's struggle against exploitation, imperialism, fascism and feudal traditionalism. Hence the youth participates into the struggle with this awareness. (Issue 26, p.87)

In some cases, the pronoun they is used for the definition of inner group. It is used in order to define the inner group from an outer perspective. Additionally,

some groups such as the youth are introduced in the inner group by the pronoun; they.

Kurdistan National Unity believes that Kurdish national movement will endure until it reaches the national and democratic goals. (Issue 3, p.26)

Specific definitions are used additionally for the definition of the inner group. For example, *Kurdistan* National Unity is introduced as a portrayal for the implication of the group unity under a specific name. In the portrayal of the outer group, the actions of them are identified on the basis of the perception of threat.

They exploit and dominate our laborer people. (Issue 5, p.6)

Exploitation and domination are the repetitive words in the portrayal of the outer group. Additionally, in the process of the identification of the outer group, they are framed as un-trustable and inhuman.

Bourgeoisie governments never give trust to our people. They never behave our people humanly because these are contrary to their nature. (Issue 6, p.11)

You cannot sustain the oppression and exploitation mechanisms for a long time over Kurdish nation. Do not try to use stick again. This time the stick you plan to use over us may blow on your head. (Issue 36, pp.4-5)

As it is observed, in the definition of the other, generally, the pronouns you and they are used. While the other is being defined, especially, the outer group is defined by their actions, which are described as unjust, inhuman, un-trustable, oppressive, cruel and tyrant.

In the 13th issue, in the definition of the inner and outer groups, a specific description is introduced. It is stated that *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) being in its second year; “We are very glad about the increasing interest of progressive and revolutionist spheres about our publication.” (Issue 13-14, p.2)

In this way, it is understood that the journal defines itself as progressive and revolutionist. This identical definition about the journal is attributed to the reader who prefers to read the journal, as well. Those who prefer to read this journal are described and included in the group of progressives and revolutionists. Hence, a common and a collective identity base are formed for the readers and the publication.

In the discourse strategy of the journal, it is observed that the use of pronouns aims to identify the in-group and out-group. This strategy is strengthened by the production of conceptual metaphors, which are used for the construction of cognitive frames. It is observed that in the establishment of conceptual metaphors; negativity on the naming of the outer group and its actions, positivity on the naming of the inner group and its actions are maintained. This is done with the use of the words; glory and down.

Table 3. Naming Practices on In-Group and Out-Group

IN GROUP	OUT GROUP
Glory be to the fraternity of the people!	Down with chauvinist militarist pressures!
Glory be to the oppressed world people's salvation struggle!	Down with the ones who let our people starve and leave out!
Glory be to the just struggle of our people!	Down with the mass destruction plans of the hegemon powers!
Glory be to our people's independence, democracy and freedom struggle!	Down with the tyrants who cruelly oppress and slaughter our people!
Glory be our people's national independence wars!	Down with fascism and exploitation!
Glory be to the freedom of nations!	Down with the oppression of racist and chauvinists!
	Down with fascism, imperialism, exploitation and feudal obscurantist!

The use of words; glory and down symbolizes the characteristics of in-group and out-group. In the examination of the journal, it is revealed that there is a pattern

in the naming practices, which includes selection of names, titles and labels. In this pattern, repeating is another strategy that is used by the journal.

Members of the in-group are identified as oppressed, exploited, and slaved. The out-group is defined as oppressor, tyrant and fascist. Apart from these general and repeated labeling, there are specific repetitive naming schemes, such as; ‘imperialist powers are the armed gendarmerie of capitalism’ or ‘Kurdish resistance war’. With these naming practices not only the definition and discrimination between in-group and out-group are made but also the actions of the in-group and the others are framed specifically.

Table 4. Naming Practices on Situations

SITUATIONS
Kurdish resistance war
Kurdish national unity
Kurdish democratic and salvation movement
Historical and objective national movement of the Kurdish people
Kurdish revolution
Patriotic war
The national emancipation struggle of Kurdish people
Disciples of Hitler

Table 5. Naming Practices on Identification

Negative	Positive
Imperialist powers who are the armed gendarmerie of capitalism	Progressive
Servants of the capital	Revolutionist
Enemies of democracy and people	Patriots
Contract class killers	Proletariat
Enemies of the humanity	Progressive, patriotic students
Fascist killers who pursue fascist chauvinist practices and racist terrorist policy	
Exploiters who are the protectors of the order of robbery, raid bloodshed, use tyranny and terror	
Exploitative fascist bourgeoisie who maintain the order of cruelty and exploitation	

In the formation of cognitive frame, relational connectors are formed between; national movement, national unity, resistance and war. All these situations are gathered under the definition of being Kurdish.

In the naming practices, another distinctive feature is observed through giving names based on territorialization. In the construction of mental space, event space is used through territorialization. Identities of an individual or a group are described by a geographical place and an imagined territory, such as proletariat of *Kurdistan* and villagers of *Kurdistan*. Additionally, *Kurdistan* is defined by naming according to geographical locations, such as, Turkey's *Kurdistan*.

In the construction process of conceptual metaphors, one of the basic emphases is made on the struggle of the Kurdish people. In the last stage, after the construction of a consciousness about what is the struggle, why to struggle, the identified struggle is defined as the national movement of Kurdish people.

In the first stage, the reason for the struggle and who the enemy is, are identified. In this framing process; imperialists, governments/hegemonic powers and feudal structure are defined as one of the main problems. As the parts of the feudal structure; tribal chiefs, sheikhs and landowners are identified as the collaborators of the hegemonic powers.

Peasants moan under the oppression and injustice of agha, sheikhs and landowners. (Issue 4, p.47)

With the identification of the other as the enemy, the struggle against whom is also framed.

The struggle should be against imperialism, exploitation, feudal obscurantism, national dominance and racism. (Issue 17, p.34)

In addition to the identification of the enemy, actions of the enemy are defined.

A foreigner who witnessed the incidents said that; “Genocide is not only performed with napalm.” This interpretation summarizes the attitude of the government towards Kurdish people. (Issue 20, p.9)

Defining the actions of the enemy from the perspective of a foreigner represents how the other is evaluated and positioned in the discourse. In this phrase, the selection of the word ‘genocide’ represents the value classification in the discourse strategy. In value classification, conceptual boundaries are represented and aim is to transform relations (Charon, 2009). In the value classification, transforming relations means that the positioning of the other can turn into an enemy through the selection of the words.

All governments suppress Kurdish democratic and national rights’ demands through oppression and exploitation. They slaughter masses and try to eliminate Kurdish people totally. Hence, earthquake fits to this policy because as a result of earthquake Kurdish people have to migrate from their homes. (Issue 20, pp.9-10)

This phrase indicates how the selection of the specific words positioned the in-group and out-group. With the emphasis of the ‘all governments’, the boundaries of the out-group are drawn. Moreover, with the selection of the words; ‘slaughter’ and ‘eliminate’, the position of the out-group as the enemy is strengthened. It is observed that the discourse strategy of the journal is based on the legitimization of the in-group’s action, which is identified as ‘struggle’. Under this purpose, actions of the out-group are specified as ‘exploitation, devastation, domination, racism, cruelty, hatred, enmity and tyranny’.

Turkish hegemon classes exploit the natural resources of Kurdish people with imperialists and they devastate the region economically. Additionally, these powers have been carrying on national dominance and racism ceaselessly. Helping our people in the case of a disaster cannot be expected from these powers which adopt cruelty as a traditional policy. This hatred and enmity were seen in Lice earthquake clearly. (Issue 20, p.10)

The publications that reveal the tyranny, racism and exploitation over Kurdish people are trying to be silenced by the obscurantist, chauvinists and racists. (Issue 39-40, pp.5-6)

In the discourse construction of struggle, legitimization strategy is used. By pointing out specifically against whom the struggle will be, the other is identified. The outer group is described as; imperialists, exploitators and feudal powers. Parallel with the identification the outer group, inner group is also described specifically as the Kurdish people who are aimed to be eliminated and slaughtered. With the emphasis on genocide, the necessity for struggle is intended to be strengthened.

In the identification of the outer group, specific emphasis is made on feudal groups. In this identification process, territorialization is used. In this process, conceptualization over *East* is defined through traditional relations and customs. The reason for its backwardness is assumed to be based on feudal and tribal structure of the *East*. For instance with the heading of ‘Feudal structure and tribe in the *East*’, it is indicated that the social-political relations are controlled by feudal subjects, which take their power from traditional superior structure. Sheikhs and *dede* (traditional religious leaders) are defined as the traditional power over the masses. It is described that these people are the control powers over the customs. It is pointed out that customs have a great influence on the daily lives of the people.

It is underlined that customs have more effect on people’s lives than economic sanctions and weapons. It is declared that the one who resists against the customs is excluded from the society and pressured by moral sanctions of the society. It is underlined that customs are sanctioned by religious feudality, which implies that it is authorized by feudal landowners. It is indicated that feudal landowners and religious feudal people protect and support each other. They are defined as a prior class and caste. It is underlined that they have a crucial distance between themselves and the rest of the society.

It is described that feudal subjects hold the local organizations under their control, and in this way, they can sustain their hegemony over disorganized and unconscious masses. The power of the feudal subjects over the society is stressed

through the description that feudal subjects get the same respect as a lawyer or an engineer. It is indicated that even though feudal subjects do not deserve the same respect as a group that has a privilege, as a result of their traditional power and because of the existence of unconscious and disorganized masses, they can hold their power and continue to dominate the masses.

Based on these specific descriptions, tribal characteristic of Kurdish society is framed as a tool that is used by the hegemon powers in order to prevent the waking up and forming the solidarity of the oppressed people. It is stated that;

By creating conflicts between tribes, dominant powers aim to prevent the revolutionist, progressive, democratic powers' solidarity. The ignorant, poor and naïve people follow these conflicts as parts of them and become means of these problems. They cannot get rid of the conservative and primitive bonds of tribalism. (Issue 15-16, p.89)

Therefore, feudal structure is framed as an obstacle in front of the solution of the national democratic problem.

National democratic problem cannot be comprehended in a right way without considering the feudal structure of *Kurdistan*. (Issue 28, p.19)

It is observed that in the journal, tribal structure is identified as one of the natural characteristics of the Kurdish society. This natural structure is framed as a problem by defining Kurdish people as ignorant, poor and naïve in that they are not aware of what they are doing. Tribalism is narrated as a bad structure of Kurdish society that has to be got rid of. There is a specific and detailed definition for the good Kurd and bad Kurd. Good Kurd is defined as progressive, revolutionist and democrat. 'Bad Kurd' is described as traditionalist, obscurant, primitive and fascist.

The poor people, peasants, workers and youth can have no interests in the tribal conflicts. The only thing that will be beneficial for them is the progressive solidarity of the proletarian people. (Issue 15-16, p.89)

Being the follower of obscurants, bourgeoisie and agha is dishonorable. (Issue 17, pp.11-12)

In the construction of the mental space, the definition of what is good and bad is strengthened by the description of who the enemy is specifically. In the specification of the enemy, the definition of the problem is narrated. The actors who lead to the existence of the problem are identified through framing of the problem.

Imperialism and its beggars of loyalty, local servants are the main enemies of our people. They are the self-seekers, who are afraid from the fraternity of the fraternity of the people. They are the fascist perverts who construct their obscurant and racist ideologies over the enmity of the people. (Issue 4, p.75)

When we look at the thousands of deaths and wounded, it seems not as a natural disaster but as a battlefield. (Issue 5, p.28)

In the selection of the words, it is observed that the symbolic power of them is used. In the statement above, the analogical connection between natural disaster and battlefield is an example for the use of symbolic power of the words in the discourse strategy.

The purposive policies and attitudes of the governments towards the Eastern people resulted in the death of thousands of citizens in the natural disasters on purpose. (Issue 5, p.31)

It is obvious that America is a curse. Like America, there are also other curses such as the ones who oppress the people and name the reactions of the people as separatism. (Issue 6, pp.8-9)

In the use of symbolic functions of the words, they are used either for unification or for diversification (Elder and Cobb, 1983). It is observed that in the journal, symbolic functions of the words in the discourse is used for diversification.

Kurdish feudality is the main enemy of Kurdish people. Even though some of them participated in the national movements and represented a patriarchal attitude, this class is one of the main obstacles in front of the Kurdish people's freedom struggle. The Kurdish obscurantists have been exploiting and tyrannizing our people with the imperialists. Kurdish feudality has been trying

to distort the Kurdish national movement, but taking them into consideration cannot invalidate our people's legitimate demands. (Issue 24, p.25)

The Kurdish hegemon classes were the collaborators with the bourgeoisie and imperialists during the prevention attempts of the Kurdish national movements. During these uprisings, the leaders of the uprisings from the feudal powers reconcile with the suppresser government and these feudal powers integrate with the political system. (Issue 28, pp.17-18)

It is seen that, 'main enemy' description is used in order to identify who the other is. The definition is clear, straight and repetitive. The definition of the enemy is reinforced by framing the problem and its consequences on '*Eastern people*'. For example; Kurdish hegemon classes and bourgeoisie are identified as the enemies because as a problem, they prevent the attempts of the Kurdish national movements; they exploit and tyrannize Kurdish people.

In the discourse construction strategy of the journal, it is observed that legitimization of an idea is one of the main methods. In the framing process of the maintenance of a reasonable rational base, it is detected that conflicts, natural disasters and incidents are politicized and culturalized. An ideological meaning is ascribed to a natural disaster, and it is politicized by its framing. This situation is maintained by establishing an analogical connector between the earthquake and genocide. This is constructed in the framing of 'Lice earthquake'.³

Hegemon powers successfully implemented their first genocide plan in Lice. They came to disaster area after 24 hours and let the wounded people die. (Issue 7, p.93)

The murderers of the people who were killed in the earthquake area are all the governments. (Issue 7, p.93)

Primitive housing structure is the result of the poverty in Kurdistan. Because of the transportation disabilities and negligence of the government, in this region earthquakes cause huge loss of life and property. (Issue 31-32, p.32)

Additionally, in the framing of Lice earthquake, the government is identified as a murderer. By such kinds of descriptions, it is observed that in the discourse

³ An earthquake occurred in 1972 in Diyarbakır/Lice. In the journal, this earthquake is named as Lice earthquake.

strategy, feelings of the readers are targeted as well. Apart from the selective words of evoking specific feelings towards the defined other/outer group, feelings are narrated specifically. In this framing strategy, it is examined that feelings are described according to the defined problem. In this way, a legitimate base for the negative feelings against the other is constructed through justification.

Frustration that is the result of centuries because of the domination and cruelty generates rage, hatred, and animosity towards the ruling nation. (Issue 6, p.24)

By framing the feelings with specific narratives, awareness of the reasons for the necessity of the struggle is tried to be raised. For instance, murder is used as a specific narrative in order to construct struggle as a necessity and sine qua non condition.

When we are talking about murder, we are not implying the well-known types of murders, which are because of women, blood feud or conflict. We are talking about the political murders, which are organized and systematic. (Issue 12, p.28)

With the emphasis of ‘well-known murders’, while the other types of murders are normalized, they are also degraded according to the political murders. Political murders are narrated as more important because of their organized and systemic aspects. In this way an emotional base is established through framing that in-group is under a systemic and constant threat.

This process can be evaluated in three stages. In the first stage, there is the identification of who the enemy is. In the second stage, emotions are framed in order to form a specific action, which is defined as struggle. In the third stage, who should take part in the struggle is described. An identity is constructed for the ones who should take part in the struggle such as progressive. Additionally, how the way of struggle should be is defined.

The youth who is coming from the proletarian class naturally has the tendency to the revolutionist struggle because of the conditions they are suffering from.

However, the youth who is coming from wealthy families has the tendency to revolutionist struggle as well because they have not become a part of the system yet, and they are reactive against the cruelty. Hence, they participate in the democratic and revolutionist sides. The youth gets together in the schools, which leads to significant mass movements that results in democratic-revolutionist organizations. (Issue 13-14, p.7)

Today, being against fascism is a criterion to be named as progressive. (Issue 13-14, p.8)

The masses cannot be saved only by a group of brave people. The masses will save themselves. Therefore, the duty of the revolutionists is to help the masses in their struggle by leading them in carrying on the struggle. (Issue 19, p.60)

The message is shaped based on the idea how and why an actionable solidarity needs to be organized and presented. Then, the struggle is specifically named as a freedom, emancipation and salvation struggle. Additionally, the characteristics of the struggle are identified. Then the struggle is framed on the basis of national movement and Kurdish revolution.

The freedom struggle of Kurdish people is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. (Issue 42, p.46)

The national dominance in *Kurdistan* affects wide masses. The domination over language and culture makes the Kurdish feudal powers and Kurdish bourgeoisie even more worried. Therefore, it is no doubt that there is a national front in *Kurdistan* revolution. This front should bring together the wide masses together against exploitation and national dominance. (Issue 42, pp.49-50)

After the representation of the problem and framing the solution of the problem through struggle in stages, a legitimate base is tried to be established for the narrated ideas. In the construction process of a legitimate base, past is used as a signifier. Additionally, genocide and population themes are specifically used for the establishment of the legitimization of the supported idea.

Since the Ottoman Empire period, hegemon powers have been pursuing segregationist policies toward Kurdish people. Hegemon powers have been rejecting to recognize the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people. They have been reacting to these legitimate rights of Kurdish people with domination and cruelty. Hegemon powers have been suppressing Kurdish people, destructing the regional economy and exploiting the natural resources of them. (Issue 20, p.8)

With the emphasis on past; rejection, domination, suppression, destruction and cruelty over Kurdish people is narrated as continuous. In the discourse construction, it is observed that the framing of 'Kurdish people' is turned into 'Kurdish nation'. The emphasis from 'Kurdish people' to 'Kurdish nation' is constructed in stages.

Kurdish people who live in Turkey are not a minority. The number of Kurdish people who live in Turkey's *Kurdistan* is approximately eight million. Kurdish people are one of the major nations in Turkey. (Issue 29, p.49)

Like the other societies, Kurdish people will want freedom. This is their right. (Issue 36, p.7)

Especially in the issues 27 and 28, the Kurdish population with numbers was denoted and underlined. This strategy was carried on with the following issues. The use of numbers and giving percentage of the Kurdish population is used in order to legitimate the emphasis on the reasons behind the national struggle. This is used as a framing strategy. If there is such kind of a populated people with a diverse language and culture, the fact that national independence struggle of them with every kind of ways is legitimate is the main message that is tried to be given to the reader. One of the examples that implies the way of conveying this message is;

A wide place is spared for the Kurdish national problem. It is quite natural because Kurdish people are under a heavy national oppression. The country of Kurds is fragmented, exploited and its development has been prevented because of this heavy oppression and exploitation that makes the persistence of semi-feudal social structure. (Issue 29, p.44)

One of the main subjects in the discourse is that Kurds are positioned as an oppressed nation. In value positioning, 'we' is expressed on the basis of diversity. The emphasis on diversity is framed with unresolvable conflicts. With the escalation on the emphasis of conflicts, the nature of struggle starts to be narrated as 'revolutionist'.

While the economic problems make the daily lives of the people unresolvable, the fascist attacks sharpen the class struggle in Turkey. On the other hand, the exploitative tyranny on Kurdish people has been escalating. As the conflicts are sharpened, the ability to notice who the enemy or friend becomes easier. In this way, the wake up of the masses reaches to unseen levels. Therefore, in these conditions the duties of the socialists are very immense. Socialists should make the participation of the masses in the struggle possible. They should organize the masses and lead the revolutionist struggle of the masses. They have to accelerate these efforts because circumstances are very suitable for keeping the struggle. (Issue 39-40, p.6)

The role of narrative in the establishment of conflict is used for the contextualization of the in-group's unity and acting together. This togetherness is framed as resistance and rejection of the slavery.

The exploitative government has denied Kurdish people for years. It harshly suppresses the ones who bring forward the presence of Kurdish people and resist against the suppression over the Kurds. However, now it is in shock about the Kurdish people's rising freedom struggle. That's why it threatens the people in front of the whole world. If it is a rehearsal of genocide, Kurdish people experienced these genocidal activities more than once both in Turkey and in the neighbor countries. Not just a tribe but hundreds and thousands of people were slaughtered collectively. Apart from the past, nowadays like genocide, various activities are carried on in Kurdistan. The hegemon classes in Turkey are used to blood because Kurdistan is their colony. They grab all national democratic rights from Kurdish people and want to pursue this policy. The exploitative, militarist bourgeoisie is not only enemy of the Kurdish people but also it is the enemy of Turkish people because it exploits and tyrannizes the Turkish people, as well...Our people suffer so much in their freedom struggle and they are ready to suffer more in this path. All racists, militarists, exploiters should know that our people reject the slavery. (Issue 41, pp.58-62)

Togetherness in the action is defined as an unpreventable wake up and struggle process. The unity in the action is enhanced and legitimized through the emphasis on national democratic rights and freedom struggle.

Kurdish people entered into an unpreventable wake up and struggle process. No power can prevent our people's demand for national democratic rights and freedom struggle. (Issue 44, p.6)

The emphasis on the diversity of we-ness and the contextualization of the in-group's unity and acting together represent the use of the characteristics of vernacular culture in the discourse. Not only the distinctiveness of a group is

framed but also it is strengthened by the emphasis on territory, language and customs (Smith, 2008).

In the examination of the journal, it is observed that analogical connectors are used as another discursive strategy. By the use of analogical connectors, specific situations are defined with specific naming and labeling. Hart (2014) defines analogical connector as; “Elements in the input spaces are linked by different kinds of connector. In the case of metaphor, these are analogical connectors” (pp.140-141). The aim is to fulfill specific ideological and persuasive functions in socially and politically constructed discourse (Hart, 2014). For instance in the framing of Hakkari⁴, it is defined as a fragile region. Being fragile is narrated by under being cruelty and backwardness.

The title of the article about Hakkari is “Cruelty cannot prevent the wake up of our people.” (Issue 6, p.3) The region is defined as a territory, which is under cruelty. In other words it is framed that people who live in this territory are under cruelty. A direct link between geography and the people are established with being under cruelty. In the portrayal of Hakkari, it is stated that;

One of the aspect of this fragile region is that this region witnessed a dozen of uprisings with the beginning of the 19th century till 1938. All these uprisings were suppressed with annihilation and exile. (Issue 6, pp.3-4)

Another aspect of this region is about its backwardness. The economic and social life are strictly limited with its backwardness when it is compared to the rest of the country. The people of the region are in serious poverty. The agha and sheikh are active entities. (Issue 6, p.4)

Additionally, backwardness and crime are analogically connected. Backwardness is framed as an act that is applied intentionally and specifically towards Kurdish people. Based on this understanding, making Kurdish people to stay behind and underdeveloped intentionally is defined as a crime. In this way, problems that are experienced in daily life is projected towards the enemy and enemy image is

⁴ A region in the south-east region of Turkey

intensified with emphasis of crime. The enemy is framed as the source who is committing crimes against Kurdish people.

Millions of citizens who live in a land where under-ground and above ground are full of wealth have to live in houses which are earth-sheltered. Hence forcing them to live in a backward social structure is a crime. (Issue 5, p.33)

The people in Southeastern Turkey are intentionally receded. The southeastern region of Turkey is forcibly receded. (Issue 6, p.8)

In the discourse construction, Kurdish self-image is established on the necessity to resist and struggle against the enemy. The strategy in the discourse depends on legitimizing the need to resist and struggle. Therefore, even smuggling is framed as a necessity because it is narrated as the result of the domination.

Smuggling which is the result of the domination of the masses tries to be prevented by creating fear through surprise attacks. (Issue 8, p.13)

Smuggling is framed as an obligation and as a legitimate and, fair action for the people. Smuggling is narrated as a result of the oppressive policies which aim to let the people of the East to stay backward.

As happened in the Ottoman period, in the republican era, *Kurdistan* was demolished more than once. The resistance of Kurdish people against oppression was suppressed by force. As a result, not only the economy in *Kurdistan* but also human power and natural structure of *Kurdistan* were destroyed. Therefore, there could not be a safe environment for the capital investment. Hence in *Kurdistan* a systemic and conscious industry and trade could not be established. (Issue 36, p.19)

The blending space is formed in order to legitimize the ideological base of the metaphors in discourse. In this way, the conceptualization invoked by metaphor that provides a guide for thinking, feeling and acting. As a result, blending networks constitute specific structures that make up the world view encoded in cognitive frames and conceptual metaphors (Hart, 2014). In the journal, some specific analogical connectors that are examined are revealed in the table below.

Table 6. Examples for Analogical Connectors

Analogical Connector	Correspondence
Stick	Oppression policy
Genocide	Earthquake
Murder	Earthquake
East	Fragile
Curse	America
Crime	Forcing backward social structure

Analogical connectors in the discourse construction is used for the maintenance of a meaning for specific situations. As it is represented in the table above, for example; in the process of conveying message about earthquake is connected with genocide. The results of a natural disaster are connected with genocide. Another example can be given from the use of stick as a metaphor. Stick as a metaphor is used to represent the oppression policy. In the establishment of the mental space, these analogical connectors as metaphors are used in the meaning making process. By these symbolic definitions, mental space is constructed. Hart (2010) indicates that;

Metaphors activate conscious and unconscious, rational and emotional responses. Conceptual blends are cognitive associations constructed during discourse. Metaphors in discourse use language to activate unconscious emotional associations...A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Like emotions, metaphors guide cognition and direct decision-making with action consequences (p.128).

Therefore, in order to understand what kind of a mental space is constructed, the strategy of mental space should be revealed. For this purpose, three entities of mental space should be studied. These entities are situation/event space, time/place space and modal space.

Situation/event space implies the entities, actions and processes. Time/place space indicates times and locations. Modal space represents the commitment, evidence and authority that the situation/event space leads to (Hart, 2010). By

the use of this method, the aim is to explore what kind of a mental space construction strategy is established. The mental space strategy of the journal is revealed with the tables below according to their themes.

Table 7. Mental Space Construction Strategy

Theme 1. Backwardness

Table 7.1.

<p>Modal Space: Planned policies that prevent the economic development in the region.</p> <p>Time/Place Space: Current time/Eastern Anatolia</p> <p>Situation/Event Space: Implementing a policy to make the Eastern Anatolia stay backward.</p>

Table 7.2.

<p>Modal Space: The majority of population of the region are composed of Kurds.</p> <p>Time/Place Space: Current time/Eastern region of Turkey</p> <p>Situation/Event Space: The thing that shapes the backwardness of the East is the ongoing racist, chauvinist and discriminatory policies towards the people of the region.</p>
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It is observed that in the construction of the mental space, backwardness is one of the main themes. The use of backwardness theme is used as a base for strengthening the claims of oppression, domination, discrimination and racist policies towards Kurdish people. In the framing of the backwardness, there is a regional emphasis such as East and Eastern Anatolia. In the next stages of the discourse construction process, naming the region as East turns into *Kurdistan*.

Theme 2. Exploitation

Table 7.3.

<p>Modal Space: Establishment of factories in the outer zone of the Eastern region which are Erzurum, Erzincan, Elazığ and Malatya.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Past and current time/Eastern Anatolia</p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: Investment is made according to the political benefits and interests of the hegemon powers in order to exploit the natural resources of the region.</p>

Table 7.4.

<p>Modal Space: Dominant tribal social relations combined with segregationist policies and oppression.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Current time/East region</p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: Disadvantaged exploitation relations towards the East region.</p>

The theme of exploitation is the second stage for the preparation of the meaning-making on *Kurdistan*. Emphasis on the ‘natural resources of the Eastern region’ is turned into ‘the natural resources of *Kurdistan*’. Another aspect of the exploitation theme is its use in the discourse that includes past and present spaces. Exploitation is framed as an action that has been continuing from past to present.

Theme 3: Oppression, Racism and Elimination

Table 7.5.

<p>Modal Space: Education depends on the oppressive, chauvinistic and separatist policies.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Current time/East</p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: Education system is more anti-democratic in the East. The education in the East turns into a tool of racism and oppression policy.</p>

Table 7.6.

<p>Modal Space: All governments suppress Kurdish democratic and national rights' demands through oppression and exploitation. They slaughter masses and try to eliminate Kurdish people totally.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Current time/Diyarbakır-Lice</p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: Lice earthquake fits to the policy of the elimination of Kurdish people.</p>

Table 7.7.

<p>Modal Space: Turkish hegemon classes exploit the natural resources of Kurdish people with imperialists and they devastate the region economically. These powers have been continuing national dominance and racism ceaselessly. That's why, in the case of a disaster, it is unusual for them to help our people who adopt cruelty as a traditional policy.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Past time/Diyarbakır-Lice</p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: Hatred and enmity of the hegemon powers in Lice earthquake was seen clearly.</p>

Table 7.8.

Modal Space: Hegemon powers successfully implemented their first genocide plan in Lice.
Time/Place Space: Past time/Diyarbakır-Lice
Situation/Event Space: Hegemon powers came to the disaster area (Lice) 24 hours after the earthquake and let the wounded people to die.

Table 7.9.

Modal Space: Fascists do their attacks in a planned effort in order to eliminate crucial resistance points.
Time/Place Space: Current time/Diyarbakır
Situation/Event Space: The people's enemy and fascist powers concentrate their attacks in Diyarbakır.

With the emphasis on the themes of oppression, racism and elimination, it is noticed that they are used for the establishment of a perception of threat. With the emphasis of hatred and enmity, the in-group solidarity is tried to be strengthened by the framing of the enemy. This threat perception is accelerated by forming an analogical connection between earthquake and genocide. In this framing process, the specific emphasis on a region; Diyarbakır, is used to concretize the imagined country's existence.

Theme 4. Imagined Country: *Kurdistan*

Table 7.10.

Modal Space: The administration of Hacettepe University.
Time/Place Space: Current and future time/Beyond Sivas
Situation/Event Space: The ones who are from the beyond Sivas will be dismissed from the university and they will not be allowed to attend another university in Turkey.

Table 7.11.

<p>Modal Space: The reason behind the success of revolutionist movement in this city derives from the resistance of Kurdish people against the exploitation and tyranny.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Current time/Diyarbakır</p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: Diyarbakır is the central city of <i>Kurdistan</i>.</p>

Table 7.12.

<p>Modal Space: The exploitation, and cruelty over Kurdish people and their reaction through rebellion and wars has been continuing for centuries.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Past and present time/<i>Kurdistan</i></p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: <i>Kurdistan</i> has been turned into economic wreckage.</p>

Table 7.13.

<p>Modal Space: Because of the negligence of the government, the transportation problems and primitive housing structure are the results of the poverty in <i>Kurdistan</i>.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Past, current and future time/<i>Kurdistan</i></p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: Earthquakes in <i>Kurdistan</i> cause huge loss of life and property.</p>

Table 7.14.

Modal Space: Kurdish people who live in Turkey are not a minority.
Time/Place Space: Current time/Turkey
Situation/Event Space: The number of Kurdish people who live in Turkey's <i>Kurdistan</i> is approximately eight million.

In the construction of the mental space, meaning-making on the imagined country is prepared in three stages; 1-Backwardness, 2-Exploitation, 3- Oppression, Racism and Elimination. In the process of discourse construction, the emphasis on *Kurdistan* includes all these three main themes. By concretizing the imagined country on the legitimized issues, in-group is motivated to unite and struggle against the enemy.

Theme 5. Motivation and Legitimization for Struggle

Table 7.15.

Modal Space: Our people in the East accelerate their struggle against cruelty and oppression.
Time/Place Space: Current time/East
Situation/Event Space: East becomes an insecure area for the fascists.

Table 7.16.

Modal Space: It seems that bloody events and provocations will increase.
Time/Place Space: Present and future time/Not specified
Situation/Event Space: Significant duties fall to the revolutionist and democratic powers.

Table 7.17.

<p>Modal Space: We have the faith for an undefeated future, which is reinforced with the oppression and cruelty.</p>
<p>Time/Place Space: Future time/Not identified</p>
<p>Situation/Event Space: The struggle of our people will not be prevented.</p>

In the process of mental space construction, in the last stage, in-group tries to be motivated for struggle. In order to motivate themselves for struggle, it is noticed that the perception of threat tries to be kept alive with the emphasis on future time. Future time is both used for the emphasis on the continuation of bloody events with increase and to highlight an undefeated future.

From the overall analysis, in the examination of the mental space strategy construction, it is detected that the construction of cognitive frames is especially defined on present time, which is supported by past and future times. In some cases, past is evoked in the current time and in some cases, future is projected in the present time. In this way, conceptualization of an event or situation is constructed as transitional. Event space is conceptualized on territorialization; firstly as East and then as *Kurdistan*. Smith (2009) explains the need for a territorial emphasis as; "...there had to be elements, including territory, to make it possible to differentiate a given population from others and bind it together" (p.7).

In the process of the mental space construction, it is observed that the events and situations that are defined in the past and present times are established negatively. In order to reveal how specific cognitive frames are constructed negatively in the definitions of the situations and events, the words that are used for the specific definition of the events and situations are represented in the Table-6.

Table 8. Negatively Used Words for the Definition of the Situations and Events

Prevention	Provocation	Exclusion	Discrimination	Segregation
Domination	Oppression	Suppression	Exploitation	Elimination
Chauvinism	Racism	Slaughter	Cruelty	Hatred
Enmity	Attack	Anti-democratic	Bloody	Genocide
Disadvantaged	Backwardness	Wreckage		

It is observed that in the construction of mental space, the most commonly used words in the definition of the situations and events have negative meanings. The words that are detected in the analysis, which are represented in the Table-8, mainly elaborate the actions of the other, who is identified as the enemy. In the process of the explanation of the situations and events, the other is also identified. For instance; when an event is explained as racism, additionally the subject is identified as racist. Negatively identified events and situations are used for the legitimization of the in-group's actions. Based on the identification of the situations and events that are carried by the out-group, various actions that should be taken against the defined situations by the in-group are represented in the Table-9.

Table 9. Words Used for the Definition of In-Group's Actions

Reaction	Resistance	Solidarity
Struggle	Demanding national rights	Rebellion
Revolutionist movement	Waging war	

The actions of the in-group is defined by stages. These stages identified firstly with reaction and triggered to waging war. With the elaboration of the out-group's negatively defined actions, for the in-group's actions, legitimate base is established. Therefore identification of these actions also includes demanding national rights. By the emphasis on national rights, in-group's main identity is framed by ethnic nationalism. All these stages are constructed for the maintenance of in-group's national identity and solidarity. This national identity

formation process is explained by Smith (2009) on the basis of dynamic collective effort to create the fully participating political community.

In the mental space, by forming the conceptual metaphors, the discourse space is constructed. By the intentional use of metaphors, the message is formed, revealed and conveyed to the reader. In the last step for the analysis of what kind of discursiveness is constructed on Kurdishness, there is need for the examination of the discourse space. In the analysis of the discourse space, how discursively the construction of Kurdishness will be examined through emphasizing how cultural and political aspects are interpreted and how violence is integrated into cultural and political practices.

4.4. Discourse Space

In the construction of the discourse space; use of frames, schemas and conceptual metaphors are the main elements. Metaphor is used as a signifier. The origin of the word metaphor comes from meta: over and phero: to carry, which means to carry over (Törneke, 2017). According to Lakoff and Johnson, our lives are shaped on the basis of conceptual metaphors that have a great impact on the way of our thinking, feeling, speaking and acting (as cited in Törneke, 2017). Metaphors form thinking processes and through language thought is shaped by the intentional metaphor use (Törneke, 2017). It is detected in the journal that ethnic nationalist discourse is metaphorically constructed.

In this section, how ethnic nationalist discourse is metaphorically constructed will be revealed through what kind of discourse strategies and what kind of constituents are used. Additionally, how Kurdish culture is introduced through the re-invention of it and where the place of violence and how it is integrated into the re-invention of the culture will be elaborated.

With the issue 9, it is examined that ethnic nationalist discourse is started to be elaborated through the components of the socialist ideology. Ethnic nationalist discourse tries to be based on the frames of the socialist ideology.

In a country, that is under the rule of exploitation and feudalism, against the culture that is imposed by the colonialists and feudalism, national language, national pride should be protected. National art and literature should be developed, which will contribute to the national liberation revolution. (Issue 8, p.52)

While the working class has been carrying on their struggle, they did not just maintain the solidarity of their class but also gathered the slave nations under their flag. (Issue 9, p.41)

The working class has been proved in practice that it progresses on the way for the salvation of the slave nations. (Issue 9, pp.41-42)

By getting in the same position as socialist revolutions and national salvation wars, imperialism started to regress. (Issue 9, p.44)

International Workingmen's Organization announced that the national salvation of the oppressed people is the sacred duty of the revolutionist working class. (Issue 9, pp.44-45)

Capitalism is an exploitation order. The aim of the oppressors is to make exploitation mechanism works constantly. Hence the reason for the oppression over proletariat and people depends on making the capitalism functions. However, national dominance over other people cannot only be explained by capitalism. The problem of the oppressed people cannot be seen just a backwardness problem. (Issue 13-14, p.23)

Even though it is true that in the 19th century, each big rebellion in *Kurdistan* was led by a principal, sheikh or a chieftain, today the best policy is to pursue the path of socialism. (Issue 21-22, pp.18-19)

Use of concepts from the socialist ideology such as socialism, revolutionist, working class, socialist revolution and proletariat are fused with nationalistic claims. In the discourse construction, socialist conceptualizations are used but in some point the journal defends that 'national dominance over people cannot only be explained by capitalism'.

It is observed that after the use of socialist ideology as a base for the nationalistic claims, there is a transition occurring in discourse strategy through the emphasis

that socialist conceptualizations are not enough to address the nationalistic claims. With this divergence it is observed in the later issues that main emphasis in discourse turns into ethnic nationalism. In the next parts of the analysis how socialist ideology and nationalism are integrated together and how a transition to ethnic nationalism in discourse is established will be revealed.

It is noticed that in the discourse construction, in the first step, culture is defined as a national pride that should be protected against exploitation and feudalism. In the second step, it is stressed that for the protection of the national pride, national liberation revolution should be targeted. In the third step, the way for the national liberation revolution can be achieved under the flag of working class and with socialism. In this way, it is observed that ethnic nationalism initially is constructed discursively on the conceptualizations of the socialist ideology.

This discourse strategy is revealed by connecting two conceptualizations; socialist democratic movement in the East and proletariat movement:

The dominant reactionary powers are worried about the cooperation and solidarity between the powers of socialist democratic movement in the East and proletariat movement because then it will be more difficult to defeat the revolutionist movement. For example, after the establishment of this solidarity between these powers how can it be possible for the fascists to enter Diyarbakır, Tunceli and Ağrı? (Issue 13-14, p.34)

There is the aim to indicate that socialist ideology and ethnic nationalist claims can be defended at the same platform. It is supported that each movement needs each other and it is claimed that they are not contrary to each other ideologically, but they are intertwined.

Struggle against the racist-chauvinist oppression and cruelty in regional level cannot be separated and isolated from the overall revolutionist struggle in Turkey. National isolation policy is absolutely wrong and brings the revolutionist struggle into a dead end. (Issue 13-14, p.37)

In the construction of ethnic nationalism, another conceptualization that is borrowed from the socialist ideology is colony. In the journal, a similarity between the positions of the third world countries because of being dominated by the hegemon powers and the position of the Kurdish people because of being separated in four detached geographies is established. In the conceptualization of colony;

Kurdish people are under a heavy national oppression and their country was turned into a colony. (Issue 31-32, p.26)

Kurdistan was divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Each of these states tried to assimilate Kurdish people and prevent the national resistance of Kurdish people. Uncountable Kurdish uprisings were suppressed by these countries with collaboration between them so many Kurds were slaughtered. Rich natural resources of *Kurdistan* were exploited and *Kurdistan* was receded. Kurdish people were pushed into poverty, ignorance and illiteracy. *Kurdistan* was turned into a common colony of these states. (Issue 31-32, p.26)

Turkish government established racist and tyrant governance in *Kurdistan*. The actions in this region can be hardly observed in any other colony. Turkish government, with its tyranny and oppression, tries to dominate Kurdish people with fear and try to enslave the Kurds. (Issue 31-32, p.34)

The conceptualization of the colony is framed together with the concepts of exploitation, national oppression, enslaving and divided *Kurdistan*. By the framing of an imagined country, *Kurdistan*, national oppression narration is used to define the position of the Kurdish people. The backwardness of Kurdish people is explained by framing a colony. Framing the reason of backwardness by being colony then is shifted to the framing of backwardness with ethnic nationalism.

The Baghdadi government does not see harm in the continuation of oppression policies. The Baghdadi governors have been executing their racist and chauvinist policies for years. They have been committing genocide crime against Kurdish people. However, if they gave the rights of Kurdish people, then there would not be a war in Iraq between two nations. (Issue 5, pp.83-85)

The rebellions of Kurdish nation for its freedom were continuing at the beginning of the 19th century. These rebellions were suppressed bloodily in each time. It is hard to find another example for a nation, which has been struggling

for its freedom for that a long time and has been suffering from that a lot. (Issue 21-22, p.4)

In the first stage, it is stated that genocide crime is committed against Kurdish people. In the next framing, Kurdish people are represented as Kurdish nation that were suppressed bloodily in each time.

The common aspiration of Kurdish people is to reach their national and democratic rights, to end the national oppression, and the dependency of *Kurdistan* and to eliminate the feudal and tribal structure of Kurdish society. (Issue 21-22, pp.4-5)

Today in Turkey, more than ten million Kurdish people are under national oppression. The country of Kurdish people is turned into a colonial place. Without the elimination of this domination, how can an equal and democratic order be established between Turks and Kurds? (Issue 27, p.32)

In the second stage, national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people and the necessity to free *Kurdistan* from the dependency is pointed out.

The Turkish exploitation subdues the Kurdish people by force. It prevented the right of self-determination of Kurdish people. (Issue 31-32, p.35)

The struggle for land by the villagers in *Kurdistan* and freedom-democracy problem is closely related with each other. Hence the struggle for land in *Kurdistan* and the struggle for Kurdish people's national and democratic rights are intertwined. (Issue 36, p.44)

In the third stage, the subjects of; self-determination of Kurdish people and Kurdish people's national and democratic rights are underlined. In the statement below, with the fourth stage, it is stated that national constituent has a crucial place in the revolutionist struggle of Kurdish people.

In the revolutionist struggle of Kurdish people, national constituent has a crucial place because people are not independent in terms of nation. The country of Kurdish people is divided between other states. Its resistance during the freedom struggle has been suppressed by blood. The natural resources of *Kurdistan* have been exploited. Kurdish people cannot even speak their mother tongue freely. Education in Kurdish is banned and even publications in Kurdish are forbidden. Kurdish people are degraded because they are Kurd, and their existence is rejected. Kurdish people are tried to be assimilated. Therefore, all

these elements make the national constituent crucial in the problem of freedom for Kurdish people. (Issue 42, p.45)

As it is observed from the stages, it is seen that the framing of being a colony is shifted to being a nation. The framing of the problem is started to be defined by the concept of war. It is examined that in the framing of nation; self-determination is framed by the concepts of genocide, racism and massacre. By the framing of the events as a war, with the emphasis on genocide, racism and massacre, narration on the imagined territory; *Kurdistan* is strengthened, as well.

Beginning from 1925 to 1938, the rebellions of Kurdish people were suppressed bloodily with massacres and exiles. During this period, racist-chauvinistic propaganda was used against the masses. National selfishness and animosity were pumped. Education and culture were shaped by racism-chauvinism. (Issue 17, p.19)

The exploiters and tyrants want to exsanguinate the ones who resist against exploitation and tyranny. (Issue 27, p.32)

Kurds revolted in 1925. This revolt was suppressed and thirty thousand people were slaughtered. Kurds revolted again in 1930, 1934 and 1938. However, all these revolts were suppressed bloodily. Hundreds of thousands Kurds were slaughtered and so many of them were exiled to western Anatolia. Turkish government committed the genocide more than once against Kurdish people. (Issue 31-32, p.27)

The framing on the basis of being a nation is widened by the concept of national duty that is constructed to define the action. This action is framed as; to overthrow the chauvinist regime and the establishment of an autonomous *Kurdistan*.

In order to stop the oppression especially towards Kurdish people, all Kurdish progressive and patriot organizations and individuals should become together in order to defend their legitimate rights and national entities. This is a national duty. This national duty includes the overthrow of the chauvinist regime and the establishment of an autonomous *Kurdistan* in the democratic republic of Iraq. (Issue 13-14, p.44)

However, the national uprisings of Kurdish people should not be seen as obscurantist. The reason for the uprising of Sheikh Sait in 1925 could be supported by English imperialists but this movement cannot be degraded just as a provocation of England. A nation that was under serious oppression and

exploitation did not need to be provoked by imperialists in order to rebel. (Issue 24, pp.24-25)

In *Kurdistan*, the number of those who gain the consciousness about national dominance every day are increasing, and by this way the national democratic struggle against national oppression and exploitation is getting stronger. (Issue 31-32, p.10)

With the emphasis of national duty, who are the responsible for this duty and what the scope of the national duty is, are identified by the conceptualization of struggle. In other words, action is narrated by the concept of the struggle. In order to identify the action and rotate the targeted masses by the defined action, it is observed that a collective understanding is tried to be constructed. By the construction of a collective understanding on the concept of struggle, it is observed that the national emphasis is tried to be strengthened by specific themes, which are population, language-culture, education, feudalism and unity.

In the first step, the targeted mass is tried to be identified under the emphasis of population. In order to prepare a base for national emphasis, population theme is used as a signifier.

Turkey *Kurdistan* composes the one third of Turkey. Kurdish people make up one fourth of Turkey's overall population. Turkey *Kurdistan* is the biggest part of the divided *Kurdistan* territory. This territory includes the east and southeast regions. In this region, Kurdish people constitute 80% of the whole population. In this region, out of 67 cities of Turkey, 20 cities are found. (Issue 31-32, p.27)

Only in Turkey *Kurdistan*, Kurdish population is approximately eight million. Additionally, in the other regions of Turkey and in the big cities, there is a significant Kurdish population. For instance, Kurdish population is over 50% in the capital city Ankara; Bala, Haymana, Polatlı and in Konya; Cihanbeyli, Kulu, so there is no doubt that Kurdish people maintain one fourth of the Turkey's total population. (Issue 31-32, p.28)

With 20 million population Kurdish people maintain the widest populated society that has been kept under exploitation and racist oppression still. (Issue 35, p.66)

In the second step, in the narration of national emphasis, language and culture are specifically identified. The unique characteristic of Kurdish language and culture are underlined in the narration.

There may be the ones who want the culture to stay obscurantist and degenerated. However, the ones who want to keep this obscurantist and degenerate culture against Kurdish people's and our new age's progressive and democratic culture are the imperialists who divide *Kurdistan* between each other and traditionalist feudal entities. (Issue 26, p.20)

Turkish government denies Kurdish people's existence and tries to show Kurdish people as Turkish in order to neglect the demanded rights of the Kurdish people. However, the whole world knows that Kurds have a distinct history, language and culture. (Issue 31-32, p.27)

The racist-chauvinistic policies that have been continuing in Turkey prevent the development of Kurdish language and culture. That's why; the possibility to create and sustain the national literature is prevented because the oral products of the local people could not be turned into the written literature. Obscurantist, racist, chauvinistic, assimilationist policies prevented the development of Kurdish literature. (Issue 33-34, p.66)

In the third step, education constitutes one of the main themes on the construction of nationalism discursively. The existing education system is narrated as racist, chauvinistic and assimilationist.

One of the most crucial defects of Turkey's education system is its form that gets in the Eastern Anatolia. The racist-chauvinistic quality of the education that is implemented in the region is more apparent. This education system serves exploitation and domination policies, as well as to racism. Hence this education system is naturally and formally anti-democratic. (Issue 8, pp.51-52)

The tyranny and racism towards the Kurdish people cannot be seen in most of the colonials. In Turkey with its population over 10 million and in Turkey's Kurdistan which includes the east and south east regions that is composed of a population that 80% of it is Kurdish. However, with such a population, education in the mother tongue is not allowed for the Kurdish people. (Issue 28, pp.9-10)

The chauvinistic, racist and exploitative system does not only degrade *Kurdistan* economically but also by eliminating the educational possibilities of Kurdish people, it prevents the cultural development of Kurds and harm the existing cultural values. In this way, Kurdish people are degraded socially and culturally. (Issue 31-32, p.29)

Turkish government that denies the existence of Kurds and their living language; Kurdish, tries to Turkify the Kurds by tortures, jails, exiles and genocide. Besides the prohibitions about Kurdish culture with the regional boarding schools, Kurdish children are separated from their families and they are tried to be affected by the chauvinistic bourgeoisie cultural education. (Issue 31-32, p.29)

The regions that Kurds live are in the worst conditions educationally. Besides this problem, the main problem in education is not allowing the Kurdish people to get an education in their mother tongue. Moreover, there is a heavy dominance on Kurdish culture and language by preventing Kurdish people from learning and developing. (Issue 31-32, pp.45-46)

With the education system, the assimilation of the Kurdish people is targeted. (Issue 31-32, p.46)

The educational system is designed as racist-chauvinistic, assimilationist in order to protect the interests of bourgeoisie. (Issue 33-34, p.4)

In the fourth step, a shift occurs in thematic conceptualization from the definition; against whom to struggle and the reason for the struggle, against whom this struggle will be. In this step, feudalism is framed as a crucial obstacle in front of the national movement and therefore feudal entities are identified as the ones to struggle against.

The struggle of 14 years showed that the reason for the defeat is because of the tendency of Kurdish movement leaders' cooperation with obscurantists and imperialists. Kurdish feudal and bourgeoisie cannot be the leaders for the freedom and democratic struggle of Kurdish people. (Issue 19, p.30)

The freedom problem of Kurdish people depends on the actors who are feudal entities like agha, sheikh, obscurantist powers and imperialists, chauvinists, exploitative and militarist states. (Issue 21-22, p.4)

The reason why the rebellions in the 19th century could not succeed was because of the feudal and tribal characteristic of Kurds. Because of the feudal characteristic, the persistent organizational structure could not be achieved. Moreover, feudal and tribal structure was one of the main obstacles in front of the national movement. National movement can only develop by eliminating the feudal characteristics of the Kurdish society. (Issue 21-22, p.41)

The institutions of agha, sheikh and tribes get out of date. The bad structures of these institutions should be exposed to the masses. How these feudal and traditionalist institutions divide, exploit and deceive people should be told. The masses should be organized against these feudal powers and pushed into the struggle. Only by this way, the traditionalist policies can be overcome by the masses' revolutionist and progressive policies." (Issue 27, p.28)

The clash between groups of people in the East because of a field indicates the disadvantaged position of our people. Kurdish people are the victims of the disrupted order and obscurantist feudal-tribal structure. Without taking into consideration the reasons behind the backwardness of Kurdistan, which result in the prevention of the development of production powers and lead to the preservation of feudal-tribal structure, it will not be possible to understand such

kinds of conflicts. All these factors lead to the illiteracy and ignorance between the Kurdish people, which result in the unresolved conflicts. The main reasons why our people put into this position are because of exploitation, oppression and tyranny. (Issue 27, p.55)

Feudal structure is an obstacle in front of the Kurdish national movement. Feudal structure means social division and disintegration. For instance; in Kurdish society each sheikh, tribal chieftain has its own influence and exploitation areas. Hence, rivalry between them becomes inevitable because obeying the other's authority means indignity. (Issue 28, p.19)

The ideology of feudalism is mystical. It teaches how to obey the governor, tribal chieftain and sheikh. The ideology of feudalism determines the exploitation of these institutions as a right, and as a religious duty. For centuries, the people who are conditioned by feudal worldview cannot behave as free individuals politically. (Issue 28, pp.19-20)

Without presenting the problem of land, exploring the exploitative network of feudalism, constructing a consciousness for the peasants and annihilating the mystical values of the peasant masses, it will not be possible for the peasants to be the part of the Kurdish national democratic movements. (Issue 28, p.20)

In the fifth step, the framing of the theme of unity is maintained as the final point of the struggle. In the process of the conceptualization of unity, border as a component is integrated into the imagined country; *Kurdistan*.

Today not all sensible people see this problem as a problem of forming a unity between each part of *Kurdistan*. Even though the existence of the borders between *Kurdistan* is artificial, each distinctive conditions of each country lead to a diverse path in the way to freedom. The problem of unity will take its shape according to historical developments. Therefore, the struggle of Kurdish people is closely linked with the people who live together. Hence, in each country, Kurdish people should form alliances with the other people of the countries that they live together...This political line is supported in an accurate way by the socialists. That's why the national and democratic revolution of Kurdish people can be achieved by pursuing this policy. (Issue 21-22, p.5)

The democratic struggle of a dependent nation should be considered with two dimensions. Two dimensions of this struggle are carried against the imperialist oppression and feudal oppression. Without ending the anarchy of feudalism, national unification cannot be achieved. (Issue 28, p.11)

The exploitative government is aware of the role of the sheiks, religious figures and tribal chieftains. These powers create divisions between Kurdish people and in this way, dominate them by injecting a backward, mystical and submissive worldview. This delays the creation of national consciousness in Kurdish people and prevents the maintenance of national unity. That's why, tribal and sectarian conflicts are kept alive in *Kurdistan* by exploitative powers. (Issue 36, p.21)

After the definition of unity, the unity conceptualization is concretizing by the naming of ‘Kurdistan National Unity’, which is narrated through being against imperialism, zionism, dictatorship, and tribal order that is dominant over Kurdish regions.

With the shift to nationalism, it is examined that the narration over struggle is shifted to war imagery. With the definition of war by framing it as a revolutionist movement, there is also a narration that is made on to define who the fighter and leader will be.

Whichever group claims that they pursue a revolutionist movement and fight for *Kurdistan*, the leaders of those groups have to visit *Kurdistan* personally. In this way, Kurdish people can be sure about the sincerity of these groups and declare them as the organization of Kurdish people, which will be accepted as the leaders for the revolution. (Issue 31-32, p.24)

It is examined that the portrayal of war imagery is made through describing war by giving it various names. The war imagery is constructed by the definition of war through the perspectives of inner and outer groups; what the war is meant for the inner group and how the action of the outer group is narrated.

Table 10. Narration of War Imagery

Definition of War	Definition of Fighter
Barbarous annihilation war	Kurdish fighters
National salvation war	Courageous fighters
Partisan war	
Revolutionist movement	

4.4.1. Re-invention of Culture

It is revealed that in the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), discourse space is constructed on ethnic nationalist framing. With the aim to construct a collective understanding, it is observed that the national emphasis is discursively maintained on specific themes, which are population, language-culture, education, feudalism and unity. The importance of the population, language-

culture and education in the formation of a collective identity is stated by Smith (2009) as; "...ideologies and sense of identity in terms of their constituent symbolic resources, that is, the traditions, memories, values, myths and symbols that compose the accumulated heritage of cultural units of population" (p.16).

Another aspect of discursively construction method of the journal is observed through its re-contextualization of the cultural constituents. Culture is a significant constituent in the formation of an imagined community. The place of culture in the formation of national identities is explained by Smith (2009) as; "...Imagined community is a discursive formation of linguistic and symbolic practices" (p.12).

In the construction of discourse space, re-contextualization is used as a strategy. In the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), re-contextualization is especially made on the concept of culture. It is detected that new definitions on cultural elements are established. One of the main strategies in the construction of the discourse space is seen through the definition of culture by ethnic-nationalist constituents. With the issue 18, a specific section is separated for cultural subjects. It is stated that;

There is a section about Kurdish folkloric songs. Additional Kurdish folkloric songs can be sent by our readers, which will enable our people to know and develop our culture. (Issue 18, p.2)

In the framing of the culture, it is observed that re-contextualization and re-interpretation are used.

National culture problem is a hegemony problem. This problem can have a valid solution by the independence of the exploited people. While the national movement continues for national rights, there should be the efforts for the development of national culture. A nation's culture lives as the symbol of its national resistance and becomes the source and motivation for national powers in their struggle. (Issue 18, p.39)

About culture, the definition of national culture is made. It is argued that national culture is a hegemony problem. However, even national culture is defined as a hegemony problem, it is stated that the problem can be overcome by the independence of the exploited people through national movement. It is claimed that by this way, national culture can be developed because it is defended that symbols of national resistance will enhance a nation's culture. As it is observed, culture is re-contextualized by the independence of the exploited people through national movement. It is noticed from this national movement discursive that with new stories, symbols and metaphors, re-invention of the culture is aimed in the discourse construction.

National culture resources (heading): When the history of Kurdish people is observed, it can be seen that bad and good days of the Kurdish people are reflected in their culture through passing down from generations. For example, Nawruz has such kind of a history that has been celebrating by the Kurds in every March of 21st. According to the myth, at the March of the 21st, Kurds ended the hegemony of cruel Dehak with the leadership of blacksmith Kawa and got their freedom. Even though, this feast has been celebrated by the Iranians, for Kurdish people it is a national feast. The epic of Meme Alan is another famous example that had been shaped by national motives. In this epic, past of Kurdish living and customs are one of the main themes. Meme Alan was interpreted again by Ahmedi Hani in the 17th century, and turned into Mem-u Zin in which the national aspirations were included. Hani wrote about how Kurdish society was a buffer zone between Ottomans and Persians. Hani pointed out the reason for the inability of the Kurds to get united because of being located in a buffer zone. He expressed that because of this, Kurds could not get rid of dependency and Kurdish people became poor, and science and art could not develop. According to the conditions of his period, Hani implied the way for salvation by a Kurdish sultan who would bring all the Kurds together. (Issue 21-22, pp.26-27)

This re-invention of culture is observed in the interpretation of Nawruz, integration of the myth of Kawa to Nawruz and emphasis of literal pieces. It is seen that these entities are explained as national motives. Additionally, the purpose of unification between Kurds is framed as a goal that has been continuing since the past. With the re-interpretation of past, perceptions about culture in the present time are targeted to be re-shaped.

As a result of the long-lasting oppressions and prohibitions, the sources about Kurdish people's culture are so limited. As a result of primitive and chauvinistic attitudes, it is claimed that Kurdish nation does not have a culture. However, as a nation that has a deep historical past, it is known that Kurds have a rich culture. This culture includes both the properties of hegemon classes' exploitative mystical elements and characteristics of oppressed masses' resistance, aspirations and rebellions. It will be possible to learn Kurdish culture when the oppressions on this nation's culture is eliminated. (Issue 21-22, p.28)

Kurdish folk songs, epics and myths include all political events, wars, cruelty, exiles and massacres. The story of the rebellions of the 19th century and the others can be found in the folk songs, epics and the myths. The events and their heroes are known in each part of *Kurdistan*. These folk songs, epics and myths are told and sung in weddings, feasts, meetings and long winter nights at homes by *dengbej*. It is no doubt that these national cultural values, which have a deep historical past led to Kurdish rebellions in the 19th century to gain a national characteristic. (Issue 21-22, pp.29-30)

It is seen that, culture is re-interpreted and re-contextualized by the constituents of ethnic-nationalism. In the first instance, culture is framed as a national culture problem. Hence, culture is framed as a hegemony problem. To overcome this problem, it is stated that national cultural resources should be derived from the past of Kurdish people. It is indicated that good and bad days of Kurdish people can be found in their cultural traits.

By this way transition of cultural traits from generations with the re-invention of culture discursively is targeted. Smith (2009) explains why the re-invention of culture is established on the basis of the embodiment of a common ethnic identity. Smith (2009) points out that elements such as myth, memory and symbol maintain a framework for common understanding and aspiration, which leads to a common ethnic identity formation that represents a cultural community that has a common ancestry.

Additionally, it is observed that cultural entities are interpreted according to the conditions of the current period. Kurdish folk songs, epics and myths are revealed as the stocks which include political events, wars, cruelty, exiles and massacres. The practical integration of a myth and political elements can be observed in the re-interpretation of Nawruz. Nawruz is described and re-

interpreted as a national fest, which has been carried on through generations since the defeat of tyrant Dehak. Past is revoked in the current time by the calling of a mystic tyrant and future is projected on Kurdish independence/salvation.

In the construction of the discourse space, categorization is detected as another strategy. This categorization strategy is based on the description of what the negative and positive is. This negativity and positivity descriptions are used for the identification of the good and the bad one/thing/action. By this way with the selection of specific cognitive frames, which are identified as good or bad, the targeted idea is transmitted to the reader. In the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), this categorization strategy is used especially for those who make up the inner and outer groups.

Table 11. Categories of Positive and Negative Meaning Attachment

Positive Meanings Attached To	Negative Meanings Attached To
Progressive	Feudal
Revolutionist	Traditionalist/Reactionary/Obscurantist
Kurdish Patriot	Tribal
Socialist	Sectarian
Democrat	Landlord
Working Class	Imperialist
Martyr	Bourgeoisie
Kurdish Warrior/Fighter	Racist
Resistance	Fascist
Democratic Struggle	Tyrant
Democratic Movement	Exploitation
National Democratic Rank	Chauvinism
Kurdish National Unity	
National Solidarity	

By this way, through the definition of inner and outer groups, the line between us vs. them is drawn and concretized. For example; in the framing of imperialism, America is narrated as one of the imperialist powers and it is identified as the

gendarmerie of the world. American government is framed as a government which commits disgusting murders. The other entities that are identified by negativity are feudalism, tribalism and sectarianism. They are narrated as the obstacles for the development of democratic and political consciousness. Imperialist and traditionalist/reactionary powers are identified as the actors who are traitors and who have evil intentions towards Kurdish people.

The categorization strategy is used for the differentiation between Kurdish people. Specific definitions for the good Kurd and bad Kurd are established. Kurdish people who are revolutionist and resist against the defined enemy are defined as patriot. On the other hand, the Kurds who are rightist and belong to tribes are defined as the other; bad Kurd, who is not acceptable.

The efforts of the exploitators and predators will fail as a result of the solidarity between progressive and revolutionist powers. We never give up because of the attacks of the enemies of the people and the servants of the capital. We will never leave our city to the fascists. Our struggle against these attacks will become stronger with each attack. (Issue 26, p.93)

Against the threat, progressive and revolutionist powers are addressed as the solution and source of solidarity. It is observed that by the strong emphasis on progressive and revolutionist powers, the conceptualization on we-ness and the existence of enemy are clearly identified.

The exploitative government especially takes advantage of the conflicts between tribes and sects. Most of officials deepen these conflicts. In most of the places, government is pleased with tribal conflicts. The exploitative government, sheiks and tribal chieftains benefit from these clashes because in this way poor Kurdish people cannot distinguish the real enemy. (Issue 27, pp.57-58)

While the development of Kurdish people's culture is prevented, the mystic, traditionalist worldview of the sheiks and tribal chieftains are legitimized and supported. The main purpose under this strategy is to prevent the awakening of the Kurdish people about their rights and prevent their struggle against exploitation and tyranny. (Issue 27, p.58)

In the construction process of the differences between the in-group, why some Kurds are positioned as bad and why some of them are positioned as good is

concretized by identifying the characteristics of the 'bad Kurd'. It is stated that culture of Kurdish people is prevented because of traditionalist worldview, which is carried by sheiks and tribal chieftains. Moreover, these actors are framed as the allies of the enemy.

The tribal chieftains and sheiks never uphold the rights of our people. They approve every kind of murder, torture and robbery against our people. They never defend our people's national and democratic rights; on the contrary they deny these rights. (Issue 27, p.77)

The tribal chieftains and sheiks act together with the most obscurantist, racist and tyrants. They are together with the fascist powers who are the enemies of our people. We have to identify clearly who the enemies of our people are. We all have to aware of the malignment of obscurantist powers who are sheiks and tribal chieftains. The ability to reach freedom and end exploitation and cruelty can be possible by rescuing our people's bonds from the traditionalist institutions such as the tribes and sheiks. (Issue 27, p.77)

The bad Kurds who are identified as tribal chieftains and sheiks are narrated as the responsible for every kind of murder, torture and robbery against Kurdish people.

The tribal chieftains, militarists, bourgeoisie and racists cannot accept the existence of Kurdish people and cannot get used to the existence of *Kurdistan*. (Issue 36, p.9)

Kurdish landowners and sheiks are not the only obstacles in front of the freedom struggle of Kurdish people but also they prevent the democratic development in Turkey. They create a serious obstructionist power. (Issue 36, pp.14-15)

It is observed that in the identification process of the 'bad Kurd', narration on the negative aspects of the Kurdish landowners and sheiks are triggered stage by stage. In the first instance these group are framed as the ally of the enemy but with the oncoming narrations, they are identified as the main obstacles in front of the freedom struggle of Kurdish people and the existence of *Kurdistan*.

The Kurdish tribes are famous about being warrior. However, in most of the times, they use their weapons against each other. (Issue 41, p.67)

All obscurantist and chauvinistic powers are in collaboration in order to break the honorable struggle of the Kurdish people against tyranny and domination.

All these powers are in an intense effort to imply that they carry more hostility towards Kurds than the others. (Issue 43, p.4)

The Kurdish student movement abroad is the part of Kurdish people's emancipation struggle. Kurdistan Student Union Abroad organized its 19th Ordinary Congress on 14.09.1978. Congress was started with Ey Reqib march and one minute's silence for the memory of Kurdish martyrs. The decisions that are taken in the congress maintain a historical turning point because with the 19th Congress, a clear line was drawn between enemy and the friend of the Kurdish people. (Issue 44, pp.9-10)

With the specific definitions, the line between the inner and outer groups is concretized, and collective identity is established. The positive meanings that attached to the specific concepts such as being progressive or patriot maintain the base for the collective identity. Some of the concepts that are used for the definition of the collective identity are narrated through being oppressed, being dominated, being organized, being patriot, and being progressive. In this narration strategy, it is observed that first of all, the position of the inner group is identified and a specific naming for the position of the inner group is maintained.

After that the action of the group is defined on the basis of a reaction against the current position that is created by the outer group. For example according to the discourse of the journal; being oppressed necessitates the action of being organized and resistant against the oppression. Reaction against the oppression is defined as a resistance. The one who resists against oppression and domination is described as a patriot. Being in the inner group is framed as a privilege.

The ones and the organizations that are not determined to be against the obscurants cannot gain the right to be in the anti-fascist front. (Issue 8, p.15)

Collective identity is concretized by establishing a common front against the ones who are identified as the other. In the narration of the inner group, being in the inner groups is framed as a privilege and it is described that having the right to be in the inner group should be gained.

It is observed that the cognitive frame on a common front is established specifically in the seventh issue of the journal. The subject of the seventh issue is defined as the proposal for progressive, socialist and democratic powers to form a common front against the efforts to establish a fascist regime in Turkey. The need to form a common front is justified by the need for allegation, because its absence will maintain the proper conditions for the fascists according to journal.

In the recent years in Turkey generally, the revolutionist democratic movement has been developing. There is the maintenance of a consciousness in the Kurdish masses and establishment of a struggle mechanism between the Kurdish people against national dominance and tyranny. In this way, the importance of tribalism and clashes on sects were diminished. Hence, solidarity is established on national democratic ranks. However, this national democratic solidarity is tried to be broken by provoking the conflict between Alleviate and Sunni. In this way, Kurdish people are tried to be set against each other. (Issue 36, p.11)

We have to assist the masses in order to make them able to discriminate the enemy and the friend because for a long time enmity and insecurity have been created by the obscurantists, fascists and racists. (Issue 36, p.13)

In the process of shaping the discourse space, storytelling is examined as another method. In the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu (Freedom Path)*, the storytelling method is used in the sections of art and literature. By the use of stories, the old customs are narrated as how they were outdated and what kind of a change is needed to overcome the negative effects of the old customs.

In the 13-14 issue's art and literature section, the book of *Unwilling Marriage* that was written by İsmail Duko who was a Kurdish writer is introduced. It is stated that *Unwilling Marriage* is a drama of two Kurdish teenagers; Suto and Zadine who were 13 and 19 years old and were obliged to get married. By this piece, it is stated that it becomes possible for us to see the negative and backward effects of the old Kurdish customs. It is also underlined that after the October Revolution, Soviet Kurds got rid of poverty and ignorance and such kinds of events became fairy tales. (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol. 13-14, p.51)

Apart from the narration of the old stories, selected events are framed by the use of storytelling method.

Racist Baas government attacked *Kurdistan* with tanks and cannons. Villages and towns were demolished and set on fire. Napalm bombs were used against civilians. Every kind of torture and killing methods were used. However, in spite of this atrocity, Kurdish people resisted heroically as they did before. The attack of the enemy was spured. The chauvinist Baas understood that they could not bring down the Kurdish people. This war was conducted in harsh conditions because Iraqi Kurdistan was surrounded with enemy powers. (Issue 25, p.23)

After forming collective identity through defining who makes up the inner group and who the outer group is, by the use of symbols, collective identity is tried to be strengthened by the narration of a collective memory. Story telling method strengthens the narration of collective memory through bringing past to the current and projection of the future by the use of past in the current time. In the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu (Freedom Path)*, through the re-invention of the culture through myths and symbols, collective identity is concretized by the use of discourse on collective memory. This construction of collective memory is constructed on Kurdishness through the use of cultural and political constituents.

Anthony Smith elaborates the place of cultural and political constituents in the formation of nationalism on the basis of ethnicity through shifting attitudes, sentiments and perceptions. Smith (2009) underlines that symbolic boundary mechanisms such as words, signs, languages, myths, dress codes, architecture are necessary for the durability of ethnic groups. Smith points out that myth-symbol relation is an essential conceptual tool to understand and analyze ethnic groups and nations on identical terms.

The use of myth in the re-construction of the culture is observed in the 15th-16th issues of *Özgürlük Yolu (Freedom Path)*, which were published together, in the section of art and literature with the introduction of myth of *Meme Alan*. It is stated that *Meme Alan* is a famous myth that has been known by the most of *dengbej*, who are the traditional story tellers. They transmit stories, epics or

myths orally and sometimes by singing. *Meme Alan* is defined as a traditional epic that is sang and told about during weddings, feasts and long winter nights. This myth has variations according to regions. In the myth the main characters are *Mem* who was the son of Kurdish ruler and *Zin* who was the daughter of *Cizre* principal *Mir Ezin*. According to the myth, when these two reached their teenagehood, both of them saw each other in their dreams and they fell in love with each other in their dreams. When they got up, they found marriage rings on their fingers, which were put on in their dreams. Based on their dreams, *Mem* abandoned his country in order to find *Zin* (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol.15-16, pp71-72).

It is narrated in the issue that even though *Meme Alan* is a classical love story, it also involved the lives of principals and stories about the oppressed people. It is explored that this story gained new characteristics as time went by. For example, it is stated that *durbin* was integrated into the epic after a while. *Durbin* is defined as getting the certificate of ownership through paying money. It is pointed out that such kind of a situation can be possible only with the introduction of capitalist system (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol.15-16, p.74). So, *durbin* was integrated into the story later.

In the narration of *Meme Alan*, another subject that is carried in the front is three brothers of the epic. An interpretation is made about these brothers in the issue and by criticizing the myth. It is stated that even though these three brothers had active roles in the group of landowners, they also represented the braveness, sacrifice and hospitability of typical Kurdish characteristics (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol.15-16, p.73). The writers of the issue frame the epic by putting forward the roles of three brothers through underlying their braveness, sacrifice and hospitability in which Kurdish characteristics are targeted to be stressed.

Another example for the introduction of Kurdish cultural characteristics in the construction of Kurdishness in the journal is examined by the story of Kurdish writer Ereb Şemo. In the art and literature section of the issue 28 with the

heading of *Head Scarf of the Kurdish Woman*, a true story of Şemo's life is introduced.

According to the story; Şemo's father decided to work in a village, which were composed of two tribes. Before all Şemo family left their own village, the old neighbors warned Şemo's father about the enmity between these two tribes. Şemo's father replied to this warning by stating that antagonism between the Kurds has been existing for centuries. That's why in all our folk songs and stories, hostility between the Kurds is one of the main subjects. I will move to that village for shepherding not for enmity. After Ereb Şemo and his family moved to that village because of laundry, fight between two tribes occurred. As a result of the triggering violence, the mother of Ereb Şemo threw her head scarf in the middle of the ground where the fighting was occurring. In such kind of clashes between the tribes, if a woman from any of the clashing tribe acts like this, then this is seen as an indignity. That's why there is need for an outsider woman to end the fight through throwing her head scarf between the conflicting tribes (Özgürlük Yolu, 1977, Vol.28, pp.74-76).

By this story, cultural elements and characteristics of Kurdish society is introduced to the reader. The readers are trying to be made aware of the main aspects of the Kurdish culture. As Smith (2009) indicates that cultural elements of symbol, myth, memory, value, ritual and tradition are significant components that give the meaning to ethnicity. That's why emphasis on the cultural characteristics through stories have a crucial place in the discourse construction in the process of re-invention of culture.

In the framing of Kurdish ethnic nationalism, as it is indicated before, culture is used as a significant constituent. Discourse on Kurdishness is constructed by the use of cultural constituents. Therefore in the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), under the art and literature section, the pieces are selected specifically from Kurdish writers and all subjects are about the Kurdish culture. It is observed that the main aim is to make Kurdish culture visible. All the subjects in

the sections of art and literature are given first in Kurdish and then in Turkish. In the below, examples from the cultural constituents that are used in the construction of discourse on Kurdishness are given;

The first known Kurdish poet is Baba Tahir. He is from Lur Kurds. He lived in between the years of 935-1010. He is not only known as the oldest Kurdish poet but also he was the beginning of the progressive, populist Kurdish poem tradition. Baba Tahir did not only know the Kurdish dialects of Lur, Sorani and Kurmanci but also knew the Arabic and Persian languages. (Issue 43, p.69)

Ahmadi Hani lived in the 17th century. He wrote his pieces not in Arabic or Persian as the other bards of his period; he wrote his pieces in Kurdish. The most significant aspect of Hani was his reaction against the conditions of divided Kurdistan, the backwardness and the captivity of the Kurdish people. In his discourse, patriotism was the main subject. By these aspects, Hani became the source of and symbol of patriotism. (Issue 43, pp.70-71)

In the issue 10, two poems by Ciğexwin who was a Kurdish poet are given place, which are about *Newroz*. Before poems, information about *Newroz* is given. It is stated that;

Newroz is the traditional Kurdish feast. It is indicated that the meaning of *Newroz* is new day. The day of *Newroz*, every Kurd wears their most beautiful clothes, goes to rural areas or to waterfronts. They celebrate this feast by singing local songs and dancing. The night of *Newroz*, they start big fires in the top of hills. Besides Kurds, now *Newroz* is started to be celebrated by the other nation's people such as Iran. (Issue 10, p.63)

By the introduction of *Newroz* as the traditional Kurdish feast, *Newroz* is used as a collective cultural constituent, which facilitate the recalling of the collective memory.

In a poem, which is shared in the issue 10, it is stated that for the welcoming of the *Newroz*; let all the boys and girls wear their new clothes in Kurdistan (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol.10, p.65). As a cultural stock, *Newroz* is narrated that the actions of the people are shaped collectively such as wearing new clothes, gathering together, dancing and jumping over fire. Additionally, with the maintenance of a collective memory, collective action is framed for specific kind of people who are identified through being Kurd and living in *Kurdistan*.

With the issue 10, it is observed that collectivity of the Kurdish people is narrated by the use of cultural constituents through myths. In the poem, which has the heading *Who am I?* it is indicated that;

My ancestor is blacksmith Kawa
He crushed the head of Dehhak
He broke the chain from Kurd's neck
He protected our head from the sword
When the day the tyrant, the bloodsucker died
It is the day of Newroz
Winter and the all bitter days go away and
The Kurds are freed. (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol. 10, p.69)

In this poem, analogical connection is made in between *Newroz*, the myth of Kawa and freedom of the Kurds. With the myth of Kawa, the collective memory is recalled, and it evokes the past in the present by *Newroz*. Additionally, future is framed by the freedom of Kurds. By this way, on every March 21 past is reminded in the current time by celebrating Nawruz as a feast.

In the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), with the introduction of Kurdish cultural aspects in the construction of a new understanding about Kurdishness according to the conditions of the present time, re-interpretation of the cultural aspects is established especially by the use of past cultural practices through integrating and re-inventing them to the supported ideology. In this discursive construction process, it is observed that Kurdish cultural practices from the past are specifically used.

In the examination of the discourse construction process, similarities between *Baro-Dan*, *Sere-Pez* and *Newroz*, which are defined as the traditional feasts are observed with the examination of the cultural practices of *Baro-Dan*, *Sere-Pez* and *Newroz*. The connection based on similarities of the cultural practices of these feasts reveals a concrete example for how a culture is re-invented and how a new discourse can be constructed on this re-interpreted culture. These three feasts are defined that they are celebrated based on welcoming the spring.

In the art and literature section of issue 11, *Sere-Pez* and *Baro-Dan* are introduced from the book of *Ereb Şemo*. *Sere-Pez* and *Baro-Dan* are narrated as;

Kurds have herds and they live in the mountains, which are rich in herbs. When the season turns into spring, Kurdish villages liven up. The head of nomad group organize the people for the fest. According to the customs, when the herbs reach the folds and start to give births, then every Kurd who has good economic conditions sacrifices a sheep or a goat and give a huge buffet to everyone. After the meal, songs are sung, and they danced the *halay*. This feast is named as *Sere-Pez*. After lambs get stronger and after the snow melts, then start of the day of *Baro-Dan* is announced by the head of nomad groups. With this announcement the transition of the herds from folds to tablelands starts. One week before this day, everyone gets ready for the festive. In the early times of the feast day, everyone gets dressed in their festive clothes. Especially, Kurdish girls wear colorful and fancy dresses and wear nose rings. Also, Kurds put festive accessories on their goats. This ceremony is organized twice in a year, one is in the spring, the other is in the autumn. It should not be forgotten that all the wealth of the nomadic Kurds is their herds. That's why, going to plateaus and returning from the plateaus are the turning points of the nomadic Kurds in their lives. Hence, nomadic Kurds celebrate *Baro-Dan* enthusiastically. (Issue 11, pp.73-79)

In the journal, while narrating Kurdish cultural traits, idioms are also introduced. It is noticed that there is an idiom; *bi agir* which is defined as taking an oath on fire. It is observed that fire has a special place in Kurdish cultural characteristics and practices. A connection between making a fire in *Newroz* in the re-contextualization of it from borrowing *Sere-Pez* and *Baro-Dan* and idioms that are about fire imply the re-construction of culture through generations.

After the examination of the feasts; *Sere-Pez*, *Baro-Dan* and *Newroz*, it is observed that Kurdish nomadic entities' traditional cultural practices from *Baro-Dan* and *Sere-Pez* were integrated into *Newroz* and *Newroz* is re-defined by the incorporation of the myth of the blacksmith of *Kawa*. As a cultural practice of jumping over fire in *Newroz* and the interpretation of this cultural practice as a symbol for the resistance and a step to reach freedom emphasize the re-interpretation of the culture. Lighting a fire in the feasts for welcoming the spring, which was a cultural act gains a political meaning, by the integration of resistance framing in the meaning making of the Nawruz to *Newroz*.

In the discursive construction of Kurdishness, re-invention of the culture is seen in the use of analogy. A poem named as “The Mommy” that was written by *Eskere Boyik* in 1972, who was introduced as a Kurdish poet in the issues of 33-34’s section of art and literature, it is emphasized that;

My folk songs are uncolored as the mountains because there is not a
Kurdish leader at the helm
For centuries the Kurd got used to the mountains; its difficulties,
challenges
And the Kurd addicted to freedom
Based on the cruelty of the period, being apart from the tyranny, the Kurd
was at the mountains
Kurdish mountains are supreme
Hey the Kurd! Hold your head up in our protective mountains
In this way, the mountains will tell you; “Hey the son! Our breast milk is
blessed for you
I know that *Kurdistan* will be saved
Kurdistan will have the freedom flag
I know *Kurdistan* will be saved
The sun will be its pen
The eye of the world will be on it
I know *Kurdistan* will be saved
The son of Kurd will be its hero
Either it will be today or tomorrow
I know *Kurdistan* will be saved. (Issue 33-34, pp.78-81)

In the poem, an analogy is maintained between mother and mountains. Mountains are figured as a mother. Metaphor of being in a mountain is used to evoke the feeling of being free. Being in a mountain and being free are connected together, metaphorically. As a place, mountain is used as the symbol of freedom. In another part of the journal, the analogy is made between faith and mountains.

We have our faith and mountains. (Issue 33-34, p.66)

An analogical connection is made between the faith and the mountains to evoke the conceptualization of freedom. Freedom is narrated by the symbolic representation of the mountains. Additionally, mountains are symbolized as mothers. With the narration of the mountains with the conceptualization of faith,

the message is tried to be conveyed by reaching to freedom. In this discourse strategy, it is observed that in the present time, future is projected.

When the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) is examined, it is observed as fire; mountains have a crucial symbolic place in Kurdish culture. Freedom conceptualization is made by the use of mountains as a symbol as it is maintained in fire conceptualization symbolically. Additionally, winter and spring have symbolic values in Kurdish cultural traits. Winter represents poverty and harshness, while spring represents the welcoming of the good days. Therefore, freedom is also attached to the spring.

In the examination of the journal, it is revealed that in the discourse strategy, with the re-invention of culture in the framing of Kurdish ethnic nationalism, political constituents are integrated into cultural aspects. In the issue 35, there is a writing which is named as *21st of March: The Day of Struggle against Racism and Newroz*. Under this title, it is stated that in 1960 in South Africa, during a protest, 69 black people were killed by racists and this murder had a broad repercussion all over the world and as a result, 21st of March was declared as the day of struggle against racism (Özgürlük Yolu, 1978-1979, Vol.35, p.62). After this section with a sub-heading it is stated that;

Kurdish people are under heavy racist oppression; it is no doubt that one of the nations that is under heavy racist oppression composes from the Kurdish people. The country of Kurdish people is divided between some of states and they lack the primitive national and democratic rights. In these countries, even naming a person as a Kurd is forbidden. The Kurd is wanted to be transformed into a Turk in Turkey, an Arab in Syria and Iraq and a Persian in Iran. These countries slaughtered Kurds many times just because Kurdish people resisted for their freedom. The reason for these racist policies is because of exploiting Kurdistan. Kurdistan is a fertile land with its natural resources. In order to exploit the resources of Kurdistan, Kurdish people have to be dominated and enslaved. For many years in Turkey, services such as roads, hospitals and schools were not established in Kurdistan. The capitalism was developed in Turkey, more the interests about this region focused on exploitation. Schools were opened not for the development of Kurdish culture but for the assimilation of the Kurdish people. However, the plans did not go according to the desires of the chauvinistic bourgeoisie. Now in these schools, Kurdish people's national democratic powers are raised. (Issue 35, pp.64-66)

With the celebration day of *Newroz*, the day of *Struggle against Racism* are connected together by being on the same day, 21st of March. As it can be seen that cultural constituents are integrated with political elements and they are re-invented. In other words, re-invention of the cultural aspects is constructed by the use of political constituents. Re-invention of *Newroz* by putting forward the resistance conceptualization in the celebration of the feast is strengthened by the integration of racism conceptualization.

Another thing that makes March of 21st more valuable for our people; it is the day of struggle against racism, as well. According to the myth, there was a bully king named *Dehak* who held Kurdish people under tyranny. Eventually, Kurdish people with the leadership of blacksmith *Kawa* revolted against *Dehak*. *Kawa* killed *Dehak* with its hammer by crushing the head of him, and Kurdish people got their freedom. The feast of *Newroz* is celebrated when the winter ends and spring comes. By welcoming of the spring, leaving behind the harsh days of winter is celebrated through the enthusiasm of spring that means the beginning of the good days. Kurdish people unified the welcoming of spring with the myth and maintained *Newroz* as the symbol of freedom and the passion for salvation. *Newroz* has been celebrated traditionally by Kurdish people for centuries. Today, in every part of Kurdistan, during the celebrations of *Newroz*, various kinds of entertainment are organized. Besides, fires are made, and colorful dresses are put on and people gathered together in the rural areas and around the water resources. This year (1978), again on March 21, in Turkey, revolutionist and democratic powers gathered together in order to represent their solidarity with the people who are under racist oppression. (Issue 35, pp.66-67)

In the examination of the journal, it is revealed that in the discourse strategy of the journal, traditional Kurdish cultural characteristics are re-invented and re-interpreted with the attachment of political meanings to cultural constituents and a discourse is constructed on Kurdish ethnic nationalism. In the discursive construction of Kurdishness, political constituents such as resistance, struggle, racism, emancipation, and independence are used frequently. In this construction process, with the introduction of Kurdish ethnic nationalism, discursive moral orders/values are developed as well. One of the prominent moral values is established on forming unity.

Being united under the *Kurdistan* national unity for each Kurdish person is framed as the denominator of the willingness and self-sacrifice of the Kurds who

want to take revenge from the enemy who victimized them. Hence, moral values are constructed on Kurdistan National Unity. Being the right and the good is accredited to the Kurds who act according to the criteria of the *Kurdistan* national unity.

A folk who is exploited, dominated linguistically and culturally receded, whose natural resources are depredated will naturally react to these injustices, stand together and do anything for its country to save it from exploitation, get rid of the feudal divisions and obscurantism. (Issue 5, pp.15-16)

It is elaborated that the moral values around the formation of unity should be established on the basis of resistance against exploitation and injustices. Discursive construction of moral values is observed in the framing of *Mem-u Zin*, which is a popular epic of Kurdish culture in the part of art and literature section of the 12th issue. In the framing of this epic, it is observed that cultural characteristics of Kurdish people are underlined by national signifiers. *Mem-u Zin* is narrated with the heading of *The Worldview in Mem-u Zin*. It was redacted by Kurdish bard Ahmedi Hani in 1695. He redacted *Mem-u Zin* from *Meme Alan* epic, which was orally told among Kurdish people. In this way, *Meme Alan* gains a new dimension with its redaction as *Mem-u Zin* that reached today. In the journal, it is stated that the epic of *Mem-u Zin* has variations according to districts but its main frame remains the same (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol.12, pp.67-68).

According to the journal, the reason behind the production of *Mem-u Zin* did not only come from the passion for literature but also from the dependent livings of Kurdish people in bad conditions. It is stated that Hani wrote this epic for reacting against the oppression, malignancy and dependency conditions of Kurdish people. It is stressed that epic bards are not disconnected people from their societies, but they are idealists.

Epic bards are defined as the cultural transmitters who stand against the rulers who are described as the obstacles to the happiness of the people. In the journal,

it is claimed that the rebellion characteristic of Ahmedi Hani is seen in all his pieces. In the journal it is declared that in *Mem-u Zin*, Hani stresses his desire for the independence of Kurdish people and the need for a leader. It is emphasized that Hani implies that the problems of people who are not free cannot be solved and therefore their cultures will not be appreciated.

In the journal, it is noted that Hani stresses the need for monetizing, which is defended as a crucial contribution to reaching independence. It is argued that; in the piece of Hani, he elaborates the braveness and other merits of his people and criticizes how Kurdish people cannot get rid of dependence in spite of their merits (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol.12, pp.68-69).

It is indicated that Hani shows the way for independence according to the conditions of his period, which is defined by sharp sword. It is narrated that according to Hani, even though there are a lot of brave people among Kurds, the reason why Kurds cannot get rid of dependence is because of lack of solidarity. In the journal, it is stressed that even though most of the poets wrote in Arabic and Persian in his period, Ahmedi Hani wrote in Kurdish. It is elaborated that Hani's literature is the reflection of his national feelings. According to the journal, the real bards are not only the ones who share the bitterness of their people but also the ones who get into action for their people (Özgürlük Yolu, 1976, Vol.12, pp.68-70).

In order to be convincing in the framing, in the journal an interview with a Kurdish bard Cegerxwin is introduced. Questions are framed based on the narration of *Kurdistan*. In the framing of the interview, the message is shaped based on the idea that the bards who are the cultural transmitters have also political duties. An extract from the interview is represented below;

Q: What are your advices to the poets of *Kurdistan*?

A: I want the poets of *Kurdistan* to fight against the inner and outer enemies and work for to wake up our people.

Q: What is your opinion about the past and present of *Kurdistan*? We also declare that Kurdistan is a colony. What do you think about this?

A: As you know that our country is an arena where the emperors, feudal lords and tyrants have existed for thousands of years. The feudal lords of *Kurdistan* accepted the domination of the tyrants while they were also oppressing the impoverished Kurds. I think the same as your opinion about *Kurdistan* that it is a colony. It is of course a colony. All our natural resources, our language and everything we have are taken from our hands through cruelty. (Issue 44, pp.54-55)

When all the 44 issues of the *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) are analyzed, it is observed that from 1975 and the 5th issue on, the emphasis on the territory as a separate entity, the emphasis on its resources separately, linguistic and cultural aspects started to be elaborated. It is detected that with the start of the 5th issue and the continuation of the other issues, construction of discursive moral orders and values are established on the basis of the conceptualizations of us vs. them and being united.

Ideological divisions create organizational divisions. Hence creating a unity should not be understood as gathering everyone in an unprincipled way. Unity can be achieved by struggling against the wrong ideas ideologically. (Issue 5, p.27)

The Iranian tyrants and imperialists will not prevent their own destruction and the victory of the Iranian people. (Issue 6, pp.79-80)

A crucial point in the construction of the discourse space, the inner and outer groups is conceptualized on the basis of time space. In the framing strategy apart from identifying the enemy and the outer group, also the present time conditions and space are identified through specific naming and labeling constituents.

How can democracy be achieved in Turkey while racist-chauvinistic oppression and cruelty over the people in the East has been continuing? (Issue 13-14, p.27)

For years, the bloodiest murders that had been put in practice in our universities turned these educational places into the spaces that no freedom of education could be possible. (Issue 26, p.83)

Turkey is a country of political murders and tortures. (Issue 31-32, p.26)

In the maintenance of the discourse space, it is observed that future is used as another crucial constituent. It is detected that the future is projected through the promise of the victory and the destruction of the defined enemy.

Against the alliance of imperialists and feudal entities, our people's revolutionist and democrats should create consciousness in the masses by aiming to maintain the unity of the masses in a revolutionist democratic line. (Issue 27, p.58)

The bourgeoisie was always afraid from Kurdish people because it grabbed the rights of Kurdish people. It exploited the natural resources of Kurdish country. It turned *Kurdistan* into a colony by trying to annihilate the culture and language of Kurdish people. The bourgeoisie slaughtered and exiled Kurdish people and therefore it is aware of those crimes. Hence, it has right to be afraid from Kurdish people. However, cowards die many times before their deaths. In spite of exiles, slaughters, massacres, the struggle of Kurdish people could not be eliminated. Today in *Kurdistan* there are thousands of people who gain the consciousness and fight for their national and democratic rights. Kurdish people will obtain their rights by fighting. (Issue 28, pp.78-79)

From the Ottoman period until today, the racist tyranny over our people has been perpetually continuing. The publication in Kurdish and education in its mother tongue has never been allowed. A Kurdish book or text is always evaluated as dangerous as an atomic bomb. While hegemon powers reinforce the colonial structure of *Kurdistan*, they suppress the resistance of Kurdish people bloodily and do their best in order to annihilate the language and culture of Kurdish people. Such kind of a racist domination can hardly be seen in any colony. (Issue 29, p.49)

The racist, assimilationist education system which prevents the use of mother tongue is anti-democratic. Therefore, Kurdish youth react against this educational system. The Kurdish youth is getting bigger as masses and they are becoming politicized day by day. They want to end the oppression on Kurdish people's language and culture. (Issue 33-34, p.47)

The Kurdish youth has to struggle against the tyranny without forgetting how the main solution will be attained by combining their powers with the revolutionist and democratic powers. The youth movement should be saved from the destructive fascist dominance and terror. The places that make fascism possible should be eliminated. (Issue 33-34, pp.47-48)

In the establishment of the discourse space, in the specification of the inner group, Kurdish youth is explicitly identified. It is observed that a defined special duty is given to the Kurdish youth and based on the defined responsibilities of the youth, discursive moral values are framed especially for them.

We think that the pioneer of the freedom struggle in Iraqi *Kurdistan* should be the Kurdish people and revolutionists who will organize and lead this struggle. Being against this obscurantist powers is not only the duty of the revolutionists in Iraqi *Kurdistan* but also this is the duty of all progressive and revolutionist powers in all over the other parts of *Kurdistan*. (Issue 35, p.4)

4.4.2. Narration of Violence in the Re-invention of Culture

It is observed that moral orders and values are framed based on the conceptualization of the subject of the 'duty'. In the projection of values and in their positioning and classification, it is noticed that violence is used as a constituent. It is detected that the selection of the words that are related to violence varies according to the preference of the word. Therefore, in order to reveal the discursive strategy of the journal in the selection of the words that are related to violence; words are classified as words that are evocative of violence, words including violence and words that are directly about violence. For example;

Fatma Bernavi did not only get respect and admiration of the Arab world by putting a bomb in a Zionist cinema but also by her rare bravery that she represented in the court. (Issue 5, p.63)

Sister Şehik Taha was carrying some explosive substances to an underground guerilla group. While she was carrying the explosives in her purse, and was six months pregnant, she got caught and put into a prison where there were Jewish women because of their immoral behaviors. Those Jewish women undressed Sister Şehik Taha in front of the Jewish soldiers and beat her, especially by kicking her stomach and extinguishing cigarette on her body. (Issue 5, p.64)

These statements and their messages are directly related to violence. Using violence is referred as an acceptable way for the representation of one's or people's self.

1968 was the year when the struggle of the Palestinian women turned into a mass struggle. This year was the same year when the Palestinian women started to join the guerilla groups and to take training from these guerilla groups. (Issue 5, pp.63-64)

In this statement, with the emphasis on mass struggle and guerilla groups, violence is evocated.

We are all self-sacrifiers. (Issue 5, p.65)

The first military training center was opened for the Palestinian girls in 1968. Those girls who started to get military training in 1968 made their first attack in 1970 against Israeli soldiers with machine guns and explosive devices. (Issue 5, p.66)

With such kinds of narrations, use of violence is tried to be legitimized. By the framing of self-sacrificing heroism is recalled. Hence, in the conceptualization of violence; violence and heroism are analogically connected.

Freedom is the right of all people as it is the right of the Kurdish people. Hence, can the Kurdish people be accused because of waging a just war? (Issue 6, p.9)

Even the quality and existence of the Baas Party cannot illegitimate the just struggle of Kurdish people for their national rights. Because even though this party is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, it follows a racist, chauvinistic, cruelty policy towards the Kurdish people and it does not recognize the national rights of the Kurdish people. Hence Kurdish people are righteous in their national salvation war. (Issue 7, p.43)

The use of violence is justified through the narration of 'waging a just war'. By this way, the violence conceptualization that is constructed on struggle and resistance is carried on to the level of a war.

The racist and fascist groups aim to oppress the wake up of our people through bloody plans. (Issue 6, pp.82-83)

The women were even strip searched. They were dishonored while the other villagers were beaten and the place turned into a battlefield. (Issue 6, p.83)

All the pressures that are made towards the whole working class and proletariat bring up the duties of the progressive, revolutionist and democratic patriots in emergency in that period. (Issue 6, p.85)

The hegemon classes get used to implementing their traditional pressure, assimilation and mass genocides towards our people. (Issue 6, p.86)

The Baghdadi government terrorized Kurdish people. It exiled three hundred and thousand Kurdish villagers to the deserts, and thousands of Kurds were sent

to concentration camps, jailed and slaughtered. All this terror could not breach the Kurdish resistance. Moreover, new armed resistances were started as a result of these oppressions. As a result, the partisan war started in all over Iraqi *Kurdistan*. (Issue 35, p.3)

It is noticed that the conceptualization of the violence is constructed on the discourse of the persistence of a constant threat. Furthermore, this constant threat is strengthened by the framing of being always under threat and, creating the endurance of the constant threat. This framing strategy is used for the justification of the use of violence.

Against the threat of genocide, all progressive, revolutionist and democratic groups should act in solidarity. (Issue 6, p.86)

The terror of the gendarmerie in the East reaches the level of massacre and assimilation threats. (Issue 7, p.9)

The security forces in the East normalized their oppression and cruelty. The subjects on racist-chauvinistic and assimilationist in the school books are widened, and genocide on Kurdish people was started and torture reached its peak. (Issue 25, p.52)

It is observed that in the discursive construction of the threat understanding, concepts such as massacre and assimilation are used specifically. There is not a defined action of massacre and assimilation but it is defined that there is the threat of an action that has the potential to carry the qualification of a massacre or assimilation. These two concepts are framed as in every kind of actions of the defined enemy, and they have the intent to assimilate or slaughter. In this way, threat perception is kept constantly alive.

Struggle and fighting are framed as the ways to reach progress that makes the advancement possible. Additionally, the only possible way to reach national independence is narrated as struggle. In the definition of the struggle, it is stated that there are armed and unarmed methods. The message is narrated as in the defined necessary conditions that violence can be used.

The people who struggle for their national independence can resist against the deceptions and armed attacks of the imperialists and obscurants through either armed or unarmed methods. (Issue 9, p.27)

The motivation and the struggle of the people who have weapons and fight for their freedom cannot be defeated. (Issue 18, p.43)

The reason for the occurrence of individual terrorism is because of the tyranny of the obscurantist classes. (Issue 33-34, p.45)

With issue 7, it is observed that use of violence is started to be framed on the basis of legitimization. This legitimization base for the use of violence is described as being a dominated/oppressed nation. Then, in the narration of the legitimization, the peaceful and violent ways are identified. After that, the qualification of the armed struggle is described.

Imperialists underestimate the dominated nations' history, language, art and all the progressive cultural assets in order to passivize the national struggle of the dominated nations. This strategy prevents the development of national language, culture and art, which becomes an obstacle against the progress of the social development. (Issue 7, p.27)

The pressure on the language and culture, and the underestimation of the national values lead to the resistance of the dominated nation. (Issue 7, pp.27-28)

Kurdish people's national salvation war is an interesting example for this struggle. It is obvious that the Kurdish people who live in Iraqi *Kurdistan* are under national oppression. Hence their struggle for national freedom is natural. (Issue 7, pp.42-43)

Kurdish national war in Iraq was a great motivation source for bloodily suppressed Kurdish people. Therefore, Kurds in the other sections of *Kurdistan* followed this war carefully by supporting it. (Issue 19, p.21)

In this way resistance is narrated as a need and legitimated action towards the domination.

The essential step for a nation that is under the oppression of another nation is the national liberation step. The masses can only gather together around the purpose of salvation. (Issue 7, p.28)

It is natural for an oppressed nation to nourish hatred against the dominated nation, which carries out exploitation, domination and pressure. (Issue 7, p.38)

Hatred is legitimized, normalized and motivated through the definition of the other as an enemy. Hence by this discourse, action that can include violence towards the enemy in order to protect the in-group is justified. This justification understanding is conceptualized through the concept of revolutionist struggle.

It is known that armed struggle is one of the ways of the revolutionist struggle. Armed struggle is not used everywhere and every time. However, in the case of necessity and obligation, armed struggle becomes the optional way. That's why the importance of armed struggle should not be underestimated or exaggerated. (Issue 11, p.34)

According to scientific socialist doctrine, it is stated that transition to socialism can be both peaceful and violent. Every revolutionist party will decide its way, either peaceful or violent, according to their conditions in their countries. (Issue 11, p.49)

The people's wars against exploitation, imperialism and national independence are legitimate wars. (Issue 11, p.49)

With the lead of Barzani, Kurdish people's independence movement was a legitimate movement and today it still is. The powers that Barzani fought against were racists, and the ones who did not recognize the democratic and national rights of the Kurdish people. (Issue 11, p.81)

It is natural for a community, which is under national dominance and has been exploited for centuries to react against cruelty and exploitation in various ways. (Issue 26, p.17)

In the construction of the discourse space, it is observed that the revolutionist struggle is conceptualized by the identification of good vs. bad nationalism. In the examination of the journal, it is observed that nationalism is defined by making a categorization between good nationalism and bad nationalism. Good nationalism is defined by being against tyrants, imperialists and the ones who are defined negatively or who are in the group of the other. Bad nationalism is defined by the nationalism understanding of the hegemon powers.

It is not enough to have only hatred and rage against the exploitation and oppression. Emotions do not carry out the communities to the success alone. The way to reach success can be possible with conscious and methodological struggle, knowing the enemy and the friends well. (Issue 7, p.38)

With the framing of the revolutionist path, the narration of mass movement, struggle and resistance conceptualizations are transmitted to attack/action.

The struggle of Kurdish youth entered into a revolutionist path. (Issue 19, p.21)

Revolutionists should determine the time and place of attacks themselves. The initiative should be in their hands. The aim of attack should be calculated smartly. If there is the possibility for getting into a disadvantaged position because of an attack, then the attack should be cancelled. The attack should not be made at any cost. (Issue 19, pp.61-62)

In the analysis of the construction of the discourse space, two methods of analysis will help to elaborate how the ideas, messages and symbols are conveyed to the readers systematically. One is temporal and epistemic proximization and the other is storyline formation, which is analyzed through the constituents of positions, social force and consequence. These constituents reveal how an idea and conceptualization are constructed. In the next section, with these two methods of CDA, in the process of discourse construction, what kind of a meaning-making on Kurdishness is established will be revealed.

4.4.3. Construction Process of Kurdishness

In this section, with two methods of CDA; epistemic-temporal proximization and storyline formation, the discourse construction process is analyzed. Additionally, with the use of Maxqda software technique, statistical data is examined in order to elaborate with the mostly used words, how the discourse construction process is maintained. With the use of two method of analysis; CDA and Maxqda, it is also aimed to reveal what the word and numbers tell together in the discourse construction process.

In the journal, it is observed that especially in the construction of the time space; past and future are used specifically. Past events are carried on to the present under the purpose of the establishment of a collective memory in the present and

for the projection of a future. Additionally, ideas and actions of the people are targeted by this method in the formation of a collective memory and action.

In the analysis of the temporal and epistemic proximization; the meaning of the time space is strengthened by supportive words and sentences, which are established to conceptualize the idea as epistemic. There are two types of temporal proximization, which are past-oriented and future-oriented. With the use of past-oriented and future-oriented proximization, a situation or event starting in the past is construed as still occurring (Hart, 2014).

By using temporal proximization as a method, epistemic modality is formed by connecting the framing with the reality (Hart, 2014). With this method, in the meaning making of the present time, past and future are used. How temporal and epistemic proximization are used in *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) in the construction of discourse space are revealed in the examples below. Examples are represented according to their themes.

Theme 1. Emphasis on Future

In the discourse construction process on Kurdishness in the journal, it is observed that emphasis on future has a significant place. Future is framed as promissory.

1. We have the faith for an undefeated future.

epistemic

temporal

2. This area is totally becoming close to these groups that they cannot dare to enter

epistemic

these regions because our people are getting more awareness about the purposes of these fascist groups and they will not give them any chance to live in the East.

temporal

3. The struggle of our people will continue in a revolutionist path.

epistemic

temporal

4. The future will continue with the defeat of the tyrants and the
victory of the oppressed people.

temporal

epistemic

5. Our people's unstoppable revolutionist and democratic struggle
will end all pressure and exploitation for sure.

temporal

epistemic

6. In the last quarter of the 20th century, Kurdish nation will break

epistemic

temporal

the chains of captivity and will become a free, democratic, peaceful
and developing society.

temporal

Theme 2. Emphasis on Violence

Violence is narrated as an action that has been acted towards Kurdish people continuously. Violence is framed on the basis of racism, fascism, terror, cruelty, oppression, torture, exploitation, discrimination, elimination, tyranny, segregation, genocide, rage, hatred and animosity. Another significant discourse strategy in the framing of violence is with the emphasis on the out-group's actions and actions of the in-group that include violence is legitimized.

7. Exploitation and cruelty over our people in the East are

epistemic

violently endured.

temporal

8. The thing that shapes the backwardness of the East is the
 epistemic
ongoing racist, chauvinist and discriminatory policies towards
 temporal
 the people of the region.
9. Fascists make their attacks constantly in a planned effort in
 order to eliminate temporal epistemic
 crucial resistance points of revolutionist and democratic powers.
10. The fascist terror in the East and especially the last incidents in
 epistemic temporal
 Diyarbakır indicate the importance of anti-fascist struggle of
 our people.
11. However these cruelty, oppression and torture will reinforce the
 epistemic temporal
solidarity of our people.
12. Frustration that is the result of centuries because of the
 temporal
 domination and cruelty
generates rage, hatred and animosity towards the ruling nation.
 epistemic
13. It seems that bloody events and provocations will increase.
 epistemic temporal

14. Beginning in the Ottoman period until today the racist tyranny over our people has been continuing perpetually.

temporal

epistemic

15. Turkish government committed the genocide more than once
against Kurdish people.

temporal

epistemic

16. Since the Ottoman Empire period, hegemon powers have been
pursuing segregationist policies toward Kurdish people.

temporal

epistemic

Theme 3. Kurdistan

In the framing of *Kurdistan*, promissory future is used with the words that carry expressions of certainty. *Kurdistan* is framed especially on the basis of its backwardness. In the discourse space construction, *Kurdistan* is used to concretize the imagined country and future is established on this imagination.

17. The exploitation and cruelty that have been continuing for
centuries, rebellions, wars, expels turned Kurdistan into
economic wreckage.

temporal

epistemic

18. In *Kurdistan*, for a long period, infrastructure such as
electricity, road and hospital was not established.

temporal

epistemic

19. The hegemon classes in Turkey get used to blood because Kurdistan is their colony.

epistemic

epistemic

20. The national movement of Kurdish people will endure until it reaches the goal of autonomy to *Kurdistan*.

epistemic

temporal

21. It is no doubt that there is a national front in *Kurdistan*

epistemic

revolution.

With the analysis of epistemic and temporal proximization, it is found that violence is framed on the basis of the conceptualizations of exploitation, cruelty, suffering, racism, chauvinism, discriminatory policies, tyranny, oppression, fascist terror and attacks, which are defined with enduring, perpetually, constantly, ongoing and continuing. In this way, perception of threat is constructed on the basis of perpetuity temporally in which time is specified and epistemically in which the reality perception is conveyed. Events are defined with blood, murder and genocide.

Construction of the perception of threat on the basis of permanence is used as the legitimate base for the existence of frustration, rage, distrust, hatred and animosity of Kurdish people. These emotional definitions are defined for the identification of the actions. These actions are identified as revolutionist struggle, natural fight for national and democratic rights, demand of freedom and national movement of Kurdish people.

Construction of emotions and actions are used for the description of a future. Future is defined as undefeated for Kurdish people, the victory of the oppressed people, unstoppable revolutionist and democratic struggle of the Kurdish people,

and breaking the chains of Kurdish nation's captivity. As it is seen, future is framed as promissory.

The second analysis method for examining the discursive construction of the journal is to determine what kind of a storyline formation is established. By the storyline formation, it becomes possible to reveal how specific ideas are conceptualized, represented, supported and legitimized. In the analysis of storyline; who the subjects are and how they are positioned should be determined. What kind of a social force is defined and what consequences about the defined situation from the represented idea/event is deducted should be identified. How the ideas, events and situations are defined and interpreted with the use of this method will be revealed according to their themes below.

Theme 1. Feudalism/Tribalism

With the analysis of the storyline, it is observed that feudalism and tribalism are framed as obstacles in front of democratic and progressive powers. Feudality and tribalism are narrated as enemies. By the identification of the enemy, we-ness in the targeted community is tried to be established. Feudalism and tribalism are narrated as the main problems in the formation of national unity.

1. **Storyline:** By creating conflicts between tribes, dominant powers aim to prevent the revolutionist, progressive, democratic powers' solidarity. The ignorant, poor and naïve people follow these conflicts as parts of them and become means of these problems. They cannot get rid of the conservative and primitive bonds of tribalism.

Positions: Dominant powers aim to prevent the solidarity of revolutionist, progressive and democratic powers.

Ignorant, poor and naive people are victims.

Social Force: Defining tribalism as a problem.

Consequence: As a result of tribalism, solidarity between revolutionist, progressive and democratic powers is prevented.

2. **Storyline:** Kurdish feudality is the main enemy of Kurdish people. Even though some of them participated in the national movements and represented a patriarchal attitude, this class is one of the main obstacles in front of the Kurdish people's freedom struggle. The Kurdish obscurantists have been exploiting and tyrannizing our people with the imperialists. Kurdish feudality has been trying to distort the Kurdish national movement, but taking them into consideration cannot invalidate our people's legitimate demands.

Positions: Kurdish feudality is the main enemy.

Kurdish people are exploited and tyrannized.

Social Force: Defining the enemy.

Legitimizing the demands.

Consequence: Kurdish feudality is an enemy because they try to distort Kurdish national movement.

3. **Storyline:** The exploitative government is aware of the role of the sheikhs, religious figures and tribal chieftains. These powers create divisions between Kurdish people, and in this way dominate them by injecting a backward, mystical and submissive worldview. This delays the creation of national consciousness in Kurdish people, and prevents the maintenance of national unity. That's why; tribal and sectarian conflicts are kept alive in *Kurdistan* by exploitative powers.

Positions: Government is exploitative

Sheiks, religious figures and tribal chieftains create divisions and conflicts.

Kurdish people are dominated.

Social Force: Tribal and sectarian conflicts are kept alive in *Kurdistan* by exploitative powers.

Consequence: Tribal and sectarian conflicts delay the creation of national consciousness in Kurdish people and prevent the maintenance of national unity.

Theme 2. Discrimination/Backwardness

With the examination of the storyline on the subjects of discrimination and backwardness, it is noticed that as the social force, victimization is the main theme that is focused on. Discrimination and backwardness are framed as the actions that are applied against Kurds purposefully. It is claimed that as a result of discrimination and backwardness, Kurdish people remained uncultured. Additionally, exploitation and elimination are used as one of the main supported themes in the explanation of discrimination and backwardness.

- 4. Storyline:** According to a rumor, it is stated by the administration of Hacettepe University, the ones who are from beyond Sivas will be dismissed from the university and they will not be allowed to attend another university in Turkey.

Positions: The ones who are beyond Sivas are victims.

Hacettepe University is the abuser.

Social Force: Victimization.

Consequence: The right of education is taken away from Kurdish students.

- 5. Storyline:** The thing that shapes the backwardness of the East is the ongoing racist, chauvinist and discriminatory policies towards the people of the region. The majority of the population of the region is composed of Kurds. That's why there is an intended policy to recede the Eastern region of Turkey.

Positions: Kurds in the East are victims.

The ones who follow racist, chauvinist and discriminatory policies are abusers.

Social Force: Victimization over discrimination.

Consequence: Eastern region of Turkey is intentionally receded.

6. **Storyline:** The reason for making the people of the East uneducated and uncultured is because of all types of pressure and cruelty that is the result of exploitation and racist governance.

Positions: People of the East are the victims.

Exploitative and racist governance is the abuser.

Social Force: Victimization over pressure and cruelty.

Consequence: People of the East stayed uneducated and uncultured.

7. **Storyline:** In the East, the education depends on the oppressive, chauvinistic and separatist policies. That's why, education system is more anti-democratic in the East. The education in the East turns into a tool for racism and oppression policy.

Positions: People in the East are the victims of the oppressive, chauvinistic and separatist policies.

Abuser is the oppressive, chauvinistic and separatist policies.

Social Force: Education that depends on racism and oppression.

Consequence: Anti-democratic education system in the East.

8. **Storyline:** The exploitation and cruelty that have been continuing for centuries, rebellions, wars and exiles turned *Kurdistan* into an economic wreckage. Additionally, these events prevented the social development of Kurdish people. A country, which has rich natural resources has to live in poverty. The bourgeoisie and landowners share *Kurdistan* with each other and exploit the natural resources and man power of this country.

Positions: Exploited *Kurdistan*.

Exploiter bourgeoisie and landowners.

Social Force: Exploitation and cruelty are used to imply evidence for the reasons of poverty in *Kurdistan*.

Consequences: Economic wreckage, prevention of social development and poverty.

9. **Storyline:** Each region of *Kurdistan* is the most backward region of the hegemon countries. In all these countries, national and democratic human rights of Kurdish people are not recognized by the hegemon powers. Each kind of demand is suppressed with cruelty. That's why, Kurdish people cannot get education in their mother tongue, and they lack the abilities to develop their culture.

Positions: Rights of the Kurdish people are not recognized.

Hegemon powers do not recognize the rights of the Kurdish people.

Social Force: Explanation and reasoning why Kurdish people lack the abilities to develop their culture.

Consequence: Kurdish people cannot get education in their mother tongue, and they lack the abilities to develop their culture.

10. **Storyline:** All governments suppress Kurdish democratic and national rights' demands through oppression and exploitation. They slaughter masses and try to eliminate Kurdish people totally. Hence, earthquake fits into this policy because as a result of the earthquake, Kurdish people had to migrate from their homes.

Positions: Kurdish people are suppressed and tried to be eliminated.

All governments slaughter and try to eliminate Kurdish people.

Social Force: Warning and evidence showing for the oppression, exploitation and elimination against Kurdish people.

Consequence: As a result of the oppressive and eliminative policies of the governments, in the earthquake, Kurdish people had to migrate from their homes.

Theme 3. Violence

When the theme of violence is examined through the storyline formation, it is noticed that violence is interpreted on the positions of the subjects. Subjects are framed on the basis of victimization. Actions of the out-group is defined by racism, chauvinism, oppression, attacks, elimination, pressure, provocation, domination, terrorization, pressure, tyranny and bloody events. On the basis of the identification of the actions of the out-group, solidarity and the unity within in-group are motivated.

11. Storyline: The racist-chauvinistic oppression policy towards our people in the East continues with more determination, which reaches an advanced extent. Besides, the murders, oppression and terror towards the youth try to create an opportunity to establish an authoritarian ruling.

Positions: Victims are the youth and the people in the East.

Social Force: Victimization due to murders, oppression and terror.

Consequence: Murders, oppression and terror towards the youth.

12. Storyline: It is not reasonless for the people's enemy and fascist powers to concentrate their attacks in Diyarbakır. Fascists make their attacks constantly in a planned effort in order to eliminate crucial resistance points of revolutionist, and democratic powers.

Positions: People's enemy and fascist powers are the abusers. People in Diyarbakır are victims.

Social Force: Attacks are made in a planned effort.

Consequence: To eliminate crucial resistance points of revolutionist and democratic powers in Diyarbakır.

13. Storyline: A trap is prepared by the most reactionary, chauvinist, and bloody hegemonic powers, which target to dominate the proletariat people of the East through cruelty. This trap can be used as a new excuse for pressure, terrorization and tyranny.

Positions: Hegemonic powers are reactionary, chauvinist and bloody.

Proletariat people of the East are victim.

Social Force: Warning.

Consequence: Domination, pressure, terrorization and tyranny.

14. Storyline: On the contrary, it seems that bloody events and provocations will increase. In that case, significant duties fall on the revolutionist and democratic powers. They should strengthen the ranks and should not panic because of the fascist attacks.

Positions: Hegemon powers are the actors of the bloody events.

Revolutionist and democratic powers have significant duties.

Social Force: Emphasizing the possibility of the increase of the bloody events and provocations.

Consequence: Revolutionist and democratic powers should strengthen the ranks.

15. Storyline: The government abandoned people to die alive under ruins, and they let the ones who did not die to starvation and sickness. After the earthquake, the responsible ones did not help the people, but they abandoned them to misery and loneliness.

Positions: The government abandoned people to die alive under ruins.

People are abandoned to starvation and sickness.

Social Force: Showing evidence for the abandoning the people.

Consequence: The government abandoned people to die alive under ruins and they let the ones who did not die to starvation and sickness.

Theme 4. Struggle

Struggle is another significant theme that is detected in the examination of the journal with the methodology of the storyline. A defined community is motivated to struggle in the process of discourse construction. Struggle is conceptualized with anti-fascism, solidarity, defeating tyrants, rejecting slavery, reacting to injustices and obtaining national rights.

16. Storyline: The fascist terror in the East and especially the last incidents in Diyarbakır indicate the importance of anti-fascist struggle of our people. Therefore, the ones who underestimate the significance of anti-fascist struggle and do not see this as a problem of Kurdish people should take lessons from these events.

Positions: Kurdish people are the victims of fascist terror.

Fascist terror is the abuser.

Social Force: Warning about taking lessons from the last incidents in Diyarbakır.

Consequence: The necessity to understand the importance of anti-fascist struggle of Kurdish people.

17. Storyline: Doğubeyazıt incident is the evidence for the oppression, cruelty and torture by the officials. These incidents are not new. However, these cruelty, oppression and torture will reinforce the solidarity of our people.

Positions: Officials are the oppressor and torturer.

Kurdish people (it is identified as “our people” in the sentence) are the victims.

Social Force: Cruelty, oppression and torture.

Consequence: By showing Doğubeyazıt incidence as an evidence, mobilizing the solidarity of Kurdish people is legitimized.

18. Storyline: The common policy of imperialists and obscurantist, racist regimes towards Kurdish people has been continuing. For a century, they have been trying to suppress the Kurdish people's freedom struggle with blood. In spite of these rough conditions, thousands of victims and bitterness, they could not annihilate our people's national and democratic struggle and they will not be able to eliminate our struggle. As the other oppressed people, Kurdish people will reach its freedom and end every kind of exploitation and cruelty.

Positions: Imperialist, obscurantist and racist regimes suppress, annihilate and eliminate.

Kurdish people are victims.

Social Force: Emphasizing the rough conditions of Kurdish people through identifying rough conditions by elimination, exploitation and cruelty.

Consequence: Legitimization for the struggle of Kurdish people.

19. Storyline: The strength of the ones who had been trying to repress the struggle of the oppressed people will not be enough to prevent the struggle of our people. No one should think that their threats will frighten us. We have the faith for an undefeated future, which is reinforced with the oppression and cruelty. We can give victims one by one, however more than the ones we lose, more the others will join us. Essentially, the tyrants get afraid of us because the future is not safe for them.

Positions: Kurdish people are oppressed and they are under cruelty.

Hegemon powers are repressors and they are tyrants.

Social Force: Warning about they are not afraid of the threats of the tyrants.

Promise for an undefeated future.

Consequence: They will continue their struggle and they will defeat the tyrants. Future is not safe for the tyrants.

20. **Storyline:** Apart from the past, nowadays, various activities like genocide are carried on in *Kurdistan*. The hegemon classes in Turkey are used to blood because *Kurdistan* is their colony. They grab all national democratic rights from Kurdish people and want to pursue this policy. Our people suffer so much in their freedom struggle and they are ready to suffer more in this path. All racists, militarists, exploiters should know that our people reject the slavery.

Positions: Kurdistan is the colony of the hegemon powers.

Hegemon classes carry on activities such as genocide.

Social Force: Warning to racists, militarists and exploiters.

Consequence: Kurdish people are ready to suffer more in the path of freedom struggle and they reject slavery.

21. **Storyline:** A folk who is exploited, dominated linguistically and culturally receded and whose natural resources are depredated will naturally react to these injustices, stand together and do anything for its country to save it from exploitation, get rid of the feudal divisions and obscurantism.

Positions: Kurdish people are exploited, dominated and culturally receded.

Social Force: Legitimization for the reaction and standing together against injustices.

Consequence: Kurdish people will react to the injustices because this is their natural right.

22. **Storyline:** The bourgeoisie is always afraid of Kurdish people because it grabbed the rights of Kurdish people. It exploited the natural resources of Kurdish country. It turned *Kurdistan* into a

colony by trying to annihilate the culture and language of Kurdish people. The bourgeoisie slaughtered and exiled Kurdish people. However, cowards die many times before their deaths. In spite of exiles, slaughters, and massacres, the struggle of Kurdish people could not be eliminated. Today, in *Kurdistan*, there are thousands of people who gain the consciousness and fight for their national and democratic rights. Kurdish people will obtain their rights by fighting.

Positions: Bourgeoisie is guilty.

Kurdish people are slaughtered and exiled.

Kurdistan is turned into a colony.

Social Force: Persuasion by showing evidence about the statements.

Consequence: Kurdish people gain consciousness about their national rights and they will obtain their rights by fighting.

Theme 5. *Kurdistan*

With the analysis of storyline, it is observed that *Kurdistan* is framed through the positions of the Kurdish people. The positions of the Kurdish people are interpreted on the basis of the imagination of *Kurdistan*. Another crucial concept in the storyline formation is revolutionist struggle to save excluded and exploited *Kurdistan*. Therefore, *Kurdistan* is used as a base and legitimization factor in the formation and mobilization of a national consciousness, unity, resistance and movement in the targeted group.

23. Storyline: Our country (*Kurdistan*) has rich mineral stratum, energy resources, fertile nature and it is an important region for farming. However imperialism and the obscurantist chauvinist regimes' policies lead to the backwardness of our country economically, socially and culturally. As a result, our country is turned into a poor and deficient country.

Positions: Kurdistan is a poor and deficient country.

Imperialism and obscurantist chauvinist regimes are the abusers.

Social Force: Kurdistan is exploited.

Consequence: Poor and deficient Kurdistan.

24. **Storyline:** Hegemon classes in Turkey practice exploitation in *Kurdistan*. While the state tried to establish bourgeoisie in Turkey, *Kurdistan* was excluded. In *Kurdistan*, for a long period, infrastructure such as electricity, road and hospital were not established. The purpose was not to develop *Kurdistan* but to exploit its natural resources.

Positions: Exploited *Kurdistan*.

State mechanism excluded and exploited *Kurdistan*.

Social Force: Evidence showing for exclusion and exploitation of *Kurdistan*.

Consequences: Excluded and exploited *Kurdistan*.

25. **Storyline:** The national movement of Kurdish people will endure until it reaches the goal of autonomy to *Kurdistan*. Under this purpose, *Kurdistan* National Unity will pursue the revolutionist struggle by mobilizing the masses and organizing the all progressive and revolutionist constituents.

Positions: Kurdish people will continue their national movement.

Kurdistan will gain autonomy.

Social Force: Mobilizing masses and organizing all the progressive and revolutionist constituents.

Consequence: *Kurdistan* National Unity will pursue the revolutionist struggle.

26. **Storyline:** *Kurdistan* was divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Each of these states tried to assimilate Kurdish people and prevent the national resistance of Kurdish people. Uncountable Kurdish uprisings were suppressed by these

countries with collaboration between them. So many Kurds were slaughtered. Rich natural resources of *Kurdistan* were exploited and *Kurdistan* was receded. Kurdish people were pushed into poverty, ignorance and illiteracy. *Kurdistan* was turned into a common colony of these states.

Positions: *Kurdistan* is a colony.

Kurds are slaughtered, assimilated and they are pushed into poverty, ignorance and illiteracy.

Social Force: Evidence showing how *Kurdistan* was turned into a colony.

Consequence: *Kurdistan* was turned into a common colony, which prevented the national resistance of Kurdish people.

27. **Storyline:** In the revolutionist struggle of Kurdish people, national constituent has a crucial place because people are not independent in terms of a nation. The country of Kurdish people is divided between other states. Its resistance during the freedom struggle has been suppressed with blood. The natural resources of *Kurdistan* have been exploited. Kurdish people cannot even speak their mother tongue freely, and education in Kurdish is banned, and even publications in Kurdish are forbidden. Kurdish people are degraded just because of they are Kurdish, and their existence is rejected. Kurdish people are tried to be assimilated. Therefore, all these elements make the national constituent crucial in the problem of freedom for Kurdish people.

Positions: *Kurdistan* and Kurdish people are exploited, degraded, rejected and assimilated.

Social Force: Legitimization and persuasion for the need of national constituent in the solution of the problem of freedom for Kurdish people.

Consequence: In the revolutionist struggle of Kurdish people, national constituent has a crucial place.

With the analysis of the discourse construction of the journal by storyline method, it is found that two main subjects are positioned in conveying the messages. One is Kurds and *Kurdistan* and the other is hegemon powers. In the positioning of the two subjects; Kurds and *Kurdistan* are positioned as victims while hegemon powers are positioned as abusers. *Kurdistan* is defined as backward, poor and exploited.

Additionally, it is defined as a colony and a deficient country. Kurds are defined as uneducated, uncultured, ignorant, illiterate, poor and slave. Additionally, Kurds and *Kurdistan* are positioned as dominated, exploited, degraded, culturally receded, rejected and assimilated. The reasons for the situational positions of the Kurds and *Kurdistan* are defined through the existence of the hegemon powers. Hegemon powers are defined as racist, chauvinist, discriminative, exploitative, oppressive, militarist, reactionary, separatist, repressor and anti-democratic.

The actions of the hegemon powers are defined with pressure, tyranny, exploitation, elimination, assimilation, suppression, annihilation, exclusion, torture, being bloody, cruelty, murder, terror, terrorization, fascist terror and genocide. On the basis of the definitions of the actors and their actions, the definition of the in-group and actions of the in-group are defined. In-group is defined as progressive, revolutionist and democratic powers. The actions of the in-group are defined as mobilizing the solidarity, awakening the national consciousness, sustaining the national unity and revolutionist struggle. In general, situational position of the Kurds and *Kurdistan* are defined through fascist terror and the action against this situation is defined as anti-fascist struggle.

It is observed that in the discursive construction strategy of the journal in conveying the message; the idea, concept, event or a situation is firstly explained by defining, and then reasoning and evidence showing. In the second step; the defined idea, concept, event or a situation are tried to be legitimized for the actions that are targeted to be formed in the minds of the readers.

By the research of the journal *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) with CDA, it is observed that the discursive construction of Kurdishness is established through the re-interpretation of Kurdish culture by the use of political constituents, which are conceptualized by the theme of violence. In the search for the methodology of the discourse construction, it is found that through the re-interpretation and the re-invention of the culture, a cultural codification is established discursively on the basis of ethnic nationalist constituents. The production of a cultural codification through the use of ethnic-nationalist concepts results with the identity building on Kurdishness.

In this research, besides the qualitative analysis of the data, quantitative analysis is made by determining the frequency of the words. In this way, it is aimed to reveal what kinds of words are used and what kind of a meaning-making is established by the use of most repeated words in the process of discursive construction. For this purpose each issue of the journal is analyzed by Maxqda software technique. For each issue the used words, which are repeated up to six times are represented in the tables and figures (see Appendix A).

Additionally, for each year a table and a figure are made in order to reveal a general picture of each year's discursive characteristics. By determining the most used words according to years, the discourse strategy of the journal is also aimed to be examined. In addition to these, from the mostly used words according to each issue, a general table and a figure are made. Furthermore, the words which represent the discourse characteristic of the journal and the words which are directly related to violence and referred to violence are also represented.

Table 12. Word Frequency of 1975 (Issues: 1,3,4,5,6,7)

Words	Count of Words
People	770
Nation/National/Nationalism	665
Revolution/Revolutionist	624
Against	580
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	553
Worker	496
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	448
Socialism/Socialist	435
Struggle	377
Big	338
East	310
Land	300
World	281
Salvation	255
New	165

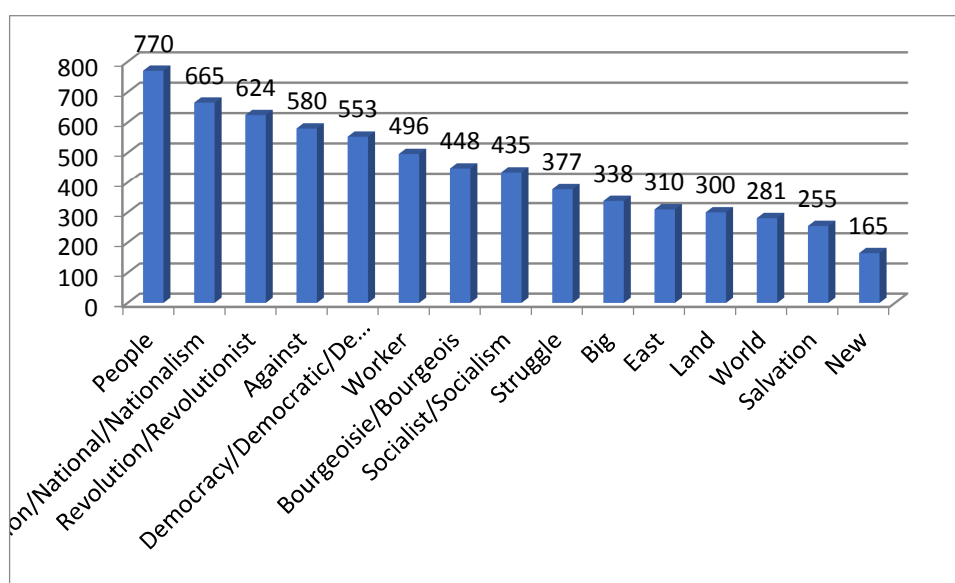


Figure 3. Word Frequency of 1975

In the first issues of the journal, the main emphasis is on the positions of the people and especially the workers all over the world such as Vietnam, China, Korea, Bulgaria. In the first issues, the discourse strategy of the journal is mainly shaped by a socialist discursive. However, when the first year of the journal is analyzed, it is observed that the discourse strategy is started to gain an ethno-

nationalist characteristic. This can be seen from Table-12 in which the words nation/national/nationalism are used 665 times.

In 1975, the discourse strategy was based on two themes. One is established on a socialist discursive by focusing on the disadvantaged positions of the workers, who are defined as oppressed by imperialist powers. The second theme is shaped on the positions of the oppressed people, who are later on specified as Kurdish people. By this shift, the discourse strategy started to gain an ethno-nationalist characteristic with the introduction of words; Kurd, Kurdish, Kurdistan, land, east and salvation. The discourse gains an ethno-nationalist characteristic because the underlined words are used on the basis of a “myth-symbol complex” (Smith, 2009, p.24) in which the main focus is on the role of ethnic communities in the formation of nations.

Smith (2009) explains this situation on the basis of how cultural elements shape the mental processes in conceiving the social reality. It is observed that in the first year of the issue, the main theme is shaped on the socialist discursive and additionally, ethno-nationalist discursive is started to be introduced. For example, the word worker was used 496 times, while the words Kurd/Kurdish and Kurdistan were used 65 times.

Table 13. Word Frequency of 1976 (Issues: 8,9,10,11,12,13/14,15/16,17,18,19)

Words	Count of Words
People	1708
Socialism/Socialist	1224
Struggle	1180
Class	1149
Against	1125
Worker	1107
Revolution/Revolutionist	1071
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	1067
Reactionary	744
Nation/National/Nationalism	740
Fascist/Fascism	681
World	619
Big	603
Progress/Progressive	487
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	364

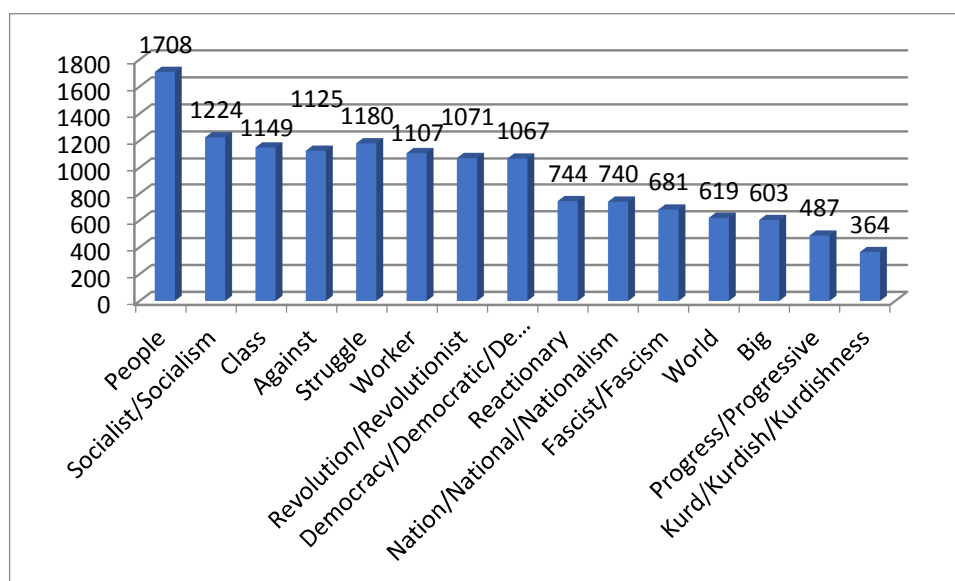


Figure 4. Word Frequency of 1976

In the second year of the journal, socialist discourse strategy continues with the emphasis of class. On the other hand, it is observed that ethno-nationalist discourse construction started to gain an increase. The use of words; Kurd/Kurdish and Kurdistan were used 65 times in 1975, while in 1976 with the inclusion of the word Kurdishness, the number of these words increased to 364.

From 1975 to 1976, the use of words; Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness and Kurdistan increased to 460%. In the process of conveying the message by the use of these words, cultural elements of symbol, myth and traditions shape the meanings of these words.

Table 14. Word Frequency of 1977 (Issues: 20,21/22,24,25,26,27,28,29)

Words	Count of Words
People	1981
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	1379
Democracy/Democratic	1249
Nation/National/Nationalism	1185
Struggle	1041
Worker	944
Against	904
Socialist/Socialism	900
Revolution/Revolutionist	882
Reactionary	704
Big	568
Turkey	508
World	472
Laborer	471
Social	297

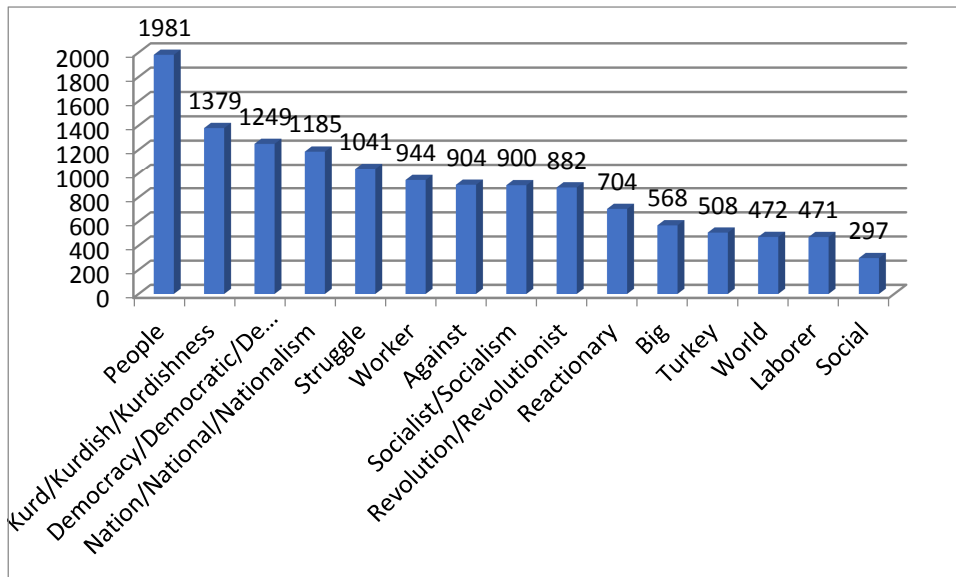


Figure 5. Word Frequency of 1977

In 1977, the increase in the use of words; Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness was observed again. In 1976, the number of these words is 364, while in 1977, this figure increased to 1379. The proportion of increase between 1976 and 1977 was 278,84%. Additionally, the socialist discursive is started to decrease. For instance; the number of word worker decreased from 1107 to 944 and there was a 14,72% difference in its repetition. With the increase in the use of these words, it is observed that collective consciousness on Kurdishness is tried to be maintained through the emphasis of distinctive cultural characteristics.

Smith (2009) stresses the importance of distinctive symbolic repertoire in the formation of collective consciousness as;

... distinctive symbolic repertoire in terms of language, religion, customs and institutions, which helps to differentiate it from other analogous communities in the eyes of both its members and outsiders, and they have raised the profile of the community and sharpened its social boundary and its opposition to outsiders, as much as the boundary has continued to define the community and divide 'us' from 'them' (p.25).

Table 15. Word Frequency of 1978-1979 (Issues: 31/32, 33/34,35,36,37/38, 39/40,41)

Words	Count of Words
People	1590
Revolution/Revolutionist	1344
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	1179
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	1091
Against	1014
Socialism/Socialist	975
Nation/National/Nationalism	866
Big	638
Worker	639
Turkey	602
Economy/Economic	584
Education	526
New	382
Social	368
World	319

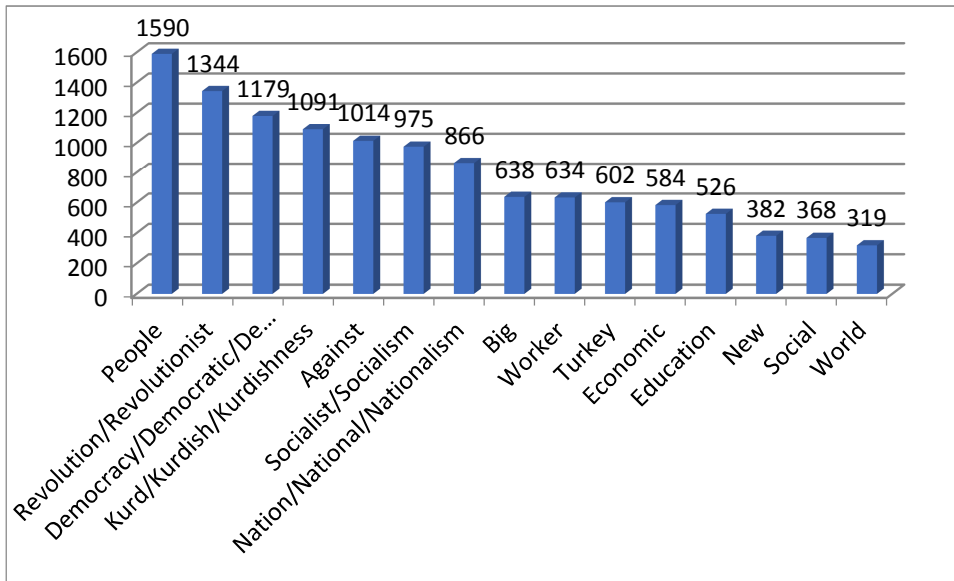


Figure 6. Word Frequency of 1978-1979

In 1977 and 1978/1979 in the discourse construction, it is observed that the use of words; people, Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness, nation/national/nationalism, democracy/democratic/democrat start to have an influential place.

Table 16. Word Frequency of the All Issues (1-44)

Words	Count of Words
People	5717
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	3971
Revolution/Revolutionist	3805
Socialism/Socialist	3680
Against	3598
Nation/National/Nationalism	3545
Struggle	3465
Worker	3261
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	3030
World	2124
Fascist/Fascism	2100
Turkey	1813
Big	1469
Social	941
New	711

When all the issues are analyzed together, top 15 words can be seen as in Table-16. From this analysis, it is observed that the discourse construction of the journal is shaped by an ethno-nationalist discursive. In the framing of the discourse, main theme is established on the definition of Kurdish nationalism. The general framing occurs as; the Kurdish nation is under the attack of fascist powers and there is need for a struggle against oppression.

In order to understand the discourse construction process of the journal, it is necessary to reveal how the most repeated words are used. In order to reveal how the words are used and what kinds of meanings are attached to these words, it is essential to examine what kinds of words are used with these most repeated words. In the tables below, the selected words from the most repeated ones are represented according to their intended use.

Table 17. The Intended Use of Words-1: Definition of the Group Identity and Group Actions

Anti: Anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-democratic, anti-colonialist, anti-capitalist, anti-feudal, anti-bourgeoisie, anti-communist
Against: against exploitation, against tyranny, against struggle, against fascism, against Kurdish people, against racism, against the order of tyranny, against feudalism, against common enemies, against revolutionist Kurds, against the defects of the system
Force(s): democratic forces, reactionary forces, fascist forces, revolutionary forces, anti-fascist forces, struggling forces, forces that desire to form a fascist dictum, progressive forces, militarist forces, new forces, left forces, hegemon forces
Movement: political movement, working class movement, socialist movement, Kurdish movement, salvation movement, Kurdish national movement, democratic people movement, mass movement, working class movement, political movement, revolutionist movement, Kurdish national movement, revolutionist youth movement
Oppressed: oppressed people, oppressed nation
People: masses of people, committee of people, congress of people, people national union front, people salvation army, people salvation union, poor people, local people, Northern Iraqi Kurdish people, civil Kurdish people, Eastern people, colonized people, oppressed people, laborer people, governance of people, passive people

Table 17. (Continued)

<p>Progressive: progressive humanity, progressive environment, progressive quality, progressive development, progressive movement, progressive forces, progressive stream, progressive governance, progressive revolutionist governance, progressive and national forces, progressive democratic essentials, progressive and revolutionist forces, progressive fighters, progressive role, progressive ideas, progressive political organizations, progressive and revolutionist struggle</p>
<p>Laborer: laborer mass, laborer mass of people, laborer people</p>
<p>Resistance: resistance war, resistance flag</p>
<p>Revolution/Revolutionist: revolutionist party, revolutionist youth union, revolutionist people committee, revolutionist powers, revolutionist methods, revolutionist democratic powers, revolutionist resistance war, revolutionist progressive, revolutionist organizations, revolutionist struggle, revolutionist movement, revolutionist media, revolutionist development, revolutionist staff, revolutionist spirit, revolutionist party, revolutionist masses, revolutionist governance, revolutionist class, revolutionist organized study, revolutionist fire, revolutionist journal, revolutionist youth, revolutionist principle, revolutionist attitude, revolutionist worker movement, revolutionist forces, revolutionist command, revolutionist parties, revolutionist progressive institutions, revolutionist idea, revolutionist theory, revolutionist character, revolutionist uprising, progressive revolutionist, revolutionist Kurdish students, revolutionist partisans, revolutionist Kurdish partisans, revolutionist actions, revolutionist youth movement, revolutionist policy, struggle of Kurdish revolutionists and democrats, revolutionist Kurdish press, revolutionist women organizations, revolutionist democratic forces, revolutionist publications, revolutionist struggle of the masses, revolutionist path, revolutionist problems, revolutionist forces, revolutionist period, revolutionist movement, revolutionist salvation movement, revolutionist movement of Eastern people, revolutionist development, revolutionist world view</p>
<p>Salvation: salvation movement, national salvation, salvation powers, salvation wars, salvation struggle, salvation consciousness, salvation army, salvation front, salvation unions, salvation forces, salvation victory, salvation era, national salvation war, Kurdish people’s national salvation movement, salvation path</p>
<p>Youth: revolutionist youth, youth union</p>

By the use of the words ‘anti’, ‘against’, ‘force(s)’, ‘laborer’, ‘people’; the identity of the group and its actions are tried to be framed. The message is conveyed towards the in-group for the determination of what an identical character is attributed to the group and what the specific kinds of actions differentiate the in-group from the others. In the process of the identification of the in-group, youth has a significant place in the framing of the we-ness.

The aim of differentiating who belongs to the in-group is to maintain the values of the in-group; to set up a boundary between what is acceptable and what is not acceptable for the group. Smith (2009) points out that in the formation of ethnic categories, the definition of the other constructs the cultural characteristics of the in-group.

Additionally, the positions of the in-group are identified as a discourse strategy in the journal such as framing people as oppressed, progressive or revolutionist. Besides identifying the in-group and out-group, the actions of the in-group are defined with the words; movement, resistance, revolution and salvation. Most repeated words in the narration process target to form a group consciousness that aims to form a national solidarity in the group. In the definition process of the actions of the group, the selected words are also used for the identification for the symbols such as resistance flag. In these ways, nationalistic sentiments are targeted by the narration of symbols.

Table 18. The Intended Use of Words-2: Definition of the Resistance Topics

Bourgeoisie: bourgeoisie order, bourgeoisie reformism, bourgeoisie affections, bourgeoisie class, bourgeoisie leadership, bourgeoisie methods, bourgeoisie party, bourgeoisie group, bourgeoisie democracy, bourgeoisie governance, bourgeoisie front, bourgeoisie states, bourgeoisie fractions
Capitalist: capitalist relations, capitalist exploitation, imperialist-capitalist exploitation, imperialist-capitalist and fascist pressures
Chauvinist: chauvinist racist policy, chauvinist pressures, chauvinist execution
Exploitation: order of exploitation, exploitation and pressure tool, chain of exploitation, exploitation area, exploitation and tyranny, exploitation network, exploitation and pressure
Fascist: Racist-fascist policy, fascist attacks, fascist states, fascist pressures, fascist tyranny, fascist forces, fascist governance, fascist capital, fascist initiative, fascist forces, fascist governance, fascist regime, anti-fascist attitude, fascist dictatorship, fascist gangs, fascist- reactionary factors, fascist colonialists
Feudal: feudal structure in the East, feudal elements, feudal land owners, feudal families, feudal root, feudal environment, feudal and bourgeoisie elements, feudal reactionism, feudal class, feudal period, feudal superstructure, feudal worldview, feudal society, feudal production, feudal exploitation, feudal conditioning, feudal traditionalist ideology, feudal fascism, feudal pressure, feudal exploitation and pressure

Table 18. (Continued)

Imperialism/Imperialist: (the word is specifically used for the definition of countries; Britain, France and America), imperialist countries, imperialist capitalism
Reactionary: reactionary collaborator, reactionary media, reactionary line, reactionary movement, reactionary plan, reactionary circle, reactionary conservative forces, reactionary capital, reactionary parties, reactionary formation, reactionary allies, reactionary states, reactionary countries, reactionary attitude, reactionary chauvinism, reactionary conservative political organizations, reactionary bourgeoisie, reactionary line, reactionary purposes, reactionary oppressive forces, reactionary local bourgeoisie entities
Pressure: fascist pressure, chauvinist pressure, pressure and terror, pressure and exploitation, national pressure, pressure and inequality, pressure and tyranny

It is observed that in the discourse construction strategy of the journal, through narration, certain kinds of actions are targeted to be formed in the minds of the readers. Therefore, in order to maintain the common consciousness and solidarity in the group, what the in-group should resist against is defined as; fascist pressure, racist fascist policy or feudal pressure. Smith (2009) emphasizes that; “Ethnic cultures and ethnic cores can be regarded as means for framing and interpreting the world of human beings and in particular as a means of classifying and situating unknown others” (p.29). With the narration of the issues that are framed to be resisted, classification and categorization of who the other is done, as well.

Table 19. The Intended Use of Words-3: Territorialization

East: State of siege in the East, new pressure in the East, people of the East, feudal structure of the East
Kurdistan: Kurdistan national union, land of Kurdistan, Kurdistan progressive stream, Kurdistan progressive powers, people of Kurdistan, Kurdistan revolution, Iraqi Kurdistan, Iranian Kurdistan
Land: landlord, land revolution, land slaves, land piece, land bourgeoisie, land bourgeoisie in the East, land revolution, land reformism, land problem

Framing the situations and events through territorial emphasis has a symbolic value. With territory, borders of the imagined community are maintained. Use of territorial descriptions in the discourse establishes a historical, social and

political context for the mental framing of an identity. By territorial emphasis, the common consciousness in group is concretized by establishing “rootedness in the memories and traditions of their members” (Smith, 2009, p.30). In the discourse construction strategy of the journal, it is observed that by territorialization, political meanings are attached to cultural characteristics. By this way, a nationalist course is attached to the meanings in the formation of discourse.

Table 20. The Intended Use of Words-4: Collective Consciousness

Common: common attitude, common interests, common effort, common action, common movement, common strategy, common target, common struggle, common behavior, common duties, common approach
Conscious: conscious and organized, conscious progressive warriors, conscious reaction, conscious effort
Kurd/Kurdish: Kurdish movement, Kurdish region, Kurdish leader, Kurdish nation, Kurdish progressive stream, Kurdish warriors, Kurdish national union, Kurdish problem, Kurdish people, Kurdish national movement, Kurdish tribal leadership, Kurdish revolution, Kurdish workers, Kurdish armed forces, Kurdish democratic and salvation movement, Kurdish reactionary, Kurdish national and democratic revolutionist forces, Kurdish resistance war, Kurdish people, Kurdish revolutionists, righteous struggle of Kurdish people, national democratic struggle of Kurdish people, Kurdish people’s rising struggle, Kurdish laborers, Kurdish people’s salvation struggle, Kurdish student movement, friends and enemies of Kurdish people, the solidarity of Kurdish people, culture of Kurdish people, Kurdish literature, Kurdish poet tradition, Kurdish religious and luminary people, Kurdish bards, Kurdish wise people, Kurdish epic, Kurdish language, Kurdish patriotism, culture of Kurdish people, Kurdish language academy, Kurdish dialect, Kurdish school, Kurdish population, Kurdish history, Kurdish writers, Kurdish folk song, oppression and exploitation over Kurdish people, Kurdish children, Kurdish tribe

It is observed that in the most repeated words, in the meaning-making process the aim is to form a collective consciousness. For example, in the use of the words ‘Kurd/Kurdish’, in their use, cultural emphasis has a significant place by stressing Kurdish language, history, folk songs and etc. These identifications on cultural characteristics are enhanced through the descriptions of Kurdish student movement, Kurdish revolutionists, Kurdish people’s salvation struggle and etc.

In this way, cultural characteristics of a group is enhanced by the use of nationalistic sentiments. Smith (2009) emphasizes that debates about national identity increase the level of national consciousness by focusing on the basic questions of who we are. In the journal, it is observed that through the formation of a debate on Kurdish national identity, the Kurdish identity is framed.

Table 21. The Intended Use of Words-5: Political Emphasis

Country: colonial country, colonist country, main countries, imperialist countries, satellite/periphery countries, socialist countries
Democratic: democratic revolution, democratic quality, democratic republic, democratic front, democratic powers, democratic factors, democratic choice, democratic environment, democratic attitude, democratic institution, democratic movement, democratic conditions, democratic assurance, anti-democratic laws, democratic and socialist, democratic role, democratic tendency, democratic targets, democratic maxim, anti-democratic executions, democratic consciousness, democratic freedom, democratic struggle, democratic worker class, democratic order, democratic solution, democratic rights, democratic revolutionist powers, democratic lines, democratic rights and freedom, democratic movement of people, democratic governance, democratic governance of people, democratic formation, democratic union, democratic revolutionist movement, democratic revolution, democratic masses, democratic reform
Nation/National/Nationalism: national salvation, national consciousness, national resistance, national union, national salvation consciousness, national salvation front, national salvation forces, national union front, national salvation powers, national salvation movements, national salvation armies, national and democratic rights, national pressure, national democratic revolution, national independence, national movement, national forces, national struggle, national democratic union, national conflict, national problem, national cultural autonomy, national culture, national character, national independence wars, national rights, national values, national defense, national pressure and exploitation, national language, national freedom, national oppression, national democratic powers, national duties, national slavery, national democratic front, national isolation, national hatred and rage, national war, national income, national slogans, national problem, Kurdish national movement, national salvation movement, national pressure and exploitation, national independence wars, national independence
Political: political quality, political area, political isolation, political partisan, political life, political consciousness, political surface, political prisoner, political freedom, political, economic and cultural wars, political and military failure, political independence, political salvation, political organization, political struggle

Table 21. (Continued)

Organized: organized struggle, organized effort, organized people movement, organized revolutionist action, organized ideological and political independence
Problem: Kurdish national problem, unity problem, national problem, security problem, essence power problem
Rights: Kurdish rights, national rights

The identification of Kurdish people in the discourse construction process carries political characteristics. For instance, in the use of the word *rights*, it is used as Kurdish rights and national rights. The word problem is used as a Kurdish national problem or unity problem. In this way, identity is politicized by the definition of a problem and how will it be possible to overcome the problem. Hence, being organized is identified for as organized struggle.

Smith (2009) states that; "...political action, when combined with existing cultural differences, constitutes a powerful and recurrent source of ethnic community" (p.28). This situation is observed in the journal through the use of nationalist discourse, which is described on the basis of consciousness, resistance, salvation and etc. As a result, group consciousness on ethnic-national identity is constructed through the use of discourse.

In the analysis of the journal, in the discourse construction process, it is observed that presuppositions, words about certainty, antonym and use of adjectives have a significant place in the characterization of the journal. In the discursive characteristic of the journal the use of prepositions has an important place. Among these prepositions; *over* and *under* have a significant place. They are especially used to express; oppression, pressure, exploitation and tyranny.

Over: Pressure over Kurdish people, exploitative oppression over Kurdish nation, reactionary classes' exploitation over <i>Kurdistan</i> , heavy national pressure over Kurdish people, inhuman pressures over languages and cultures
--

Under: Under pressure, under national tyranny, under oppression, under exploitation, under our national independence war, under threat, under control, taking Kurdish people under pressure, under fascism

In the use of prepositions, it is observed that main subject is on Kurdishness and Kurdistan. Another discourse characteristic of the journal is observed in the use of words that represent certainty. Words that are used to imply certainty are;

Words that Represent Certainty: For sure/of course, concrete, undoubted, impossible, clearly, actual, obvious, actually, absolute, inevitably, never, actual

With the use of words that represent certainty, the idea that is targeted to convey is represented as the actual truth that cannot be altered. In CDA, it is indicated that “language is ideological when it is used to promote one perspective over another” (Hart, 2014, p.2). Antonym is observed as another discourse strategy of the journal. Antonym is used especially in the definition of us vs. them.

Antonym: Right-wrong, good-bad, progressive-reactionary, east-west, we-you, our-yours

With the use of antonyms, us vs. them is sharpened by the certain descriptions. These certain descriptions frame the social world. Fairclough implies that; “Discourse is not just a linguistic practice, then but is in and of itself a social practice which contributes to the formation of the social systems, situations, institutions and ideologies in which it is embedded” (as cited in Hart, 2014, p.3). Use of adjectives is another striking aspect of the discourse strategy of the journal. In the table below, examples from some specific adjectives are given to show how they are used.

Table 22. Use of Adjectives

Accurate: accurate approach, accurate struggle, accurate lessons, accurate policy
Aggressive: aggressive enemy, aggressive policy, aggressive initiations
Bloodthirstily: bloodthirstily method, bloodthirstily war, bloodthirstily policy
Bloody: bloody paw, bloody revolutions, bloody conflicts, bloody tyrants, bloody attacks, bloody and tyrant dicta
Big: big targets, big passions, huge/big amount of oppressed people, big military force, big developments, big possibilities, big strike, big disaster, big importance, big sacrifice, big support, big exploitation, big pride, big defeat, big anti-colonial struggles, big change, big struggle, big pressure, big landlord, big mistakes, big negligence, big disorder, big civil war, big difficulty, big enemy
Concrete: concrete conditions, concrete persistent bonds, concrete reality, concrete differences, concrete solidarity, concrete practice, concrete support
Disgusting: disgusting attack, disgusting murder
Heavy/Hard/Harsh: heavy taxes, heavy exploitation and tyranny, heavy losses, heavy strike, heavy torture, heavy conditions
Large: large masses
New: new national defense concept, new revolutionist movement, new exploitation tool, new era, new exploitation possibilities, new government, new steps, new sites, new resistance, new period, new law, new imaginary political prisoner, new attack waves, new terror waves, new hopes, new world, new economic order, new possibilities, new dimensions, new problems, new betrayal traps, new wars
Oppressed: oppressed people
Powerful: powerful solidarity, powerful organization, powerful struggle, powerful bonds, powerful principle union
Real: real salvation, real democracy, real identities, real patriot, real revolutionists, real representatives, real insurgent, real goal
Secret: secret organizations, secret murder networks, secret relations, secret agreements

It is observed that in the use of adjectives; struggle, enemy, war, attack, murder, torture, differences, sacrifice, salvation are defined. For instance, with the definition of enemy as aggressive, war as bloodthirsty, attacks as bloody, torture as heavy, the identity of we-ness is concretized with the description of real identities, accurate struggle, big sacrifice, concrete reality, new resistance and new period. In the process of the characterization of the discursive strategy, “systematically structured and internally coherent representation of reality

ultimately leads to the legitimation and/or mobilization of social action” (Hart, 2014, p.110)

In order to complete the analysis in each angle, based on the most repeated words according to their number of repetitions, an additional analysis is made. To reach an overall analysis, Table-23 is made consisting of the most repeated words of each year. Table-23 is made according to the 15 most repeated words of each year; 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978-1979. From these 15 most repeated words, it reaches to 25 mostly used words, which represent the discourse characteristic of the journal. Additionally, Figure-7 implies the most repeated 10 words from the Table-23. By these analyses, it also becomes possible to determine the shifts in the use of words according to years. In the Table-23, the sign of absent (-), emphasizes that this word is not included in the 15 most repeated words.

Table 23. The Most Repeated Words According to the Years

No.	Wording	1975	1976	1977	1978-79	Grand Total
		Issue	1 - 7	8 - 19	20 -29	
1	People	363	1.607	1.943	1.804	5.717
2	Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	431	1.029	1.315	1.196	3.971
3	Revolution/Revolutionist	454	1.029	985	1.337	3.805
4	Socialist/Socialism	448	1.293	922	1.017	3.680
5	Against	633	1.097	858	1.010	3.598
6	Nation/National/Nationalism	746	510	1.288	1.001	3.545
7	Struggle	365	1.111	1.067	922	3.465
8	Worker	496	1.107	944	634	3.181
9	Class	29	1.149	1.057	907	3.142
10	Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	119	342	1.418	1.151	3.030
11	Bourgeoisie/Bourgeois	448	609	757	750	2.564
12	Reactionary	152	744	674	599	2.169
13	Big	338	603	568	638	2.147
14	Fascist/Fascism	358	649	586	507	2.100
15	Turkey	199	476	508	602	1.785
16	Laborer	145	278	471	508	1.402
17	Progress/Progressive	137	389	397	371	1.294
18	World	281	52	472	319	1.124
19	Salvation	224	311	248	295	1.078
20	Economy/Economic	-	48	325	594	967
21	Social	80	204	282	375	941
22	New	165	36	252	416	869
23	Land/Homeland	179	142	350	118	789
24	Education	-	24	159	526	709
25	East	274	201	130	68	673
Grand Total		7.064	15.040	17.976	17.665	57.745

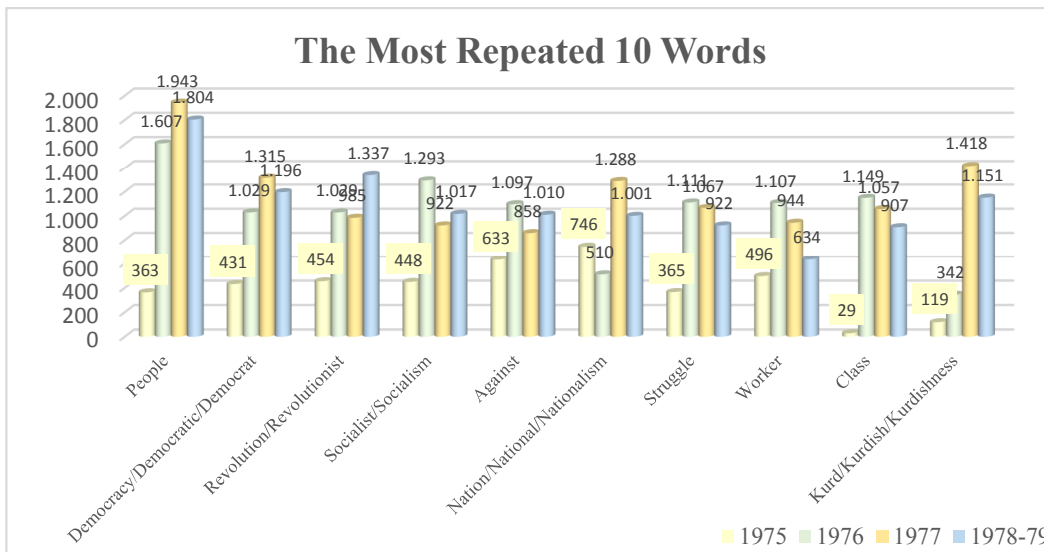


Figure 7. The Most Repeated 10 Words according to Years

It is observed that in the journal, the most repeated words are; people, democracy/democratic/democrat, revolution/revolutionist, socialist/socialism, against, nation/national/nationalism, struggle, worker, class, and Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness. All the most repeated words that are represented above are used for the identification of what the Kurdish identity is. By the use of word; people as general, in the journal it is aimed to identify people as Kurdish people. In the emphasis on democracy, the democratic rights of Kurdish people are underlined. With the use of revolution/revolutionist, the target of the in-group is to strengthen their identity and describe what the duty of the in-group is. It is seen that the main emphasis is on the positions of people who are identified as especially Kurdish people.

The repetition of name transforms singular to plural or collective (Lakoff and Johnson, 2015). In this way Kurd as an individual is turned into Kurdish people. The need for struggle and revolution against fascist powers are underlined to reach a democratic and socialist order. Smith (2009) elaborates the importance of incorporating entities that evoke the level of national consciousness by stating that the efforts to raise the level of national consciousness put the focus on national destiny and the questions of who we are.

In addition to the analysis of the repetition of the words, with which words are used together is another crucial point that has to be elaborated. For this purpose Table-24 is made and it represents, which words are mostly used together in the formation of a phrase.

Table 24. Words which are Used Together

Democratic socialist	Revolutionist progressive
Racist fascist	Revolutionist struggle
Feudal bourgeoisie	Progressive revolutionist struggle
Feudal reactionary	Kurdish national movement
Feudal exploitation and pressure	Kurdish people's national movement
Chauvinist racism	Pressure and terror
Pressure and exploitation	Imperialism-capitalism
Imperialism-exploitation	Exploitation and pressure
Racist assimilationist	

When the words that are used together are analyzed, it is observed that their selection and use of them as narratives represent “selective political understandings of aspects of ethnic pasts” (Smith, 2009, p.36). For example, by the use of imperialism and exploitation or racist assimilationist, the past is framed on the basis of the oppression of the enemy, which is narrated as the one who has been trying to eliminate the existence of Kurdish nation. Therefore, in the discourse construction process of the journal, it is seen that ethnic-nationalist narratives have a great place in the formation of a discourse on Kurdishness.

In the research, another question is about if there is the integration of a violence discursive into the political and cultural aspects in the discourse construction process. Therefore, in order to examine this relationship, an analysis is made by the use of the words which are directly and indirectly referred to violence.

Table 25. Words Related with Violence

No.	Year	1975	1976	1977	1978/79	Grand Total
1	Against	633	987	895	1.083	3.598
2	Exploitation	206	537	1.193	1.266	3.202
3	Power/Powerful/Force(s)	-	413	861	988	2.262
4	Fascist/Fascism	358	614	558	570	2.100
5	War/Warrior/Şer	218	271	369	456	1.314
6	Pressure	99	178	356	515	1.148
7	Salvation	224	242	317	295	1.078
8	Problem	-	-	186	451	637
9	Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	139	214	71	147	571
10	Tyranny/Tyrant/Bloodily	8	122	153	160	443
11	Armed/Armament	12	58	124	165	359
12	Attack/Attacker	27	58	147	90	322
13	Heavy/Hard/Harsh	-	19	75	151	245
14	Blood/Bloody/Bixwin	33	62	27	71	193
15	Resistance	34	-	149	-	183
16	Torture	18	8	78	28	132
17	Race/Racist/Racism	25	97	9	-	131
18	Terror	9	10	24	85	128
19	Murder	-	40	-	39	79
20	Separatism/Separatist	-	10	20	27	57
21	Rebellion	-	-	56	-	56
22	Action	-	21	22	-	43
23	Execution	-	27	-	15	42
24	Death/To Die	-	-	-	26	26
25	Prevention	-	-	-	25	25
26	Prisoner	-	23	-	-	23
27	Dictatorship	23	-	-	-	23
28	Slavery	-	-	-	20	20
29	Assimilation	-	-	-	18	18
30	Bitterness	-	-	-	13	13
31	Protest	-	-	-	11	11
32	Denial	-	-	-	10	10
33	Aggressor	-	9	-	-	9
34	Threat	-	8	-	-	8
35	Exile	-	8	-	-	8
36	Isolation	-	7	-	-	7
Grand Total		2.072	3.848	5.657	6.513	18.097

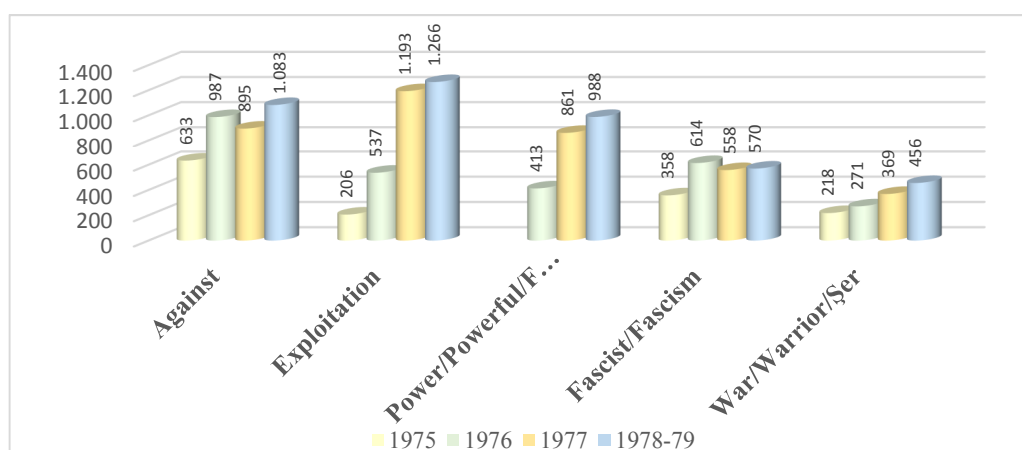


Figure 8. Words Related with Violence

When the words that are directly and indirectly referred to violence are analyzed, it is observed that in the use of words; against, armed/armament, blood/bloody/bixwin, exploitation, fascist/fascism, heavy/hard/harsh, power/powerful/force(s), pressure, salvation, terror, tyranny/tyrant, bloodily and war/warrior/şer, a steady increase is observed. Additionally in 1978 and 1979, it is detected that new words; assimilation, bitterness, denial, protest and slavery are introduced into the discourse.

With the selection of these words in the discourse construction process, the framing of violence acted by the enemy towards the in-group is used as a legitimization for the formation of violence against the enemy. It is observed that in the use of words that are directly and indirectly related to violence, it is aimed to keep the enemy threat alive in in-group. This reveals another discourse strategy of the journal, which is positioning. Positioning strategy provides to see things from a particular perspective in which “where we situate ourselves in terms of space, time and evaluation and where we locate other actors and actions relative to our own coordinates” (Hart, 2014, p.112).

When the words that are directly and indirectly referred to violence are analyzed, it is found that among the most repeated words, these words that are related to violence has a weight of 39,28%. It is also significant to imply how the words

are related to violence are used. Hence, Table-26 was made in order to demonstrate what kind of a meaning-making is created by the use of words which are related to violence.

Table 26. Words Related with Violence Discourse

Aggressive: aggressive enemy, aggressive policy, aggressive initiations
Attack: attack and annihilation, fascist attacks, oppression and attack
Bloodthirstily: bloodthirstily method, bloodthirstily war, bloodthirstily policy
Bloody: bloody paw, bloody revolutions, bloody conflicts, bloody tyrants, bloody attacks, bloody and tyrant dicta
Disgusting: disgusting attack, disgusting murder
Guerilla: guerilla unions, guerilla warfare, guerilla groups, guerilla organization
Heavy/Hard/Harsh: heavy taxes, heavy exploitation and tyranny, heavy losses, heavy strike, heavy torture, heavy conditions
Militarist: militarist pressure, militarist execution
Oppressed: oppressed people
Struggle: struggle and fight, adverse struggle, revolutionist struggle, common struggle, struggle in the path of salvation, revolutionist struggle, realist struggle, struggle in the path of national salvation, ideological struggle, struggle determination, violently struggle, socialist struggle, democratic struggle, political struggle,
War/Battle: line of battle, dirty war, waging war, war devotee, bloodthirstily war, civil war, war prisoners, guerilla war, the spirit of war, independence war, revolutionist war, resistance war, war of freedom, just war

With the analysis of the words that carry characteristics of violence discourse, it is seen that certain image schemas are produced, which are ideologically conferred (Hart, 2014). For instance, with the framings of dirty war, violently struggle or disgusting murder/attack, it is seen that violence has a significant place in the identification of a situation in the discourse construction process. Additionally, the repetition of adjectives represents the importance of the idea through the increase in the intensity of the use of the selected words (Lakoff and Johnson).

Table-27 and Figure-9 are made by the selected words which imply the main discourse characteristic of Freedom Path (*Özgürlük Yolu*). This analysis is made in order to understand the discourse construction process of the journal. Words with the most repeated ones, the subsidiary words are included in the analysis. In this way, how an ethno-nationalist discourse is constructed through the years is aimed to be represented.

Table 27. The Selected Words According to Years

No.	Year	1975	1976	1977	1978/79	Grand Total
1	People	363	1.370	1.933	2.051	5.717
2	Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	431	914	1.213	1.413	3.971
3	Revolution/Revolutionist	484	889	1.081	1.381	3.835
4	Nation/National/Nationalism	746	545	1.159	1.295	3.745
5	Against	633	987	895	1.083	3.598
6	Struggle	365	986	1.061	1.053	3.465
7	Exploitation	206	537	1.193	1.266	3.202
8	Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	119	319	1.123	1.469	3.030
9	Imperialism/Imperialist	174	598	700	810	2.282
10	Power/Powerful/Force(s)	-	413	861	988	2.262
11	Movement	79	495	1.033	538	2.145
12	Fascist/Fascism	358	614	558	570	2.100
13	Mass	145	613	699	569	2.026
14	Politics/Political	149	363	704	703	1.919
15	Organization/Organized	385	504	332	350	1.571
16	War/Warrior/Şer	218	271	369	456	1.314
17	Free/Freedom	55	240	283	503	1.081
18	Salvation	224	242	317	295	1.078
19	Land/Homeland	179	106	304	467	1.056
20	Communal/Community	15	45	481	431	972
21	Economy/Economic	-	57	325	585	967
22	Kurdistan	21	96	429	417	963
23	Hegemon/Hegemony	90	134	299	268	791
24	East	274	160	145	94	673
25	Culture/Cultural	49	73	160	351	633
26	Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	139	214	71	147	571
27	Independent/Independency	31	84	156	126	397

Table 27. (Continued)

28	Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	60	91	84	134	369
29	Attack/Attacker	27	58	147	90	322
30	Language/Mother tongue	6	-	-	285	291
31	Patriot	10	41	147	91	289
32	Dependent/Dependency	-	-	52	85	137
33	Conscious/Consciousness	30	-	12	-	42
34	Autonomy	7	12	18	-	37
Grand Total		6.072	12.086	18.313	20.380	56.851

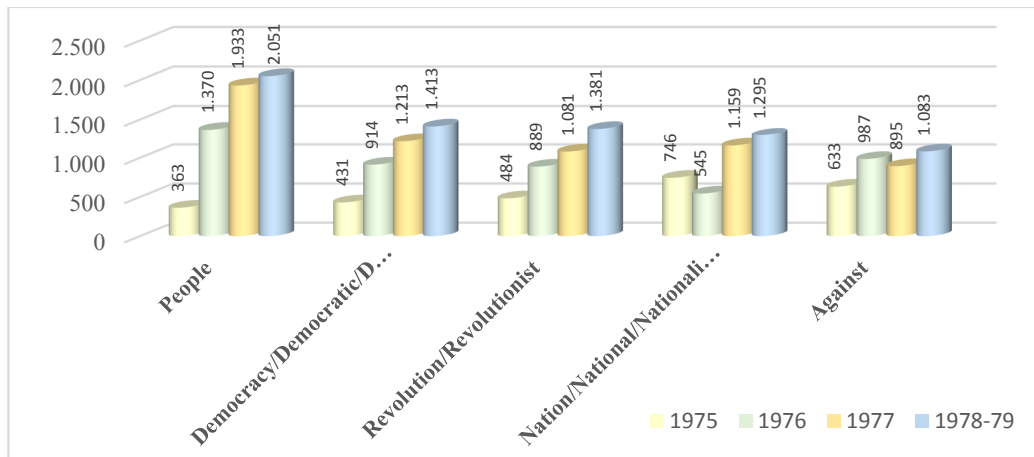


Figure 9. The Selected Words

It is observed from the analysis that there is an increase in the use of the words; culture, free/freedom, Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness, Kurdistan, land/homeland, language/mother tongue, and war/warrior/şer. When the use of these words is analyzed, it is observed that a systematic relationship is constructed between individual identity and collective identity. In this way, identity is re-produced and re-defined. Jenkins (2016) describes this transformation as “in individual level past is memory, in collective level past is history” (p.45).

In the analysis of the journal, being a Kurd is re-defined on the basis of the description of being free and struggling for freedom as a warrior. These definitions frame individual identity on the basis of collective identity through the re-invention of culture and the emphasis on territorialization and mother

tongue. In this way, a common past is re-contextualized under the purpose of the construction of Kurdishness. In this way, as Jenkins (2016) expresses, identity is produced by discourse, rhetoric and symbolism.

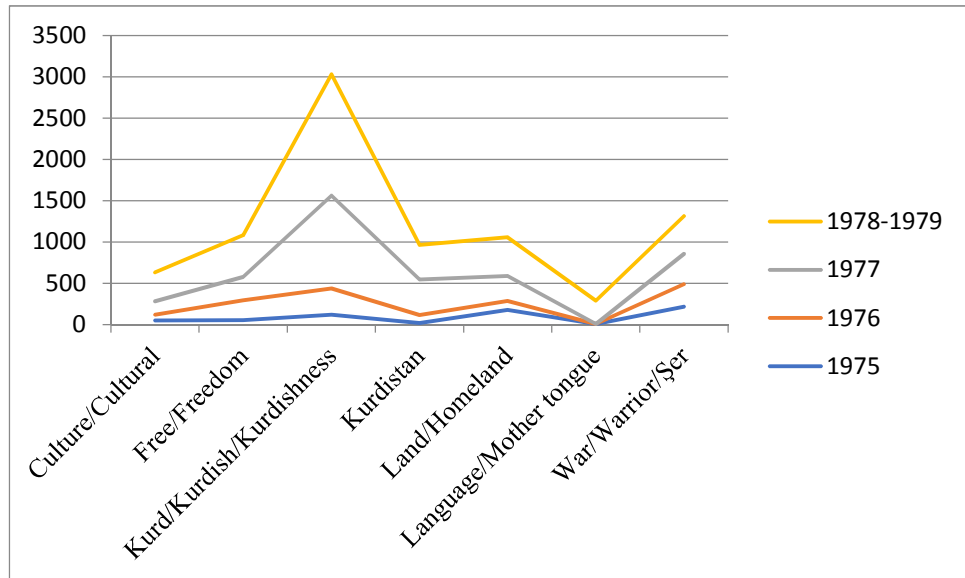


Figure 10. Demonstration of the Increase

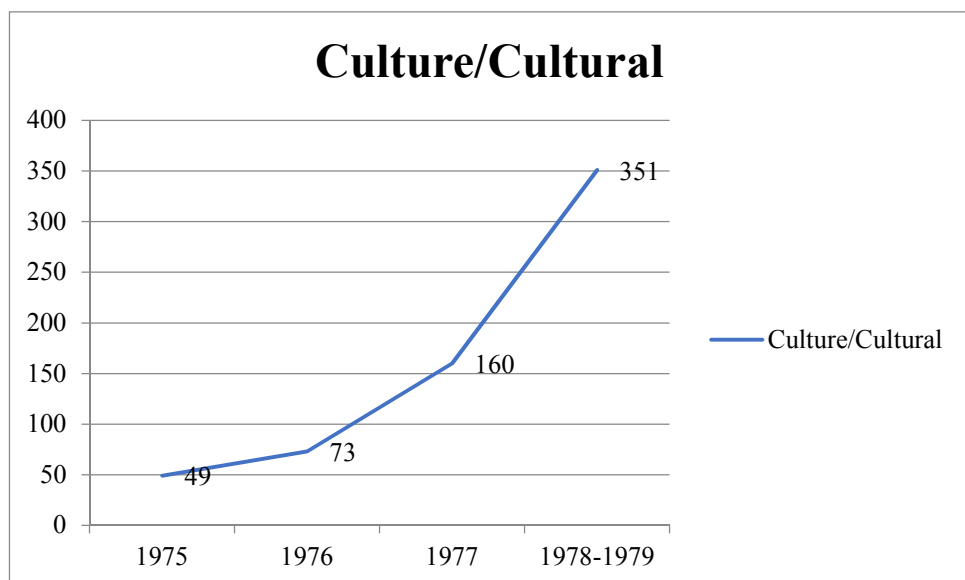


Figure 11. Increase Presentation of the Word: Culture/Cultural

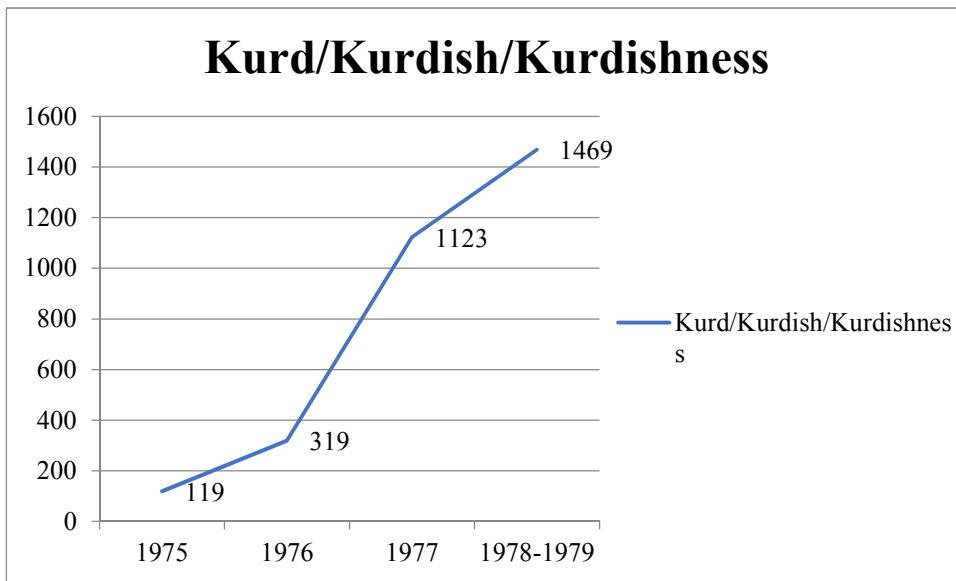


Figure 12. Increase Presentation of the Word: Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness

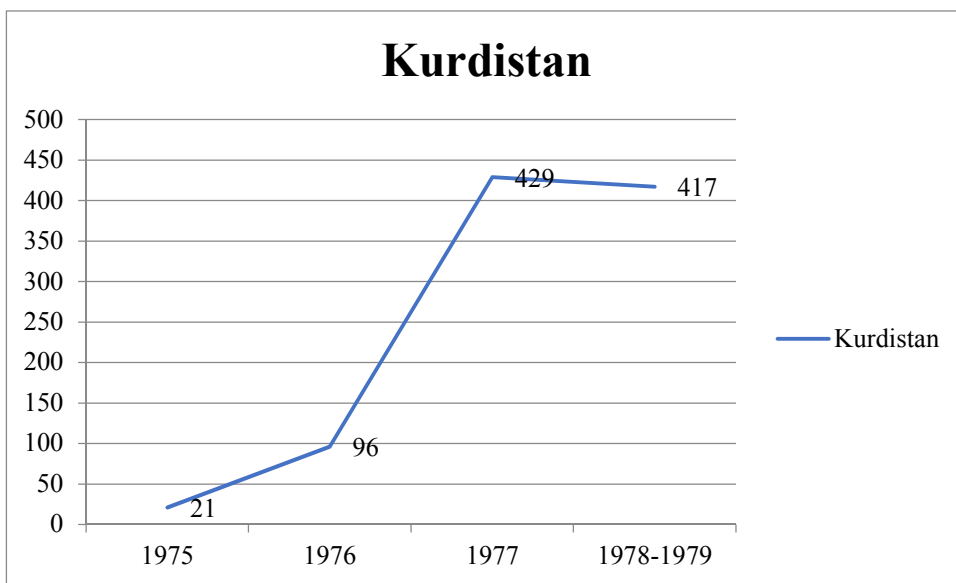


Figure 13. Increase Presentation of the Word: Kurdistan

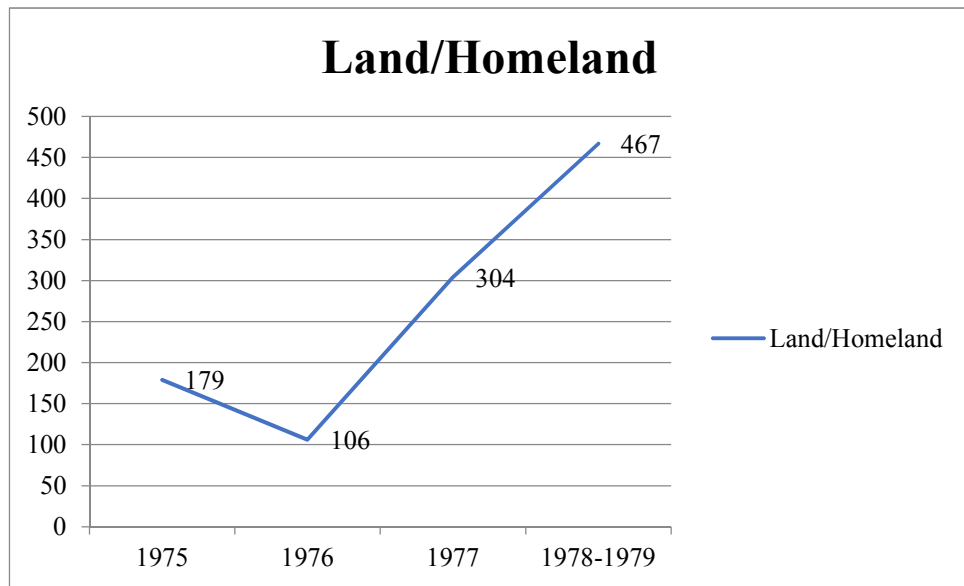


Figure 14. Increase Presentation of the Word: Land/Homeland

These increases in the number of words imply that the discourse establishment is shaped by an ethno-nationalist discursive. It is observed that by focusing more on cultural aspects of Kurdish people, through the reinvention of Kurdish cultural characteristics, ethnic-national issues are carried foreground. This discursive shift also elaborates the integration of political and cultural subjects in the discourse construction process. From the framing of Kurd by the use of symbols and metaphors, a new definition on Kurdishness is formed. This situation also implies the intertwining relationship between cultural codification and identity building in the discourse construction process.

In the establishment of a relationship between cultural codification and identity building, political issues are integrated into the cultural aspects of Kurdish people, which results in the reinvention of a new identity on Kurdishness. Smith (2009) underlines this situation by indicating that the rediscovery of the ethnic past maintains the boundaries and frameworks of a community by providing cultural models and national practices.

The main discourse strategies of the journal are identified as;

- Territorialization.
- Re-contextualization.
- Abstracting reality; *Kurdistan*, work for freedom, die for freedom.
- Self-direction; for instance, “Rebel! Form solidarity! Emancipate!”
- Metaphoric narration; by metaphoric narration, a context is established especially by the use of cultural elements. For example; narration on cultural resistance through fire.
- Use of deictic expressions; pronouns. For the definition of the in-group; I and we, in the definition of the out-group; they. In spatial deixis, current space as ‘here’ is described through the approximate threats. Temporal deixis is defined by the re-interpretation of the past in the present time with the projection of the future.
- Storytelling.
- The calling of an event with the name of place that an incident occurred. For example; the incidents of Malatya, the events of Elazığ.
- Repetition; there was a constant repetition of the specific words and conceptualizations in order to maintain a strength on specific narratives for the establishment of an idea over another. Additionally the aim was to create a specific consciousness and feelings on the readers. For example; victimhood, being victimized.
- Presupposition; in the meaning-making structure of the discourse, presupposition of the future was projected on the victory of the inner group and defeat of the outer group.
- Value classification and positioning; compartmentalization of symbolic orders and territorialization of tastes and values; us (our values) vs. them (their values), projection on moral values on Kurdishness, freedom, being progressive and etc. In value positioning; we was articulated into storylines of diversity and different types of groups.
- Categorization; use of category labels in the description of the in-group, out-group such as; good Kurd-bad Kurd, feudal-progressive.
- Integration of political issues into cultural aspects.

- Legitimization of the use of violence.

In this discursive construction process, specific manners are revealed as;

- From the message to resist < to struggle < to fight back either use violence or peaceful ways < use violence < to wage a legitimate war
- Emancipation < salvation < national independence
- Domination < oppression < exploitation < assimilation < genocide
- Mass < People < Kurds < Kurdish people < Kurdish nation
- Feudalism < socialism < nationalism < Kurdish nationalism

From the overall analysis, it is examined that in the journal of Freedom Path (*Özgürlük Yolu*) the discourse construction is made by the reinvention of Kurdish culture through creating a new definition on Kurdishness by integrating political subjects and elements related with violence in the meaning-making process. The discourse strategy of the journal is shaped on the basis of ethno-symbolism and ethno-nationalism. The main characteristic of discourse is ethno-symbolist and ethno-nationalist because discourse establishes a frame on cultural historical aspects of a “historical culture community” (Smith, 2009, p.39); Kurds.

Discourse on cultural self-images of Kurds are used to form a new sense of identity by culturally defining Kurdishness by the use of territorialization and political issues, which are re-interpreted through the integration of violence discourse on this construction process. The sociocultural organization of a group is characterized by the emphasis on the aspects of cultural and political identities (Smith, 2008).

In the discourse construction process of the journal, it is observed that Kurdishness is established on the idealization of an “imagined and felt community” (Smith, 2008, p.23). For instance Nawruz is re-contextualized as *Newroz* in which celebrating the welcoming of the spring is re-invented as the new born of Kurds into a free new day. The celebration of *Newroz* is framed on

the basis of resistance, revenge and salvation. It is re-constructed as a national unity and struggle day. The example for the use of ethno-symbolist discourse can be given from the use of word; fire. Fire is conceptualized symbolically by making a fire for the celebration of *Newroz* and framing it as revolutionist fire.

In the construction process of culturally re-defined and politically framed discourse, situations are represented in order to form a collective perception on a specific issue, which then turn into a part of collective identity. For example; in the representation of Lice earthquake, the natural disaster that was experienced in a specific area is interpreted on the basis of the policies against Kurds. By the formation of a collective memory, individual identifies him/herself in the group and feels belonging to the group with the stories and the memories. However, collective consciousness is not a static stock of memories, but it is dynamic based on the interests, beliefs and needs of the group (Bilgin, 2013). Therefore it is re-interpreted and re-invented in time, which is observed in the discourse construction process of the journal. In the construction process of the journal, it is noticed that a common image on past is characterized in order to determine the boundaries of the in-group.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis analyses the transformation process of Kurdish tribal identity to national identity and attempts to explain how feelings on ethnicity can turn into nationalistic movements. In this transformation process, 1970s had significance because of the discursive reconstruction of Kurdish identity along nationalist politics and struggle. In this period, being Kurdish had been redefined around re-invented constituents through which Kurdish tribal identity has received a political meaning with the rise of nationalistic attitudes in Kurdish culture.

Throughout out my research, I have observed that, there had been a re-definition and re-construction of cultural subjects through political frames such as the re-invention and re-interpretation of Nawruz as *Newroz* through its articulation with the Kawa legend. Additionally, in 1970s, nationalistic connotations on being Kurdish had been introduced especially by the re-interpretation of the Kurdish classics such as *Mem u Zin* and *Sharafname*. Furthermore, I have investigated and analyzed the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), which was one of the pioneer publications of 1970s, in order to explore and display the scope and range of discursive reconstruction of Kurdish political identity.

In this period, modern Kurdish movement was politicized through the selectively incorporated cultural and national constituents. *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) as a monthly published political journal in 1970s had a significant circulation number, increasing from 5.000 to 12.000 in its publication period. This implies an important reader capacity. This can also be understood from the demands of the readers to add a special place on Kurdish art and literature in the journal. This demand implies the effect of the journal on its readers, which represents the mutual interaction between the readers and the journal. Both quantitatively and

qualitatively, these indicate that the journal had a popularity bringing about its leading position in its period through publishing writings on Kurds.

Hence, the reason for the selection of this journal is because it was one of the leading journals in its period that publish writings on political developments and Kurdish culture. With this thesis, it is represented that *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) constructed a discourse on Kurdishness through re-interpreting Kurdish cultural characteristics by integrating political constituents and through promoting political violence by the use of specific symbols, metaphors and narratives.

In the examination of the journal, it is found that traditional cultural constituents were re-interpreted with political issues with the integration of a discourse on violence. It is detected that in the projection of values and in their positioning and classification, violence was used as a constituent. As a result of my detailed investigation of the journal I have found that the conceptualization of the violence was constructed on the discourse of the persistence of a constant threat. This framing strategy was used for the justification of the use of violence against the defined enemy.

In the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) Kurdish cultural aspects were re-interpreted and combined by national constituents. Kurdish culture that had been constructed was not the folk culture as it had been experienced in everyday life, but a culture that was invented according to Kurdish nationalist discourse. In the analysis of the journal, it is observed that the language of the journal is ideologically constructed. These evaluations are confirmed by the publishers' defining *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) as a journal, which included writings on Kurdish history, language, literature, and Kurdish national struggle.

As Hart (2014) indicates language gains an ideological characteristic when one perspective over another is tried to be promoted. Therefore, for the examination of the journal, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used in order to understand

and explain the ideological construction process of the discourse. In the first step, the research question is studied by CDA on 44 issues of the journal that was published between 1975-1979. In the second step of the analysis by the use of Maxqda software technique, statistical data is represented and interpreted with the findings from CDA. The discourse construction process of the journal is analyzed in four steps on the basis of the methods of CDA, which are event space, time/place space, mental space and discourse space.

5.1. Findings of Event Space

By event space, the positions of the subjects and their interaction with each other in spatial area is explored with how the antagonist and protagonist are positioned in the discourse. In this study, it is found that the event space was constructed on the conceptualization of territorialization. In this territorialization process, east as a direction was conceptualized on the basis of a territorial region that had been identified as a victim by being kept backward.

As Demmers (2012) underlines, social categorization has a crucial role for an individual's need to belong and the need to secure sense of self. In the journal, conceptualization on territorialization served the need for social categorization of an individual. By territorialization conceptualization, the need to belong to a group was established. Territorialization on eastern region forms physically and socially a description on categorization which was based on the identification of the in-group. Forming a socially and physically defined territory based on categorization promotes emotions on territorialization. By this categorization while in-group was identified, out group was described, as well.

This social and physical categorization on the *Eastern* region was then transformed into *Kurdistan*. It is found that all the subjects in the discourse were positioned according to this territorialization conceptualization. For example, *Kurdistan* territory was defined as a place where the Kurds should courageously and gloriously clash with the enemy powers. Additionally, with a lyrical

narration, cultural aspects of Kurdish identity were used in the identification of *Kurdistan*. Under this purpose for instance in the discourse; the mountains of *Kurdistan* were represented as the places where resistance and freedom could be achieved.

In the framing of *Kurdistan*, promissory future was used with the words that carry certainty expressions. In the discursive space construction, *Kurdistan* was used to concretize the imagined country and future was established on this imagination. *Kurdistan* was framed especially on the basis of its backwardness. Therefore, revolutionist struggle was framed to save excluded and exploited *Kurdistan*. The imagined territory: *Kurdistan* was used as a base and legitimization factor in the formation and mobilization of a national consciousness, unity, resistance, and national movement in the targeted group.

Backwardness and being disadvantaged were two other key terms that were used for conceptualization of the event space. Backwardness and being disadvantaged of the people of the East were used as an identification aspect on Kurdishness. It is observed that Kurdishness in the first step was defined according to territorialization. In this identification process on Kurdishness, comparison was used as a discourse strategy. The comparison was repeatedly made between the specification of the *East* region and the rest of Turkey. It is observed that the comparison strategy was established on diversification. In this way, a specific region was purified for Kurdish people. In the purified and alienated piece of territory, struggle as an action was introduced in the conceptualization of territorialization. The discourse on a purified territory was constructed through stressing the need for a struggle for this territory by Kurdish people. In addition to the conceptual connection between territory and struggle, an imagined line was drawn between in-group and out-group. In this purification strategy, in-group was defined as good, while out-group was described as bad and the enemy. Hence, the line between us vs. them was underlined precisely.

In the examination of the event space, it is observed that events are named and specified according to their geographical locations. In this way, in the discourse construction process, it is observed that conflict was framed through forming new definitions such as Lice earthquake as Lice incident. By the overall analysis of the event space, it is understood that through the territorialization of the values, establishment of an imagined community was maintained by forming a discourse on *Kurdistan*, which was used in the construction of Kurdishness under the purpose of evoking nationalistic sentiments.

5.2. Findings of Time/Place Space

In the examination of the time/place space; it is searched for how historical and cultural contexts were constructed through examining for what kind of a meaning was given to past, present, and future. Because as McKinlay and McVittie (2008) emphasize, national identities which are composed of collectivity depend on descriptions of time and place.

In the inquiry on discourse construction process of the journal, another dynamic has been the research on what was carried from the past to the present in order to construct the future perception. It is found that in the journal, the present time's conditions were defined, and future was projected according to the things that must have been done in the present conditions. Future tense was especially used for motivating the reader through good messages that are promissory.

In the narration of the events, especially past was re-interpreted in the present, while a promised future was projected. In this process, memory plays a crucial role through bringing past into the present and provide the imagination of the future in the present (Charon, 2009). The future that was imagined and promised was characterized as a target that must be reached. In order to reach the promised and imagined future, the things that had to be done were framed through organized and active struggle. 'Masses should be organized' was a repeated phrase for the present time's necessity.

Additionally, present situation was framed through the use of future threats. Therefore, struggle as a collective action in present time was underlined as a *sine qua non*. While present time was defined as the period of constant struggle and fighting, the future was framed on the basis of the present time's conditions, for which the constant struggle and fighting should be carried on until the collective purpose was achieved.

5.3. Findings of Mental Space

Elaborating mental space explains how the social world and reality are represented by the use of discourse. In the search for mental space, what kind of stories, metaphors and symbols were used is examined. In order to understand how mental space is constructed, the descriptive preferences of the situations should be considered. In order to reveal the descriptive preferences of the situations, the following questions are posed; what kind of conceptual metaphors are produced? What kind of cognitive frames are established? What kind of naming practices and analogical connectors are used?

It is found that in the formation of the mental space, collective identity was a crucial phenomenon that created the basis of the mental space. In the journal, collective identity was framed on the basis of a persistent threat from the enemy. Therefore, under the purpose of the formation of collective identity, togetherness was underlined in the journal. Collective identity was concretized by establishing a common front against the ones who were identified as the other. In the narration of the inner group, being the member of the in-group was framed as a privilege and it was described that having the right to be in the in-group should be gained.

From the analysis, it is observed that there was an increase in the use of the words; culture, free/freedom, Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness, *Kurdistan*, land/homeland, language/mother tongue, and war/warrior/*şer*. When the use of these words is analyzed, it is observed that a systematic relationship was

constructed between individual and collective identity. In this way, identity was re-produced and re-defined. In the analysis of the journal, being Kurdish was re-defined on the basis of the description of being free and struggling for freedom as a warrior. These definitions framed individual identity on the basis of collective identity through the re-invention of culture and the emphasis on territorialization and mother tongue. In this way, a common past was re-contextualized under the purpose of the construction of Kurdishness.

As another significant aspect in the construction of the mental space in discourse, it is seen that through the projection of the future, an abstract reality was created on the basis of an undefeatable future. Being suffered by the enemy in the present time was used to foster we-ness. In the discourse strategy of the journal, it is observed that in the establishment of the conceptual metaphors; negativity on the naming of the outer group and its actions, positivity on the naming of the inner group and its actions were maintained. In the formation of cognitive frame, relational connectors were formed between, national movement, national unity, resistance and war. All these situations are gathered under the definition of being Kurdish.

In the examination of the mental space, discourse construction on the conceptualization of the struggle was shaped on the basis of legitimization. With the identification of the outer group, inner group was described specifically as the Kurdish people who were aimed to be eliminated and slaughtered. In the identification of the Kurdish people, a new dimension was added with establishing a diversification between the good Kurd and the bad Kurd. While good Kurd was defined as progressive, revolutionist and democrat, bad Kurd was described as traditionalist, obscurant, primitive and fascist. By these specific identifications, legitimization for the need to armed struggle was established for instance with the introduction of the word, genocide. Violence was framed as a legitimate mean for national struggle. Another discourse strategy in the search for mental space is detected with the maintenance of an analogical connector between a natural disaster and political issues. Between an earthquake and

genocide, a relational meaning was constructed; in the framing of Lice earthquake, genocide was used as a relational phenomenon.

In the journal, the construction process of the mental space was established in three stages. In the first stage, there was the identification of who the enemy is. In the second stage, emotions were framed in order to form a specific action against the enemy, which was defined as struggle through the formation of an actionable solidarity. In the third stage, who should take part in the struggle was described and the concept of struggle was identified. An identity was described for the ones who should take part in the struggle such as progressive. Moreover, struggle was defined through freedom, emancipation, and salvation, in which at the last step the conceptualization of the struggle was transformed into the national movement of Kurdish people and Kurdish revolution. Additionally, in the process to form national movement, violence was identified as a mandatory constituent in the mental space construction.

5.4. Findings of Discourse Space

In the search for discourse space, the discursive construction of Kurdishness by cultural and political aspects is examined. Moreover, discursive integration of violence into cultural and political practices is explored. It is found that discourse space was constructed on ethnic nationalism. With the 9th issue, it is examined that ethnic nationalist discourse was started to be elaborated through the components of the socialist ideology. Use of concepts from the socialist ideology such as socialism, revolutionist, working class, socialist revolution and proletariat were fused with nationalistic claims.

It is noticed that in the discourse space construction process; in the first step, culture was defined as a national pride that should be protected against exploitation and feudalism. In the second step, it was stressed that for the protection of the national pride, national liberation revolution should be aimed. In the third step, it was put forward that the way for the national liberation

revolution could be achieved under the flag of working class and by socialism. In this way, it is observed that ethnic nationalism, in the beginning was constructed discursively on the conceptualizations of the socialist ideology.

Even though socialist conceptualizations were used in the journal, in some point it was defended that national dominance over people could not only be explained by capitalism. It is observed that after the use of socialist ideology as a base for the nationalistic claims, a transition occurred in discourse strategy through the emphasis that socialist conceptualizations were not enough to address the nationalistic claims. With this divergence, it is observed in the later issues that main emphasis in discourse turned into ethnic nationalism. The traits of ethnic nationalism in the construction of discourse space are observed firstly in the framing of *Kurdistan* as an imagined country. As Hart (2010) indicates imagined communities represent a mental image for the unity of its members through the production of discourse and history, which frame group boundaries through the perceived threats from out-group members. It is observed that ethnic nationalism was described on the basis of this imagined country. With the introduction of later issues, it is examined that in the discourse construction process of ethnic nationalism, self-determination was framed by the concepts of genocide, racism, and massacre. By the framing of the events as war, with the emphasis on genocide, racism and massacre, narration on the imagined territory, *Kurdistan*, was strengthened by war imagery. In this war imagery, the out-group was represented as the carrier of barbarous annihilation war, while the in-group was identified as the carrier of the national salvation war. The framing on the basis of being a nation was widened by the concept of national duty that was constructed to define the necessary action. This action was framed as to overthrow the chauvinist regime and the establishment of autonomous *Kurdistan*. Thus, use of violence in the form of armed struggle was rationalized and offered as a solution.

It is found that in the narration on national identity, language and culture were specifically emphasized. The unique characteristic of Kurdish language and culture were underlined. Additionally, it is observed that the emphasis on

national identity was discursively maintained by specific themes, which were about Kurdish population, language, culture, education, feudalism, and unity.

In the construction of discourse space, the concept of culture was re-contextualized. It is detected that cultural elements were redefined. One of the main strategies in the construction of the discourse space is seen through the definition of culture by ethnic-nationalist constituents. In the journal, the question of national culture was posed as a problem of hegemony. It was stated that this problem could be overcome when the independence of the exploited people is realized through a nationalist movement. It was claimed that in this way, national culture could be developed because symbols of national resistance would develop and enhance a nation's culture. The discourse on nationalist struggle offered and maintained a re-invention and reconstruction of new stories, symbols and metaphors that would mobilize people around collective national identification.

So, Kurdish folk songs, epics, poems and myths were revealed as the stock of knowledge to frame political events, wars, cruelty, exiles and massacres. Hence, in the journal, discourse on Kurdishness was constructed through integration of political and cultural constituents. Therefore, in the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), under the art and literature section, the pieces were selected specifically from Kurdish writers and all subjects were about Kurdish culture. It is observed that the main aim was to make Kurdish culture visible in which political issues were integrated into cultural constituents. All the subjects in the sections of art and literature were given first in Kurdish and then in Turkish.

In the process of shaping the discourse space, storytelling is examined as another method. In the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), the storytelling method was used in the sections of art and literature. Using stories, the old customs were narrated as how they were outdated and what kind of a change was needed to overcome the negative effects of the old customs. Additionally, storytelling method strengthens the narration of collective memory through bringing past to

the current and projection of the future by the use of past in the current time. In the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu (Freedom Path)*, through the re-invention of the culture by way of myths and symbols, collective identity was concretized by the use of discourse on collective memory. In this way, in the journal of *Özgürlük Yolu (Freedom Path)*, a new understanding about Kurdishness was constructed using Kurdish cultural traits. Past cultural aspects and practices of Kurdish culture were re-invented based on the journal's ideology.

In the examination of the journal, it is revealed that in the discourse strategy of the journal, traditional Kurdish cultural characteristics were re-invented and re-interpreted with the attachment of political meanings to cultural constituents and a discourse was constructed on Kurdish ethnic nationalism. In this construction process, with the introduction of Kurdish ethnic nationalism, discursive moral orders/values were developed, as well. One of the prominent moral values was established on forming unity.

It is elaborated that the moral values around the formation of unity were framed on the basis of resistance against exploitation and injustice. Discursive construction of moral values is observed for instance in the framing of *Mem-u Zin*, which is a popular epic of Kurdish culture. In the framing of this epic, it is observed that cultural characteristics of Kurdish people were underlined by national signifiers and especially the necessity to form unity was stressed.

In the discursive construction of the external threat; concepts such as massacre and assimilation were specifically emphasized. There was not an identified action of massacre and assimilation, but it was defined that there was the threat of an action that had the potential to carry the qualification of a massacre or assimilation. These two concepts were framed as revealing the intent of the enemy to assimilate or slaughter Kurdish people. Struggle and fighting were framed as the ways to reach progress and advancement. Additionally, the only possible way to reach national independence was narrated by armed struggle.

Violence was narrated as an action that had been constantly and continuously directed against Kurdish people. Violence was framed on the basis of animosity, racism, fascism, terror, cruelty, oppression, torture, exploitation, discrimination, elimination, tyranny, segregation, genocide, rage and hatred. The term violence came to exhaust negativity to such an extent that it denoted all aspects of evil about the enemy. Another significant discourse strategy in the framing of violence depended on the identification of the in and out groups' actions. The actions of the in-group were narrated on the basis of the legitimization for the use of violence discursive against the out-group.

With the analysis of epistemic and temporal proximization, it is found that violence was framed on the basis of the conceptualizations of exploitation, cruelty, suffering, racism, chauvinism, discriminatory policies, tyranny, oppression, fascist terror and attacks. They were represented as enduring, perpetual, constant, ongoing, and continuing. By this way, threat perception was constructed on the basis of perpetuity. Events were defined through blood, murder, and genocide.

Construction of the threat perception on the basis of permanence was used as the legitimate basis for the existence of frustration, rage, distrust, hatred and animosity of Kurdish people. These emotional definitions were described for the identification of the necessary actions. These actions were identified as revolutionist struggle, natural fight for national and democratic rights, demand of freedom and national movement of Kurdish people. Construction of emotions and actions were used for the projection of a future. Future was defined as undefeatable for Kurdish people, the victory of the oppressed people, unstoppable revolutionist, and democratic struggle of the Kurdish people, and breaking the chains of Kurdish nation's captivity.

When the words that are directly and indirectly referred to violence are analyzed, it is observed that in the use of words; against, armed/armament, blood/bloody/*bixwin*, exploitation, fascist/fascism, heavy/hard/harsh,

power/powerful/force(s), pressure, salvation, terror, tyranny/tyrant/bloodily and war/warrior/şer, a steady increase is observed. Additionally, in 1978-1979, it is detected that new words; assimilation, bitterness, denial, protest, and slavery were introduced into the discourse. By the selection of these words in the discourse construction process, the framing of violence acted by the enemy towards the in-group was used as a legitimization for the conduct of violence against the enemy. It is observed that in the use of words that are related directly and indirectly with violence, it was aimed to keep the enemy threat alive in the in-group. This reveals another discourse strategy of the journal, which is positioning. Positioning strategy provides to see things from a particular perspective. With the analysis of the words that carry characteristics of violence discourse, it is seen that certain image schemas (Hart, 2014) were produced, which were ideologically conferred. For instance, with the framings of dirty war, violent struggle, or disgusting murder/attack, it is seen that violence had a significant place in the identification of a situation in the discourse construction process.

With the year of 1975, in the first issues, there was not a specific indication on Kurdish culture and ethnic-nationalist invocations on Kurdishness. The main subject was about the power relations between imperialist and colonial actors and the people who were defined as oppressed and discriminated. This power relation was explained by the class conceptualization. The main emphasis of the journal was based on showing the necessity to get organized against imperialism, feudalism, racism, and fascism. Based on these conceptualizations the definition of who we are and who they are identified precisely. In this way who would organize and against whom were described in detail. In the year 1975, organizational emphasis for being united was combined with ideological struggle emphasis.

With the entrance of its second year, in 1976, *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) used a strategy on narratives especially by focusing on Kurdish nationalism, in the form of ethnic nationalism. By defining the problem, solution was framed on

the basis of organized struggle. Framing was made on the oppression of Kurdish people through victimization and the solution was framed by the solidarity of working class and oppressed Kurdish people, which could be achieved only by organizing. The socialist ideology was used as a base for the establishment of ethnic nationalist discourse. The narration of the exploitation of the oppressed turned into the discourse of national salvation on the basis of the terms of ethnic nationalism. From 1976 to 1979, ethnic nationalist discourse of the journal was preserved.

In this discourse construction process, there are certain steps for ideological mobilization of the reader. It is examined that in the first step, an idea was revealed. In the second step, the idea was framed by specific narrations under the purpose of the creation of a consciousness about this specific idea. In the third step emotions were integrated into the framing strategy. The identified idea was strengthened by its specification with the formed and defined emotions. In the fourth step, by the use of emotions a collective memory was aimed to be established by naming and specifying incidents, and describing in-group and out-group.

By naming and specifying the incidents and constructing a collective memory on specific situations, in the discursive construction, a specific idealization was maintained for the reader, which also guided the reader in the establishment of an idea. For example, exploitation of the Kurdish people made the struggle of dominated people legitimate, which could turn into an armed struggle for emancipation. Resistance was framed as a must and violence was indicated as a necessary constituent for the national independence struggle.

As a result of the study on *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) through CDA, it is observed that the discursive construction on Kurdishness in the 1970s had been established basically through the emphasis on oppression, exploitation, and assimilation. This discursive strategy had been shaped through the socialist ideology framings, which later transformed into ethnic nationalist narrations.

After a while, this framing was transformed into the struggle of the Kurdish people for their national independence and the promised future was framed on the basis of free *Kurdistan*. For the promised future, a good organized socialist party was framed as the only appropriate instrument.

In *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), ethno-symbolic discursive construction is observed as the main strategy of the journal in its preference on narration. In this sense this thesis is an attempt to contribute to Anthony Smith's ethno-symbolic approach in the construction of nationhood. Smith (2009) enlightens the reason behind the debates on historical-cultural traits through stating that; "...cultural nationalists hoped to place their political projects on firm historical foundations and convince their kinsmen, as well as a hostile world, of the truth of their claims" (p.71). In the case of Kurdish nationalism ethno-symbolic construction of national identity is observed in the interpretation of the meanings of the events through shared myths and symbols. Thus, cultural traditions were used as a foundation for the formation of a collective memory. A reconstructed common past was narrated. Through the framing of a common past, collective, and shared present were constituted and a collective future was projected. For the definition of the past, present and future; national symbols, invented traditions and rituals were extensively used. Cultural metaphors and the values that were produced from these metaphors were transferred by rituals.

The main characteristic of nationalist discourse has an ethno-symbolic aspect because discourse establishes a frame on cultural historical aspects of a "historical culture community" (Smith, 2009, p.39) of the Kurds. By the examination of the *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), it is revealed that the main discourse of Kurdishness is constructed on a narrative of ethno-symbolic nationhood, which as a discourse maintained the general characteristic of Kurdishness today, as well. The ethno-symbolic approach to nationalism is very crucial today in explaining the social and political meaning that is attributed to certain actions and rituals such as in the celebration of *Newroz*. It is not a celebration of the welcoming of the spring but as the implication of resistance

and the identification of *Kurdistan* as the imagined national territory. Furthermore, narratives, metaphors and symbols on assimilation, exploitation, domination and backwardness that were produced in *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) are still used and referred to in similar publications such as *Özgür Halk* (Free People) today.

Ethnic nationalist character of the journal showed up with the introduction of specific words in the description of nationalism which were consciousness, resistance, independence, culture, autonomy, right, Kurd/Kurdish and *Kurdistan*. The use of Kurdish words started in the issues of 15-16. Kurdish words were started to be used with the introduction of Kurdish cultural pieces. By the introduction of cultural subjects, it is observed that in their interpretation political issues were integrated into cultural subjects. On an imagined territory, war imagery was discursively constructed on the basis of why there was need to fight and against whom through the definition of the inner and outer groups. This war imagery started with the definition of struggle which was escalated into the definition of a war that required violence. The cultural and political constituents of Kurdish identity were interpreted through the establishment of a discourse on violence. The political events were interpreted by cultural constituents. In that, a re-interpretation of the cultural traditions had been performed in the construction of a nationalist discourse. The discourse construction strategy of the journal has depended on constant and persisting emphasis on ethnic ties, ethnic symbols, myths, and traditions which were all re-invented in the process.

From the overall analysis of the journal, I have revealed that the meaning of being Kurdish was re-defined and re-constructed and gained new connotations through the re-interpretation of cultural and political constituents. In the journal, it is observed that Kurdish identity was re-shaped on the basis of ethnic-nationalist context. Cognitive reorganization on the perception of being Kurdish was formed by way of new interpretations of the past, present and future. This aimed to shape thinking, learning, remembering, and forgetting processes of the readers. Imagination on *Kurdistan* was constructed on the basis of the formation

of a collective identity. In the construction of collective identity, national unity and national movement were defined as the main components.

As Gingrich (2004) implies, meaning systems are contextualized by shared symbols and images. In the discursive re-construction of Kurdishness in the journal, new defined identity was standardized on the formation of meaning systems which were contextualized by shared symbols and images. For instance, the image of being Kurdish was constructed in terms of being slaughtered and oppressed or an earthquake was interpreted on the basis of associating it with genocide. The self-image of being under the constant threat of the enemy was maintained through concretizing who the enemy is.

In the journal, with the identification of an enemy, collective consciousness was also established through a demand to struggle against the enemy. Under this purpose collective stories were formed and used. For example, based on the earthquake occurred in Lice/Diyarbakır, all Kurds were addressed as neglected by the government in purpose and the death of people were connected to genocide. In this way, by the use of earthquake as a story and metaphor, shared memories of the incident were converted into a collective consciousness on the basis of fostering the ideas and beliefs on being neglected, slaughtered and eliminated. Based on the image of the enemy and its provocation through the current period's conditions by connecting it with the similar past incidents shaped the collective action understanding of the group. Furthermore, in the journal, based on the formation of a collective memory on being Kurdish and corresponding moral orders and values, a distinction was made on the good Kurd and the bad. Good Kurd was defined through certain image schemas which were framed by resistance, struggle, and waging war against the enemy.

In this research, it is possible to observe the process of identity construction of the self through a discourse. By the analysis of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), it is seen that within a historical, cultural, and political context, a new collective identity can be constructed by the use of various discursive strategies. In this

context, a newly defined Kurdishness that unites each Kurd on the imagined territory of *Kurdistan* was projected. This was constructed on an ongoing process through the meaning-making, which guided the people on the way that was defined. Through the investigation and analysis of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path), it became possible to display the mutual and interactive relation between narrative and self.

This thesis is an attempt to contribute to nationalism studies through emphasizing how a new collective identity can be constructed through the re-interpretation of cultural constituents and political issues including integration of violence into discourse. This study reveals how a new collective identity such as Kurdish identity can be constituted with the systematic use of discourse, such as introducing new meanings through strengthening them with symbols and narratives and how they can affect the cognitions, understandings, and actions of individuals. This study is descriptive on the basis of revealing how Kurdish national identity is constructed by the use of discourse that composes of cultural and political elements with narratives on violence. Based on the scope of the thesis, it is not searched and discussed for what kind of events or situations caused to the formation of such kind of a discourse construction on Kurdishness. This study addresses how Kurdish nationalism and nationhood had been constructed in the primary sources that I have explored and analyzed.

Today, in Turkish politics, there is a framing on ‘Kurdish problem’, which is still defined on the basis of past issues. The analysis of *Özgürlük Yolu* (Freedom Path) is important to understand today’s political disputes through the framing of ‘Kurdish problem’. As a constructed national identity, ethno-symbolic connotations of Kurdishness with its justification to use violence had been transmitted to next generations. Therefore, the discourse on violence which was established on the basis of cultural-political subjects are still used as an ideological base for the justification of its use. In this study, the purpose is to reveal how past issues can be transmitted to present-day and makes it possible to

form a collective understanding through the re-invention of cultural subjects by the integration of political issues with a certain discourse on violence.

The current discourse on Kurdishness, refers, utilizes, and motivated by the discursive construction of Kurdish nationhood that I have been trying to reveal and explain in this study. This study is an attempt to establish the fact that the re-interpretation and re-invention of Kurdish culture through political constituents can be traced back to 1970s. The findings of this research can help us to understand how the main ingredients of Kurdish nationhood has been transmitted to discourse on being Kurdish in the 2000s through the exploration of its cultural, political constituents and formation of narratives on violence.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Tables Represent the Count of Words According to Each Issue

Table-A.1: Freedom Path-Number 1/June 1975

Word Count: 4782 (TTR=0,5340)

Words	Count of Words
Vietnam	104
America/American	72
War/Warrior	48
Country	47
Against	46
People	45
Africa	45
Salvation	37
Imperialism/Imperialist	37
Revolution/Revolutionist	33
Politics/Political	30
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	29
Attack/Attacker	27
Government/Governance	26
Nation/National/Nationalism	25
Reactionary	22
Socialism/Socialist	21
Youth	20
Fascist/Fascism	20
Resistance	17
Land	17
Struggle	17
Today	16
East	12
Organization/Organized	11
Kurd/Kurdistan	10
Bloody	9
Progressive	8
Oppressed	7
Guerilla	7
Laborer	6

Table-A.2: Freedom Path-Number 3/August 1975**Word Count: 5042 (TTR=0,4784)**

Words	Count of Words
Against	168
Socialist/Socialism	117
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	94
Bourgeoisie	94
People	89
Feudal	86
Organization/Organized	72
Struggle	64
East	58
Revolution/Revolutionist	55
Kurd	50
Reactionary	49
Worker	41
Movement	39
Party	36
Nation/National/Nationalism	31
Laborer	30
Progressive	30
Land	28
Mass	27
Today	25
Crucial	22
Tribe	21
We	20
Exploitation	20
Fascist/Fascism	20
Turkey	17
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	17
Hegemon/Hegemony	16
Kurdistan	14
Pressure	12
Race/Racist/Racism	10
Conservative	10
Salvation	9
Freedom	7
Conscious/Consciousness	7

Table-A.3: Freedom Path-Number 4/September 1975

Word Count: 5116 (TTR=0,5131)

Words	Count of Words
People	98
Land	81
Against	57
Korea	55
Bulgaria	46
Socialism/Socialist	40
Fascist/Fascism	33
Imperialism/Imperialist	30
Urfa	27
We	22
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	21
Organization/Organized	21
Today	20
Resistance	17
Culture/Cultural	15
Nation/National/Nationalism	14
Struggle	13
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	13
Exploitation	13
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	12
Pressure	10
Laborer	10

Table-A.4: Freedom Path-Number 5/October 1975**Word Count: 7885 (TTR=0,4471)**

Words	Count of Words
Nation/National/Nationalism	213
Worker	103
Against	97
Exploitation	74
Revolution/Revolutionist	72
Struggle	67
Organization/Organized	62
Socialism/Socialist	56
Lice	56
Land	53
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	48
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	47
Earthquake	47
Imperialism/Imperialist	43
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	41
Russia	40
Salvation	38
Portugal	37
Pressure	35
Revolution	30
Laborer	29
Class	29
War	28
We	27
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	26
Palestine	24
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	22
Independent/Independancy	21
Feudal	20
Tunceli	19
Politics/Political	18
West	16
Today	16
Movement	15
Diyarbakır	12
Culture/Cultural	12
Israel	11
Progress/Progressive	11

Words	Count of Words
Turkey	10
Fascist/Fascism	10
Ankara	9
Freedom	9
Autonomy	7
Conscious/Consciousness	6

Table-A.5: Freedom Path-Number 6/November 1975

Word Count: 8228 (TTR=0,4274)

Words	Count of Words
Nation/National/Nationalism	221
Worker	169
Revolution/Revolutionist	139
East	133
Against	127
War	100
Turkey	95
Nation/National/Nationalism	221
Worker	169
Revolution/Revolutionist	139
East	133
Against	127
War	100
Turkey	95
Socialism/Socialist	84
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	81
Social	80
Struggle	74
Salvation	66
Fascist/Fascism	65
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	64
West	48
Chauvin/Chavunist/Chauvinism	43
Organization/Organized	40
Progress/Progressive	39
Today	32
Laborer	32
Hegemon/Hegemony	30
Hakkari	28

Words	Count of Words
Politics/Political	25
We	23
Exploitation	22
Bingöl	22
Tunceli	22
Feudal/Feudalism	21
Gaziantep	20
Ağrı	18
Diyarbakır	17
Bitlis	17
Erzurum	17
Mardin	17
Siirt	17
Erzincan	16
Muş	16
Race/Racist/Racism	15
Bloody	13
Culture/Cultural	9
Tribe	7

Table-A.6: Freedom Path-Number 7/December 1975

Word Count: 9552 (TTR=0,4130)

Words	Count of Words
Nation/National/Nationalism	242
Democracy/Democratic	180
Revolution/Revolutionist	155
Fascist/Fascism	147
Against	138
People	131
Socialism/Socialist	130
Struggle	130
Mass	118
Organization/Organized	92
Reactionary	81
Turkey	77
Exploitation	77
Politics/Political	76
Salvation	74
East	71

Words	Count of Words
Imperialism/Imperialist	64
Fascist/Fascism	63
Feudal/Feudalism	60
Worker	59
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	57
Organization/Organized	55
Progress/Progressive	49
Hegemon/Hegemony	44
Pressure	42
War/Warrior	42
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	42
Freedom	39
Laborer	38
Capital	36
We	35
Youth	28
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	25
Today	25
Movement	25
Dictatorship	23
Lice	21
Torture	18
Conscious/Consciousness	17
Communal	15
Race/Racist/Racism	15
Republic	14
Culture/Cultural	13
Armed/Armament	12
Enemy	12
Blood/Bloody	11
Iran	10
Independent/Independency	10
Patriot	10
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	10
Peasant	10
Terror	9
Tyranny	8
Kurdistan	7
Turk	7

Words	Count of Words
Diyarbakır	7
Poor	7
Rich	7
Language	6
Tribe	6
Guerilla	6

Table-A.7: Freedom Path-Number 8/January 1976

Word Count: 8648 (TTR=0,4876)

Words	Count of Words
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	142
Nation/National/Nationalism	126
Iran	86
People	83
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	76
Against	74
Politics/Political	72
Reactionary	65
Education	64
Worker	62
Turkey	55
Exploitation	55
Azerbaijan	53
Pressure	53
Imperialism/Imperialist	52
Culture/Cultural	52
Struggle	51
Movement	47
Mass	40
Fascist/Fascism	40
State	39
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	37
Socialism/Socialist	35
Laborer	34
Progress/Progressive	30
Revolution/Revolutionist	28
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	27
Social	27

Words	Count of Words
Organization/Organized	26
Race/Racist/Racism	26
Today	25
Hegemon/Hegemony	24
Independent/Independency	23
East	22
Kurdistan	22
Communal/Community	21
Salvation	21
Land	17
We	17
Anti	16
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	13
Feudal	13
War	13
Freedom	11
Separatism/Separatist	10
Tyranny/Tyrant	8
Anarchy	7

Table-A.8: Freedom Path-Number 9/February 1976**Word Count: 9325 (TTR=0,4406)**

Words	Count of Words
Socialism/Socialist	290
Worker	142
People	133
Against	129
Nation/National/Nationalism	125
Struggle	123
Revolution/Revolutionist	110
Imperialism/Imperialist	99
China	82
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	68
Exploitation	63
Salvation	52
War	54
Movement	54
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	54
Today	45
Turkey	44
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	43
East	41
Progress/Progressive	37
Social	33
We	32
Organization/Organized	31
Attack	30
Fascist/Fascism	27
Reactionary	27
Politics/Political	26
Race/Racist/Racism	20
Enemy	18
Hegemon/Hegemony	15
Culture/Cultural	14
Earthquake	13
Freedom	13
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	10
Feudal/Feudalism	8
Turk	6

Table-A.9: Freedom Path-Number 10/March 1976**Word Count: 8357 (TTR=0,4821)**

Words	Count of Words
Socialism/Socialist	270
Imperialism/Imperialist	137
Exploitation	128
People	121
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	100
Against	97
Struggle	89
Revolution/Revolutionist	87
Worker	86
Salvation	60
Movement	46
Capitalist	43
Democracy/ Democratic/Democrat	42
Social	42
Organization/Organized	42
Nation/National/Nationalism	39
We	36
State of Siege	32
State	33
Politics/Political	33
East	29
Turkey	29
Progress/Progressive	29
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	28
War	28
Today	26
Pressure	25
Independent/Independency	23
Freedom	19
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	18
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	15
Community	13
Hegemon/Hegemony	10
Turk	10
Fascist/Fascism	10
Reactionary	10

Words	Count of Words
Aggressor	9
Tyranny	9
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	9
Race/Racist/Racism	7
Blood/Bloody	7
Culture/Cultural	7
Newroz	5

Table-A.10: Freedom Path-Number 11/April 1976

Word Count: 10100 (TTR=0,4476)

Words	Count of Words
Revolution/Revolutionist	228
People	166
Socialism/Socialist	136
Against	135
Struggle	123
Imperialism/Imperialist	123
Movement	91
Goşist/Goşizm	70
Turkey	68
Worker	67
Mass	61
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	59
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	55
Organization/Organized	53
Fascist/Fascism	46
Today	45
War	45
We	41
Reactionary	40
Exploitation	40
Salvation	37
Social	35
Revisionism	32
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	27
Freedom	24
Politics/Political	24

Words	Count of Words
Laborer	23
Nation/National/Nationalism	21
Progressive	20
Feudal/Feudalism	15
Pressure	14
Enemy	12
Action	10
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	10
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	9
East	8
Race/Racist/Racism	7
Blood/Bloody	7

Table-A.11: Freedom Path-Number 12/May 1976

Word Count: 9379 (TTR=0,4791)

Words	Count of Words
Worker	192
People	156
Mass	155
Socialism/Socialist	126
Struggle	120
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	120
Fascist/Fascism	117
Organization/Organized	101
Against	98
Politics/Political	65
Nation/National/Nationalism	65
Revolution/Revolutionist	64
Movement	55
Turkey	49
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	48
Freedom	42
Today	40
Reactionary	39
Murder	32
Hegemon/Hegemony	31
We	31
Tyranny/Tyrant	29

Words	Count of Words
Laborer	26
Enemy	25
Imperialism/Imperialist	24
Turk	24
Front	20
Progress/Progressive	20
East	19
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	18
Exploitation	14
Blood/Bloody	13
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	12
Race/Racist/Racism	12
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	11
Communal/Community	11
Salvation	9
State of siege	8

Table-A.12: Freedom Path-Number 13-14/June-July 1976

Word Count: 10025 (TTR=0,4700)

Words	Count of Words
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	187
Organization/Organized	169
Against	162
Mass	162
Struggle	155
Worker	151
People	148
Socialism/Socialist	136
Movement	128
Party	125
Power	118
Revolution/Revolutionist	110
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	85
Class	75
Right	71
Left	70
Fascist/Fascism	69

Words	Count of Words
Politics/Political	63
Union	60
Government/Governance	58
Iraq	57
Progress/Progressive	55
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	55
Youth	54
Exploitation	51
Wrong	49
Pressure	48
Race/Racist/Racism	48
Accurate	47
Turkey	47
Reactionary	47
Incident	47
Laborer	46
Nation/National/Nationalism	45
Hegemon/Hegemony	43
State	43
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	39
Kurdistan	35
We	34
Freedom	32
Patriot	30
Imperialism/Imperialist	30
Today	29
Crucial	26
East	26
Economy	28
Prisoner	23
Tyranny/Tyrant	25
Regime	22
Weapon	21
Turk	19
Solidarity	19
Salvation	18
Iran	17

Words	Count of Words
Social	16
Homeland	16
Enemy	16
Blood/Bloody	15
Land	14
Liberty	13
Real	13
Capitalism	13
Autonomy	12
Action	11
Military	11
Terror	10
Independent/Independency	9
State of siege	8
Murder	8
Torture	8
Threat	8
Revision	8
Sheikh	7
Isolation	7
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	7

Table-A.13: Freedom Path-Number 15-16/August-September 1976

Word Count: 9926 (TTR=0,4956)

Words	Count of Words
People	202
Agha/Landlord	113
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	107
Struggle	106
Peasant	88
Against	82
Organization/Organized	82
Mass	81
Worker	77
Power	69
Exploitation	66
Imperialism/Imperialist	60

Words	Count of Words
Big	59
Land	59
Revolution/Revolutionist	55
Union	50
Reactionary	49
Progress/Progressive	49
War	49
Laborer	47
Socialism/Socialist	46
State	42
We	40
Left	36
<i>Ser</i> (Head)	34
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	33
Fascist/Fascism	33
Race/Racist/Racism	32
Tribe	29
Independent/Independency	29
Government/Governance	28
Poor	26
Salvation	26
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	25
Wrong	25
Today	25
Turkey	24
Movement	24
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	23
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	23
Nation/National/Nationalism	22
Tyranny/Tyrant	22
Symbolizing	21
Freedom	18
Politics/Political	15
East	15
Hegemon	11
Armed/Armament	11

Table-A.14: Freedom Path-Number 17/October 1976**Word Count: 8667 (TTR=0,5110)**

Words	Count of Words
Fascist/Fascism	224
People	217
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	139
Revolution/Revolutionist	135
Worker	133
Struggle	132
Against	119
Force(s)	105
Class	84
Mass	81
Big	80
Reactionary	77
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	74
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	72
Turkey	62
Progress/Progressive	61
Exploitation	57
Union	51
Government/Governance	51
Laborer	50
Socialism/Socialist	50
War	49
Freedom	41
Anti	37
New	36
Chile	35
Armed/Armament	33
<i>Sidar</i> (Shadow of the tree)	31
<i>Xwe</i> (Self)	31
Hegemon/Hegemony	25
We	25
State	24
Incident	23

Words	Count of Words
Torture	23
Salvation	22
Accurate	21
World	21
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	21
Economic	20
Nation/National/Nationalism	20
Today	20
Peace	19
Race/Racist/Racism	19
Politics/Political	17
Social	17
Land	17
Feudal/Feudalism	17
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	16
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	16
Constantly	15
Tyranny	13
Turk	12
Powerful	10

Table-A.15: Freedom Path-Number 18/November 1976

Word Count: 10441 (TTR=0,5177)

Words	Count of Words
People	196
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	146
Worker	140
Government/Governance	133
Culture/Cultural	107
Resistance	103
Exploitation	103
Against	92
Socialism/Socialist	91
Revolution/Revolutionist	90
Foreigner	84
Struggle	77

Words	Count of Words
Imperialism/Imperialist	78
Class	78
Movement	68
Big	66
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	65
War	63
Turk	63
Turkey	57
Politics/Political	57
We	50
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	47
Nation/National/Nationalism	47
Progress/Progressive	47
State	42
Power	40
Pressure	34
Fascist/Fascism	33
World	31
Crucial	29
Freedom	29
Reactionary	28
Salvation	25
Mass	25
Today	23
Dependent/Dependency	17
Social	16
Communal/Community	15
Laborer	15
Hegemon/Hegemony	14
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	13
Conscious/Consciousness	12
Tyranny	12
Armed/Armament	9
Race/Racist/Racism	9
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	7

Table-A.16: Freedom Path-Number 19/December 1976**Word Count: 7740 (TTR=0,4666)**

Words	Count of Words
Movement	216
Nation/National/Nationalism	200
People	185
Income	183
Union	144
Struggle	135
Revolution/Revolutionist	122
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	122
Class	122
Exploitation	121
Power	118
Socialist	113
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	112
Worker	111
District	111
Against	109
Mass	91
Imperialism/Imperialist	85
Organization/Organized	82
Reactionary	80
Big	73
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	68
Pressure	56
Fascist/Fascism	50
Communal/Community	51
Feudal/Feudalism	44
Lice	44
East	41
Progress/Progressive	41
Salvation	41
Turkey	41
Kurdistan	40
Politics/Political	37

Words	Count of Words
Laborer	37
Hegemon/Hegemony	35
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	32
Freedom	27
Anti	25
We	25
Education	24
Action	22
Homeland	19
Social	18
Real	17
Dependent/Dependency	16
Patriot	11
Today	10

Table-A.17: Freedom Path-Number 20/January 1977

Word Count: 10589 (TTR=0,4687)

Words	Count of Words
People	346
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	143
Socialism/Socialist	142
Class	141
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	135
Aid	126
Earthquake	120
Power	114
Revolution/Revolutionist	108
Worker	102
Communal/Community	101
Turkey	101
Laborer	99
Economy/Economic	95
Struggle	89
Exploitation	88
State	85

Words	Count of Words
Politics/Political	84
Capital	83
Government/Governance	82
Social	79
Fascist/Fascism	76
Big	74
World	72
Imperialism/Imperialist	71
Movement	70
Reactionary	66
System	65
Income	63
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	57
Production	55
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	52
Mass	53
Nation/National/Nationalism	50
Progress/Progressive	50
Land	49
Common	47
Value	46
Enemy	43
Science/Scientific	40
Little	39
Real	39
Pressure	39
Union	38
New	37
Hegemon/Hegemony	35
Van	34
Salvation	34
Today	34
Foreigner	32
<i>Xwe</i> (Self)	30
We	28

Words	Count of Words
Free/Freedom	27
Crucial	27
Distribution	27
<i>We</i> (Future)	25
Anti	24
Torture	24
Diyarbakır	22
Republic	22
Youth	20
Poor	19
Turk	17
East	17
Homeland	17
Terror	17
Race/Racist/Racism	17
Cooperation	15
Lice	15
Diyadin	14
Patriot	13
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	13
Citizen	12
Armed/Armament	9

Table-A.18: Freedom Path-Number 21-22/February-March 1977

Word Count: 12181 (TTR=0,4868)

Words	Count of Words
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	262
People	237
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	197
Against	169
Movement	144
State	134
Ottoman	122
Class	118
Worker	114

Words	Count of Words
Exploitation	114
Struggle	112
Kurdistan	107
Mass	106
Nation/National/Nationalism	100
Politics/Political	95
Revolution/Revolutionist	86
Power	86
Socialism/Socialist	85
Turkey	85
Communal/Community	82
Reactionary	81
War	78
Fascist/Fascism	75
Freedom	74
Big	71
Military	71
Government/Governance	69
Social	63
Tribe	63
Rebellion	56
Feudal	54
Imperialism/Imperialist	53
Interest	52
Laborer	51
Independent/Independancy	49
Pressure	49
World	48
Government/Governance	48
Agha/Landlord	47
Tyranny/Tyrant	44
New	43
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	42
<i>Axa</i> (Agha/Landowner)	41

Words	Count of Words
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	41
We	40
Economic	39
Hegemon/Hegemony	39
<i>Xwe</i> (Self)	36
Peace	34
Progress/Progressive	34
<i>Got</i> (Word)	32
Torture	31
Today	30
<i>Bedirhan</i> ⁵	28
Land	27
Crucial	25
Sheikh	23
Border	23
<i>Bû</i> (Wedding)	22
<i>Ubeydullah</i> ⁶	22
Salvation	20
Armed/Armament	19
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	18
Core	18
Van	18
Education	18
Earthquake	17
Concrete	17
Republic	17
Problem	17
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	16
Turk	15
East	15
Anti	10

⁵ In the journal *Bedirhan* agha is introduced as a strong feudal who led the Kurdish movement between 1840-1846.

⁶ In the journal *Ubeydullah* is introduced as a sheikh and feudal who led the Kurdish movement.

Words	Count of Words
Race/Racist/Racism	10
Patriot	11
Blood/Bloody	7

Table-A.19: Freedom Path-Number 24/May 1977

Word Count: 9177 (TTR=0,4595)

Words	Count of Words
Worker	238
People	227
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	183
Party	160
Movement	158
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	157
Power/Powerful	155
Struggle	152
Reactionary	137
Country	137
Nation/National/Nationalism	133
Revolution/Revolutionist	130
Class	114
Socialism/Socialist	114
Against	109
Imperialism/Imperialist	106
Mass	105
Organization/Organized	101
Union	94
Government/Governance	88
Iran	78
Right(s)	74
Fascist/Fascism	71
Kurdistan	68
Iraq	66
Progress/Progressive	66
Exploitation	65
Communist/Communism	64
Politics/Political	62

Words	Count of Words
Aid	59
Turkey	56
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	53
Student	53
Pressure	53
Laborer	48
War	45
Freedom	43
Salvation	41
State	41
Common	39
New	38
Attack	36
We	36
Today	35
Communal/Community	33
Solidarity	33
Tribe	33
Interest	33
Social	31
<i>Mehabad</i> ⁷	30
Independent/Independency	30
Basic	29
Money	29
Anti	27
Sheikh	26
Peace	26
Republic	25
Proletarian	24
Crucial	23
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	23
Land	23
Tyranny/Tyrant	22

⁷ *Mehabad* was the name of self-governing, unrecognized Kurdish Republic that was established between 22 January to 15 December 1946 in the borders of Iran.

Words	Count of Words
Military	21
Turk	20
Security	19
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	18
Diyarbakır	16
Feudal	16
Xwe (self)	14
Homeland	14
Patriot	11
East	11
Earthquake	8
Armed	7

Table-A.20: Freedom Path-Number 25/June 1977

Word Count: 8195 (TTR=0,4705)

Words	Count of Words
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	251
People	201
Nation/National/Nationalism	154
Movement	153
Power	122
Iraq	118
Revolution/Revolutionist	117
Struggle	116
Government/Governance	111
Reactionary	110
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	107
Country	101
Against	97
Socialism/Socialist	91
Mass	81
Party	77
Big	74
Imperialism/Imperialist	72
Class	72

Words	Count of Words
World	71
Union	70
Kurdistan	69
War	66
<i>Baas</i> (Ba'ath) ⁸	65
Land	63
Politics/Political	63
Progress/Progressive	60
Organization/Organized	60
Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)	59
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	56
Arab	54
Attack/Attacker	54
Baghdad	47
Resistance	46
Right(s)	44
State	41
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	41
Laborer	38
Iran	37
Crucial	37
Freedom	37
Armed/Armament	36
Turkey	35
Pressure	34
Feudal/Feudalism	33
Interest	31
<i>Barzani</i> ⁹	30
<i>Piçûk</i> (little)	28
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	28
Salvation	27

⁸ Ba'ath Party was a Arab socialist party founded in 1947 in Syria.

⁹ Masoud Barzani is a Kurdish politician who is the leader of Kurdistan Democratic Party since 1979.

Words	Count of Words
Peace	27
<i>Ninni</i> (lullaby)	22
Agriculture	22
<i>Lori</i> (eagle)	21
External	20
Fascist/Fascism	20
<i>Ceylanpınar</i> ¹⁰	18
Autonomy	18
Tribe	18
Economy/Economic	17
<i>Got</i> (word)	17
Solidarity	17
We	17
Turk	16
Aid	16
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	15
Anti	15
Communist/Communism	15
Fire	15
Race/Racist/Racism	15
Large	14
Blood/Bloody	14
Hegemon/Hegemony	14
Today	13
Military	13
East	13
Patriot	11
Liquidate	10
<i>Peşmerge</i> ¹¹	10
Accurate	10
Real	9

¹⁰ *Ceylanpınar* is a district of *Şanlıurfa* city in the southeastern of Turkey.

¹¹ Military forces of Northern Iraq Kurdish region.

Words	Count of Words
Secret	9
Social	9
Independent/Independancy	7
Terror	7
<i>Berivan</i> ¹²	6
<i>Caş</i> (collaborator)	6

Table-A.21: Freedom Path-Number 26/July 1977

Word Count: 9802 (TTR=0,4415)

Words	Count of Words
Nation/National/Nationalism	252
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	239
Worker	226
Class	210
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	188
Struggle	185
Country	178
People	164
Socialism/Socialist	156
Exploitation	155
Against	147
Fascist/Fascism	134
Revolution/Revolutionist	118
Movement	114
Problem	112
Union	102
Mass	89
Organization/Organized	89
Laborer	88
State	87
Politics/Political	87
Reactionary	81
Power	78

¹² Kurdish name

Words	Count of Words
Progress/Progressive	74
Feudal	73
Communal/Community	72
Capitalist/Capitalism	70
Big	65
Imperialism/Imperialist	61
Housing	59
Pressure	58
Attack/Attacker	57
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	55
Turkey	54
World	53
Economic	51
<i>Ku</i> (where)	51
Freedom	46
Real	45
Health	44
<i>Piçûk</i> (little)	43
<i>Reş</i> (black)	40
Unemployment	40
We	42
<i>Ji</i> (onwards)	39
War	38
Patriot	36
Interest	34
Right(s)	34
Hegemon/Hegemony	33
Land	32
Crucial	32
Anti	32
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	32
Today	32
Culture/Cultural	33
<i>Got</i> (word)	31
<i>Tu</i> (never)	31

Words	Count of Words
New	31
Education	30
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	30
Government/Governance	29
Independent	29
Social	25
Solidarity	25
<i>Der</i> (exterior)	24
Salvation	21
Tyranny/Tyrant	21
Separatist	20
Kurdistan	20
Dependent/Dependency	19
East	19
Nurture	17
Diyarbakır	16
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	16
Underdeveloped	16
<i>Ser</i> (head)	15
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	11
Armed/Armament	11
Racist	8
<i>Rızgari</i> ¹³	7
Blood/Bloody	6

¹³ Name of a Kurdish journal that was published in the late 1970s.

Table-A.22: Freedom Path-Number 27/Augustus 1977**Word Count: 8490 (TTR=0,4544)**

Words	Count of Words
People	243
Class	159
Exploitation	158
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	149
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	132
Health	117
Country	112
<i>Masiyê</i> (fish)	103
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	102
Struggle	101
Mass	101
<i>Piçûk</i> (little)	97
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	95
Service	95
<i>Rizgari</i>	92
Politics/Political	84
Big	80
Laborer	80
Government/Governance	79
<i>Kû</i> (where)	79
Nation/National/Nationalism	78
Revolution/Revolutionist	72
Turkey	71
Against	70
Choice	67
Worker	63
Socialism/Socialist	62
<i>Rêş</i> (black)	60
<i>Got</i> (word)	59
Reactionary	58
State	55
Peasant	54
Movement	53

Words	Count of Words
Landlord	52
Fascist/Fascism	51
Hegemon	51
Capitalist	48
Power	47
Same	45
<i>Ji</i> (onwards)	45
Interest	44
Communal/Community	44
Kurdistan	43
Land	43
<i>Me/Em</i> (we)	43
Tyranny	41
Feudal/Feudalism	39
Medicine	39
Progress/Progressive	38
Anti	37
<i>Ez</i> (I)	36
<i>Tû</i> (never)	36
Today	36
Turk	35
Sheikh	35
Doctor	34
Ankara	33
Union	33
Pressure	33
<i>Wê</i> (you)	32
Accurate	30
East	29
Population	29
Wrong	27
Education	26
<i>Bû</i> (wedding)	25
Large	23

Words	Count of Words
Patriot	23
Death	23
<i>Ew</i> (he/she/it)	22
Alawite	22
Tribe	21
Economy/Economic	21
Enemy	21
Production	21
Traditional/Traditionalist	20
Culture/Cultural	20
We	19
Crucial	19
Social	18
Salvation	18
Cure	18
<i>Hûn</i> (you)	17
Local	17
Imperialism/Imperialist	17
<i>Ber</i> (stone)	16
Little	16
<i>Baş</i> (to heal)	14
Race/Racist/Racism	14
<i>Der</i> (exterior)	13
<i>Gelek</i> (a lot of)	13
<i>Wan</i> (they)	13
<i>Heye</i> (exist)	12
<i>Pelikan</i> (to fear)	12
<i>Sobayi</i> (to swim)	12
<i>Din</i> (the other)	11
<i>Nav</i> (name)	11
<i>Çem</i> (river)	10
<i>Hemû</i> (all)	10
<i>Hive</i> (month)	10
Republic	9
<i>Dibû</i> (area)	8

Words	Count of Words
<i>Disa</i> (again)	8
<i>Pir</i> (bridge)	8
<i>Rasti</i> (reality)	8
Military	8
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	8
<i>Ger</i> (fate)	7
<i>Mezin</i> (big)	7
<i>Sorani</i> (one of the Kurdish dialects)	7
<i>Çiqas</i> (how much)	6
<i>Çivike</i> (stand out)	6
<i>Çû</i> (too late)	6
<i>Çûn</i> (to go)	6
<i>Gava</i> (while)	6
<i>Heja</i> (Mr.)	6
<i>Hineki</i> (partial)	6
<i>Nişkâva(i)</i> (impulsive)	6

Table-A.23: Freedom Path-Number 28/September 1977

Word Count: 9311 (TTR=0,4604)

Words	Count of Words
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	365
People	240
Nation/National/Nationalism	210
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	180
Struggle	180
Revolution/Revolutionist	170
Exploitation	169
Against	152
<i>Rizgari</i>	147
Country	124
Politics/Political	119
Class	100
Imperialism/Imperialist	96
Feudal	93
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	90

Words	Count of Words
Fascist/Fascism	89
Socialism/Socialist	86
State	84
Force(s)	84
USA	76
Worker	75
Anti	74
World	73
We	71
Reactionary	71
We	71
Union	70
Kurdistan	70
Big	69
Iraq	68
Freedom	68
Movement	67
Problem	66
Right(s)	66
New	65
Party	64
World	59
Turkey	56
Pressure	55
Science/Scientific	49
Armed/Armament	47
Peasant	46
Hegemon/Hegemony	45
Laborer	43
Economy/Economic	43
Salvation	42
Language	42
<i>Barzani</i>	41
Peace	41
Mass	37

Words	Count of Words
Turk	36
Race/Racist/Racism	34
Crucial	33
History/Historical	33
Communal/Community	31
Interest	30
Independent/Independency	30
Wrong	29
Iran	28
Agha/Landlord	26
Progress/Progressive	25
Today	25
Land	22
Ideological	22
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	21
<i>Bû</i> (wedding)	20
<i>Ew</i> (he/she/it)	20
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	20
Tyranny/Tyrant	19
Military	19
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	19
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	17
East	17
Large	16
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	15
<i>Qebila</i> (clan)	14
<i>We</i> (you)	14
Old	14
Agriculture	14
Patriot	14
<i>Ji</i> (onwards)	12
<i>Wan</i> (they)	12
Torture	12
Little	12
Fight	12

Words	Count of Words
Culture/Cultural	12
Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)	12
<i>Şer</i> (war)	11
Over	10
Real	9
Homeland	9
<i>Kû</i> (where)	9
Tribe	9
<i>Bavê</i> (dad)	8
<i>Ewi</i> (he)	8
<i>Mala</i> (plaster equipment)	8
<i>Em</i> (we)	6

Table-A.24: Freedom Path-Number 29/October 1977

Word Count: 9042 (TTR=0,4389)

Words	Count of Words
Nation/National/Nationalism	311
People	285
Socialism/Socialist	186
Revolution/Revolutionist	184
Worker	170
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	164
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	145
Class	143
Union	136
Struggle	132
Exploitation	123
Power/Powerful/Force(s)	117
Country	116
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	116
Against	114
Problem	106
Big	92
Politics/Political	88
Education	85

Words	Count of Words
Movement	81
Community/Communal	78
Right	77
Imperialism/Imperialist	75
Production	75
Party	73
Turkey	70
Fascist/Fascism	70
Reactionary	70
We	70
World	69
State	65
Pressure	64
Economy/Economic	59
Laborer	59
Social	57
Mass	56
Freedom	54
War	54
Turk	50
Progress/Progressive	50
Crucial	49
Teacher	47
Capitalist/Capitalism	46
Salvation	45
Tyranny/Tyrant	43
Culture/Cultural	43
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	41
Anti	40
Attack/Attacker	40
Hegemon/Hegemony	39
New	38
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	37
Base	36
Independent/Independency	34

Words	Count of Words
Today	33
Hegemon/Hegemony	31
History/Historical	31
Under	31
Over	31
Solidarity	30
Feudal	29
Patriot	28
Equality/Inequality	27
Real	27
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	27
Peasant	26
Science/Scientific	25
Prevention	25
Little	25
Land	25
Large	23
Long	23
Common	22
For sure/Of course	20
Tradition	20
Ideological	19
Local	19
Race/Racist/Racism	19
Interest	19
Foreign	17
Kurdistan	17
Tribe	14
Front	14
Propaganda	13
Poverty	13
Armed/Armament	13
Military	12
<i>Resmi</i> (formal)	12
National self determination	12

Words	Count of Words
<i>Bû</i> (wedding)	11
<i>Xwê</i> (self)	11
Ethnic	11
Homeland	10
Fire	9
East	9
Bravely	8
Blood/Bloody	7
<i>Kirin</i> (to buy)	6

Table-A.25: Freedom Path-Number 31-32/December-January 1978

Word Count: 10438 (TTR=0,4615)

Words	Count of Words
People	218
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	214
China	120
Politics/Political	118
Against	107
Country	106
Nation/National/Nationalism	106
We	101
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	100
War	98
Power/Powerful/Force(s)	94
Socialism/Socialist	89
Big	82
School	81
Kurdistan	78
Party	77
Union	77
Government/Governance	76
Turk	72
Revolution/Revolutionist	69
<i>Rê</i> (black)	66

Words	Count of Words
USA	66
Organization/Organized	63
Struggle	60
State	59
Movement	59
Mass	58
Administration	56
World	56
Reactionary	54
Aid	54
<i>Pire</i> (bridge)	50
Military	50
Laborer	49
Freedom	48
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	47
Turkey	47
<i>Mem û Zin</i> ¹⁴	46
Education	46
<i>Got</i> (word)	43
Teacher	42
Student	42
History/Historical	41
Language/Mother tongue	40
Imperialism/Imperialist	40
Culture/Cultural	40
Fascist/Fascism	40
Center	40
New	39
<i>Min</i> (I)	39
Diyarbakır	37
Interest	37
Pressure	36
Armed/Armament	36

¹⁴ *Mem û Zin* is a classic Kurdish epic written by Ehmede Xani in 1692.

Words	Count of Words
Exploitation	36
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	36
Crucial	34
Progress/Progressive	34
<i>Eze</i> (I)	33
Iraq	32
Economy/Economic	32
Anti	28
<i>Jê</i> (autochthonous)	27
Common	26
<i>Jin</i> (woman)	26
Patriot	26
<i>Go</i> (to say)	25
Accurate	25
West	25
<i>Ko</i> (positive)	24
<i>Barzani</i>	23
Peace	23
Iran	22
Social	22
Little	22
<i>Ehmede Xani</i> ¹⁵	21
Foreigner	21
East	21
Today	21
Local	20
<i>Mala</i> (plaster equipment)	20
Land	19
Now	19
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	18
Large	18
Worker	18
<i>Kir</i> (rough land)	18

¹⁵ Kurdish writer who lived in the 17th century.

Words	Count of Words
Defense	18
<i>Êv</i> (this)	17
<i>Wê</i> (you)	16
Torture	16
<i>Mê</i> (we)	15
<i>Tû</i> (never)	15
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	15
Independent/Independency	15
<i>Çi</i> (what)	14
<i>Wan</i> (they)	14
Over	14
Propaganda	13
<i>Peşmerge</i>	13
<i>Qantire</i> (mule)	13
<i>Çû</i> (too late)	13
Tribe	13
Partisan	12
Tyranny/Tyrant	12
<i>Heye</i> (exist)	12
Turkish	11
<i>Mêrê</i> (fish)	11
<i>Qadi</i> (ticktacktoe)	11
Agriculture	11
Feudal	11
<i>Bêr</i> (stone)	10
<i>Em</i> (we)	10
<i>Ma</i> (I wonder if)	9
<i>Wi</i> (well)	9
Salvation	9
Homeland	8
<i>Bikim</i> (hat)	8
<i>Hon</i> (working area)	7
<i>Mezin</i> (big)	7

Words	Count of Words
<i>Xortan</i> (youth)	7
<i>Bare</i> (wheat)	6
<i>Xwediye</i> (faithful to his word)	6

Table-A.26: Freedom Path-Number 33-34/February-March 1978

Word Count: 7962 (TTR=0,5009)

Words	Count of Words
Education	385
Exploitation	263
People	169
Country	164
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	126
Class	109
Youth	103
School	97
Nation/National/Nationalism	89
Communal/Community	87
Problem	86
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	81
Power/Powerful/Force(s)	79
System	75
Laborer	74
Language/Mother tongue	71
Child	71
Big	66
Culture	66
Reactionary	65
Imperialism/Imperialist	64
Revolution/Revolutionist	63
Struggle	63
Against	63
Progress/Progressive	55
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	54
Socialism/Socialist	52
Mass	50

Words	Count of Words
Economy/Economic	47
Movement	47
Pressure	45
Politics/Political	45
World	41
Racist	41
History/Historical	41
Book	40
Crucial	38
Same	38
Hegemon/Hegemony	37
Teacher	37
We	36
Basic	36
Right	36
Worker	35
Turkey	35
Order	34
Interest	34
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	34
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	34
Real	32
Local	31
War	31
Freedom	31
Underdeveloped	31
Superior	29
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	29
Anti	27
Production	27
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	26
Salvation	22
Today	20
State	20

Words	Count of Words
Fascist/Fascism	20
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	19
Product	19
Propaganda	19
Under	19
Union	19
Feudal/Feudalism	19
Reading	19
Bad	18
Assimilation	18
<i>Xebata</i> (work)	18
<i>Me</i> (we)	17
Social	17
Turk	17
Front	16
Nurture	16
Art	15
<i>We</i> (you)	14
Wrong	14
Mommy	14
<i>Min</i> (I)	12
<i>Erebê Şemo</i> ¹⁶	12
<i>Can</i> (spirit)	11
Undoubted	11
Kurdistan	10
<i>Çiya</i> (mountain)	10
Little	10
Impossible	10
<i>Mina</i> (similar)	10
<i>Tû</i> (never)	10
<i>Bûye</i> (accrue)	9
<i>Ez</i> (I)	9
<i>Ser</i> (head)	9

¹⁶ He was a Kurdish writer who lived in between 1897-1978.

Words	Count of Words
Forced	8
<i>Şivane Kurd</i> ¹⁷	7
<i>Ber</i> (product)	6

Table-A.27: Freedom Path-Number 35/April 1978

Word Count: 8360 (TTR=0,4864)

Words	Count of Words
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	151
People	144
Government/Governance	135
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	111
Country	104
Against	101
Woman	98
Power/Powerful/Force(s)	96
Union	91
Socialism/Socialist	91
Revolution/Revolutionist	83
Economic	80
Iraq	79
Exploitation	79
Pressure	79
Struggle	76
<i>Dehak</i> ¹⁸	66
Fascist/Fascism	62
Big	59
Worker	59
Mass	58
Race/Racist/Racism	56
Free/Freedom	56
School	54
Reactionary	54

¹⁷ First Kurdish novel that was written by Erebe Şemo and published in 1935.

¹⁸ A monster that is told in a Kurdish myth.

Words	Count of Words
Class	52
New	50
Right	50
Newspaper	49
Organization/Organized	48
State	47
World	47
Politics/Political	47
Kurdistan	45
Progress/Progressive	45
Turkey	43
Imperialism/Imperialist	43
Today	43
Culture/Cultural	42
Nation/National/Nationalism	42
Child	41
<i>Roja Welat</i> ¹⁹	41
Laborer	41
Government/Governance	39
Education	37
We	35
Communal/Community	35
Student	35
Social	34
Village	34
Publication	33
Party	33
War	33
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	32
Problem	31
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	31
Movement	32
Health	29

¹⁹ It is a Kurdish newspaper published in between 1977-1978.

Words	Count of Words
Police	28
Land	26
Undoubted	25
Terror	25
Soldier	24
Real	23
Anti	23
Over	21
Youth/Young	21
Blood/Bloody	20
The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)	20
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	19
Sport	19
Order	19
Salvation	18
Solidarity	17
Under	16
Regime	16
White	15
Murder	15
Execution	15
Anarchy	15
Of course	14
Little	14
Crucial	14
Turk	13
Iran	12
Hegemon/Hegemony	12
Newroz	11
Protest	11
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	11
Armed/Armament	11
Agriculture	11
Idea	11

Words	Count of Words
Partisan	11
<i>Bilûr</i> (shepherd's pipe)	10
Local	10
Bad	10
Tyranny/Tyrant	9
<i>Min</i> (I)	9
Now	9
West	7
Turkish	7
Rural	6

Table-A.28: Freedom Path-Number 36/May 1978

Word Count: 9303 (TTR=0,4987)

Words	Count of Words
Land	257
Peasant	141
People	134
Reform	125
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	116
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	94
Government	94
Against	85
Big	74
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	71
Landlord	69
Country	67
Reactionary	65
Agriculture	63
Exploitation	61
Revolution/Revolutionist	60
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	59
Laborer	59
Force(s)	57
Fascist/Fascism	55
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	55
New	53
Turkey	49
Class	48

Words	Count of Words
Worker	47
Socialism/Socialist	47
Union	46
Politics/Political	45
Mass	45
Economy/Economic	44
<i>Ez</i> (I)	41
<i>We</i> (you)	40
Kurdistan	39
Real	38
<i>Ji</i> (onward)	37
<i>Min</i> (mine)	37
State	36
Feudal/Feudalism	35
Enemy	35
Communal/Community	35
Problem	34
Pressure	31
We	31
Struggle	31
<i>Babayani</i> (modest person)	29
Movement	29
<i>Ber</i> (product)	29
<i>Dibêj</i> (as it said)	29
<i>Wi</i> (well)	28
<i>Dil</i> (heart/feeling)	28
Free/Freedom	28
<i>Nûrê</i> (one type of a folklore)	27
<i>Bû</i> (owl)	26
Nation/National/Nationalism	25
Today	24
Now	23
Under	23
Republic	23
Blood/Bloody	23

Words	Count of Words
<i>Ew</i> (he/she/it)	22
<i>Ser</i> (head)	22
<i>To</i> (<i>to ski</i>)	22
Crucial	22
<i>Me</i> (we)	21
<i>Kû</i> (where)	20
<i>Ferik</i> (immature)	19
<i>Bre</i> (about language)	19
<i>Çi</i> (what)	19
<i>Weki</i> (similar)	19
Terror	19
Social	18
Separatist/Separatism	18
Race/Racist/Racism	18
Over	17
<i>Dike</i> (to make)	17
Old	17
West	17
Malefactor	16
Tyranny/Tyrant	15
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	15
<i>Kê</i> (who)	15
Little	15
<i>Derheq</i> (example)	13
Hegemon/Hegemony	13
East	13
Turk	12
<i>Ewi</i> (he)	12
Of course/For sure	12
<i>Ere</i> (a lot)	12
<i>Tû</i> (never)	12
Sister	11
Landless	10
<i>Çira</i> (lighthouse)	10
<i>Dest</i> (hand)	10

Words	Count of Words
<i>Niha</i> (now)	10
<i>Xûşk</i> (sister)	10
<i>Çawa</i> (how much)	9
<i>Ma</i> (I wonder)	9
<i>Paşê</i> (later)	9
<i>Axir</i> (the last, the end)	8
<i>Bêje</i> (word)	8
<i>Dide</i> (to give)	8
<i>Disa</i> (again)	8
<i>Heval</i> (friend)	8
<i>Heye</i> (exist)	8
<i>Ho</i> (hey)	8
<i>Mizginaya</i> (good news)	8
Fellow	8
Tribe	8
Anti	7
<i>Edi</i> (mom)	7
<i>Em</i> (we)	7
<i>Name</i> (letter)	7
<i>Teze</i> (tender)	7
<i>Zu</i> (quick)	7
<i>Beji</i> (worthless land)	6
<i>Bike</i> (doing quickly)	6
<i>Bûye</i> (accrue)	6
<i>Çav</i> (eye)	6
<i>Dinê</i> (world)	6
<i>Got</i> (word)	6
<i>Nas</i> (familiar)	6
<i>Navê</i> (sun)	6
<i>Pê</i> (foot)	6
<i>Pirs</i> (problem)	6
<i>Va</i> (this)	6

Words	Count of Words
<i>Winda</i> (missing)	6

Table-A.29: Freedom Path-Number 37-38/June-July 1978

Word Count: 7751 (TTR=0,4967)

Words	Count of Words
People	144
Turkey	119
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	118
Nation/National/Nationalism	102
We	92
Against	91
Soviet Union	89
Struggle	87
Country	77
Imperialism/Imperialist	73
Revolution/Revolutionist	72
Iraq	66
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	66
Politics/Political	65
Exploitation	63
Force(s)	61
Class	61
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	54
USA	53
Reactionary	53
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	51
<i>Dehaq</i>	50
Movement	50
Fascist/Fascism	48
Socialist/Socialism	48
Worker	47
Armed/Armament	47
Interest	45
Real	43
New	42
Laborer	41
Freedom	40

Words	Count of Words
Kurdistan	39
World	39
Pressure	38
Partisan	38
Enemy	38
<i>Ji</i> (onwards)	37
Today	37
Progress/Progressive	37
Big	36
Death	34
Mass	33
War/Warrior	33
<i>Me</i> (we)	32
Our publication	32
Power	31
<i>Ku</i> (where)	30
<i>Min</i> (I)	29
Economy/Economic	29
Tyranny/Tyrant	29
Forced	29
Attack/Attacker	28
Execution	27
Fellow	27
<i>Ev</i> (this)	26
Patriot	26
<i>Tu</i> (never)	25
Military	25
Union	24
<i>Ew</i> (he/she)	23
Accurate	23
Now	23
Anti	22
Baas	22
<i>Kawe</i> (fool)	21
<i>Wi</i> (well)	21

Words	Count of Words
Culture/Cultural	21
Race/Racist/Racism	21
Çi (what)	20
Social	20
Salvation	19
Ser (head)	19
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	19
Under	18
Remildar (fortuneteller)	18
Em (we)	17
Bila (biased)	16
Du (two)	16
Crucial	16
Defense	16
Ber (front)	15
Ez (I)	15
Wan (they)	15
Leşkeri (military)	15
Bona (for/about)	15
Dibe (maybe)	14
Dike (to make)	14
Yekemin (the first)	14
Determined	14
West	14
Dest (hand)	13
Dike (the other)	12
Little	12
Şahe (king)	12
Blood/Bloody	12
Undoubted	11
Mezin (elder one)	11
Feudal/Feudalism	11
Over	11
Turk	10
Peace	10

Words	Count of Words
<i>Mir</i> (bitterish)	10
Clearly	9
State	9
Actual	9
<i>Dide</i> (giving)	9
<i>Dile</i> (my little one)	9
<i>Duwem</i> (second)	9
Of course	9
<i>Hevra</i> (together)	9
<i>Meji</i> (brain)	9
<i>Meriv</i> (human)	9
<i>Mire</i> (wheat)	9
Constant	9
<i>Va</i> (this)	9
<i>Yek</i> (one/single)	9
<i>Bixwin</i> (bloody)	8
<i>Erde</i> (land)	8
<i>Sere</i> (outstanding)	8
Exile	8
<i>Yen</i> (Japanese currency)	8
<i>Belê</i> (approval)	7
<i>Bine</i> (precept)	7
<i>Çawa</i> (how)	7
<i>Çend</i> (how many)	7
<i>Der</i> (exterior)	7
<i>Disa</i> (again)	7
<i>Herdu</i> (both of them)	7
<i>Ten</i> (skin)	7
<i>Bixebitine</i> (to run)	6
<i>Çiyê</i> (what's that)	6
<i>Diçe</i> (expense)	6
<i>Divê</i> (essential)	6
<i>Dixe</i> (trick)	6
<i>Dixebite</i> (working)	6
Hegemon/Hegemony	6

Words	Count of Words
<i>Ehrêman</i> (devil)	6
<i>Heye</i> (exist)	6
<i>Hin</i> (a little)	6
<i>Hundur</i> (inside)	6
<i>Îm</i> (this time)	6
<i>Ka</i> (where)	6
<i>Keç</i> (daughter)	6
<i>Paş</i> (back)	6
<i>Qala</i> (to tell)	6
<i>Rast</i> (real)	6
<i>Şûr</i> (sword)	6
<i>We</i> (you)	6
<i>Xulam</i> (slave)	6

Table-A.30: Freedom Path-Number 39-40/August-September 1978

Word Count: 9251 (TTR=0,4732)

Words	Count of Words
Exploitation	389
Revolution/Revolutionist	238
Country	209
Imperialism/Imperialist	157
Worker	148
Socialism/Socialist	144
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	138
People	134
Nation/National/Nationalism	125
World	123
Class	119
Politics/Political	118
Against	102
Struggle	94
Iran	93
Turkey	92
Power/Powerful	91
Community/Communal	83

Words	Count of Words
Economy/Economic	82
Kurdistan	82
Big	81
State	81
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	80
War	79
Government/Governance	75
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	73
Salvation	68
Real	67
Crucial	61
New	60
China	59
Movement	57
Problem	57
We	55
Laborer	53
Fascist/Fascism	48
Mass	48
Hegemon/Hegemony	47
Turk	46
Reactionary	46
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	45
Ethics	43
Union	42
Independent/Independancy	41
<i>Ereb Şemo</i>	40
Today	39
Peace	39
Progress/Progressive	36
Interest	36
Culture/Cultural	34
Accurate	34
Pressure	34
Large	33

Words	Count of Words
History/Historical	33
Party	33
Freedom	32
Right	32
Social	31
Republic	31
Now	27
Propaganda	26
Anti	25
Of course/For sure	25
Bad	23
Nation/National/Nationalism	22
Armed/Armament	22
Undoubted	21
Dependent/Dependency	21
East	21
Wrong	21
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	20
Ideological	20
Old	20
Tyranny/Tyrant	20
Iraq	19
Especially	18
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	17
Military	17
Youth	17
Feudal/Feudalism	16
Under	16
<i>Bû</i> (wedding)	15
<i>Wi</i> (well)	15
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	14
Semi	14
Over	14
Enemy	13
Obvious	13

Words	Count of Words
Little	12
Occupation	12
Actually	11
<i>Sala</i> (year)	11
Denial	10
Absolute	10
Blood/Bloody	9
Impossible	8
<i>Ji</i> (onwards)	7
Inevitable	7
<i>Gelek</i> (a lot)	6
<i>Kir</i> (comparison)	6

Table-A.31: Freedom Path-Number 41/October 1978

Word Count: 9733 (TTR=0,4955)

Words	Count of Words
Country	293
Revolution/Revolutionist	199
Struggle	179
People	160
Socialism/Socialist	156
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	140
Exploitation	139
Imperialism/Imperialist	134
Power/Powerful/Force(s)	124
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	116
Mass	109
Against	96
Organization/Organized	81
Big	79
Economy/Economic	78
World	77
New	71
Politics/Political	70
Laborer	70

Words	Count of Words
Underdeveloped	68
Free/Freedom	66
Nation/National/Nationalism	59
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	58
Reactionary	57
Turkey	55
USA	54
Interest	51
Movement	50
Problem	47
Enemy	45
Real	44
Salvation	43
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	42
Today	40
Class	40
We	38
Kurdistan	38
Iran	37
Worker	37
Progress/Progressive	37
Tyranny/Tyrant	36
Union	35
Pressure	34
Education	33
Crucial	32
Order	31
Turk	29
Accurate	29
Lie	29
Anti	28
Chauvin	27
Military	27
Of course/For sure	27
Old	26

Words	Count of Words
Government/Governance	26
Obvious	26
Ethics	25
You	24
Race/Racist/Racism	23
Patriot	23
Little	22
Under	22
Tribe	22
Social	21
Fascist/Fascism	20
Wrong	19
<i>Misto Reşo</i> ²⁰	19
Feudal	18
Solidarity	17
Over	17
Propaganda	14
Iraq	14
Land	14
Bitterness	13
Never	12
Blood/Bloody	12
<i>Roja Welat</i>	12
Now	10
Bravely	9
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	9
Separatism/Separatist	9
Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)	8
Undoubted	7
Actual	5

²⁰ He is introduced as a Kurdish soldier who took part in the independence war of Turkey.

Table-A.32: Freedom Path-Number 42/November 1978**Word Count: 8637 (TTR=0,4410)**

Words	Count of Words
Revolution/Revolutionist	402
Nation/National/Nationalism	338
Country	257
People	253
Exploitation	207
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	159
Worker	158
Imperialism/Imperialist	144
Class	141
Against	139
Socialism/Socialist	137
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	130
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	122
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	116
Turkey	111
State	111
Language/Mother tongue	102
Struggle	100
Kurdistan	92
Fascist/Fascism	85
Union	83
Turk	82
Problem	81
Economy/Economic	77
Organization/Organized	77
Government/Governance	76
Culture/Cultural	70
Big	68
Reactionary	67
Today	67
Crucial	65
Politics/Political	65
Dependent/Dependency	64

Words	Count of Words
Force(s)	63
Movement	63
Basic	60
Party	59
War	58
Right	56
School	55
World	52
History/Historical	51
Pressure	49
Freedom	49
Progress/Progressive	48
Feudal	47
Independent/Independency	47
Power/Powerful	47
Class	45
We	44
Communal/Community	43
Education	42
Anti	41
New	41
Social	41
Solidarity	40
Salvation	38
Obvious	38
Mass	37
Under	36
Real	35
Laborer	32
Old	31
Of course/For sure	31
Student	28
Little	26
Common	25

Words	Count of Words
Hegemon/Hegemony	25
Immigrant	24
Especially	23
Accurate	20
Land	18
West	18
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	18
Terror	18
Chauvin	18
Military	17
<i>Roja Welat</i>	16
Republic	15
Now	14
Front	14
Occupation	14
Undoubted	13
East	13
Murder	12
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	9
Hegemon/Hegemony	8
Over	8
<i>Em</i> (we)	7
<i>Hûn</i> (you)	6
Bloodily	6

Table-A.33: Freedom Path-Number 43/December 1978

Word Count: 9114 (TTR=0,4819)

Words	Count of Words
People	221
Country	188
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	173
Imperialism/Imperialist	165
<i>Casim Tosin</i> (Kurdish name)	160
Socialism/Socialist	159
Struggle	139

Words	Count of Words
War	135
Against	126
Power/Powerful/Force(s)	122
Exploitation	121
Capital/Capitalism/Capitalist	114
Class	111
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	107
Communal/Community	99
China	98
Revolution/Revolutionist	89
World	88
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	84
Reactionary	83
Worker	81
Soviet Union	75
Right	68
Mass	67
Economy/Economic	64
Today	64
Peace	60
Big	59
Movement	58
Culture/Cultural	56
State	56
Salvation	55
Government/Governance	54
Enemy	53
Politics/Political	52
Nation/National/Nationalism	52
Pressure	50
Attack/Attacker	50
Palestine	49
Anti	48
Party	46
Laborer	46

Words	Count of Words
Interest	46
Union	43
Arab	43
Class	43
USA	42
Progress/Progressive	42
Social	41
Hegemon/Hegemony	38
Free/Freedom	34
Organization/Organized	34
Feudal/Feudalism	33
<i>Bû</i> (wedding)	33
<i>Ez</i> (I)	33
Under	33
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	30
Language	30
New	29
Turkey	29
Fascist/Fascism	29
We	27
Real	26
Now	26
Accurate	26
Armed/Armament	26
<i>Ji</i> (onwards)	24
<i>Pore</i> (authority)	24
Crucial	24
Serious	24
<i>Wi</i> (well)	22
<i>Got</i> (word)	21
Iran	21
Especially	21
Land	21
Anarchy	21
<i>Min</i> (mine)	20
Slavery	20

Words	Count of Words
<i>We</i> (you)	20
School	19
Ideological	18
History/Historical	18
<i>Me</i> (we)	17
<i>Tu</i> (never)	17
<i>Ew</i> (this)	16
Military	16
Obvious	16
Little	15
<i>Em</i> (we)	14
<i>Bozo</i> (blond man)	12
Of course/For sure	12
Solidarity	12
Old	12
Race/Racist/Racism	12
<i>Ser</i> (head)	12
<i>Weki</i> (same)	12
<i>Dersim</i> (Kurdish name of Tunceli)	12
<i>Ber</i> (stone)	11
Chauvin/Chauvinist/Chauvinism	11
Clearly	10
<i>Çi</i> (what)	10
<i>Ku</i> (where)	10
Wrong	10
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	9
<i>Bûn</i> (suitable)	9
<i>Guli</i> (Kurdish name)	9
Undoubted	9
<i>Niha</i> (now)	9
<i>Wan</i> (they)	9
<i>Way</i> (mercy)	9
<i>Deste</i> (team)	8
<i>Edi</i> (mother)	8

Words	Count of Words
<i>Şevê din</i> (last night)	8
<i>Şêx</i> (sheikh)	8
<i>Wana</i> (valve)	8
Turk	7
<i>Çawa</i> (how)	7
<i>Dikân</i> (store)	7
<i>Kirin</i> (to lead)	7
<i>Ma</i> (I wonder if)	7
<i>Nav</i> (name)	7
<i>Paşê</i> (later)	7
<i>Pê</i> (foot)	7
<i>Xelil</i> (friend)	7
Kurdistan	6
<i>Bave</i> (father)	6
<i>Herin</i> (to tell)	6
<i>Hesen</i> (Kurdish name)	6
<i>Kapek</i> (sawdust)	6
<i>Mina</i> (similar)	6

Table-A.34: Freedom Path-Number 44/January 1979

Word Count: 7858 (TTR=0,4934)

Words	Count of Words
Democracy/Democratic/Democrat	272
People	227
Class	138
Social	130
Worker	110
Against	100
Fascist/Fascism	100
Power/Force(s)	97
Socialism/Socialist	94
Struggle	93
Government/Governance	92
Country	87

Words	Count of Words
State	68
Exploitation	68
Bourgeois/Bourgeoisie	67
Revolution/Revolutionist	62
Economy/Economic	61
Kurd/Kurdish/Kurdishness	60
Reactionary	55
Politics/Political	54
Capital	53
Movement	52
Mass	52
Imperialism/Imperialist	49
Capitalist/Capitalism	49
Interest	49
Big	48
Organization/Organized	47
<i>Xwe</i> (self)	47
Laborer	43
Nation/National/Nationalism	41
<i>Bû</i> (wedding)	38
<i>Dr. Kamuran Ali Bedirxan</i>	38
Pressure	38
Progress/Progressive	37
Free/Freedom	37
Party	37
World	36
War	36
Union	35
Government/Governance	35
Earthquake	34
<i>Me</i> (we)	32
Today	32
New	31
Over	30
Turkey	30

Words	Count of Words
Right	30
Land	28
We	27
<i>Di</i> (so)	26
Death/To Die	26
Real	26
Crucial	26
Anti	24
Housing	23
Salvation	23
State of Siege	23
Terror	23
Communal/Community	23
Student	22
Kurdistan	22
<i>Eliye Heme</i> (Kurdish name)	22
<i>Ku</i> (where)	21
Under	20
Hegemon/Hegemony	20
<i>Ser</i> (head)	19
<i>Ji</i> (onwards)	18
<i>Min</i> (I)	18
<i>Roja Welat</i>	18
Van ²¹	16
Patriot	16
Little	15
Education	15
Oppression/Oppressed/Oppressor	14
<i>Bûn</i> (to be suitable)	14
<i>Em</i> (we)	13
<i>Got</i> (word)	13
Undoubted	13

²¹ A city in the south part of Turkey.

Words	Count of Words
<i>Şofêr</i> (driver)	13
<i>Wi</i> (well)	13
Murder	12
Now	12
<i>Ew</i> (he/she/it)	11
<i>Dersim</i> (Kurdish name of Tunceli)	10
Homeland	10
Armed/Armament	10
<i>Bona</i> (for/about)	10
<i>Dest</i> (hand)	10
<i>Re</i> (black)	10
<i>We</i> (you)	10
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (KYB)	10
Of course/For sure	9
<i>Hev</i> (together)	9
<i>Kir</i> (stubbornness)	9
Solidarity	8
Wrong	8
Heavy/Hard/Harsh	7
<i>Bedirxan</i> (Kurdish name)	7
<i>Bele</i> (okey)	7
<i>Ber</i> (in front of)	7
<i>Çi</i> (what)	7
<i>Jê</i> (from)	7
<i>Nav</i> (name)	7
<i>Nû</i> (new)	7
Discharge	7
Turk/Turkish	6
<i>Du</i> (two)	6
<i>Ez</i> (I)	6
<i>Gele</i> (class)	6
<i>Va</i> (this)	6
<i>Zeft</i> (capture)	6

APPENDIX B

Figures Represent the Most Used Words According to Issues

Figure-B.1: Issue 1/June 1975

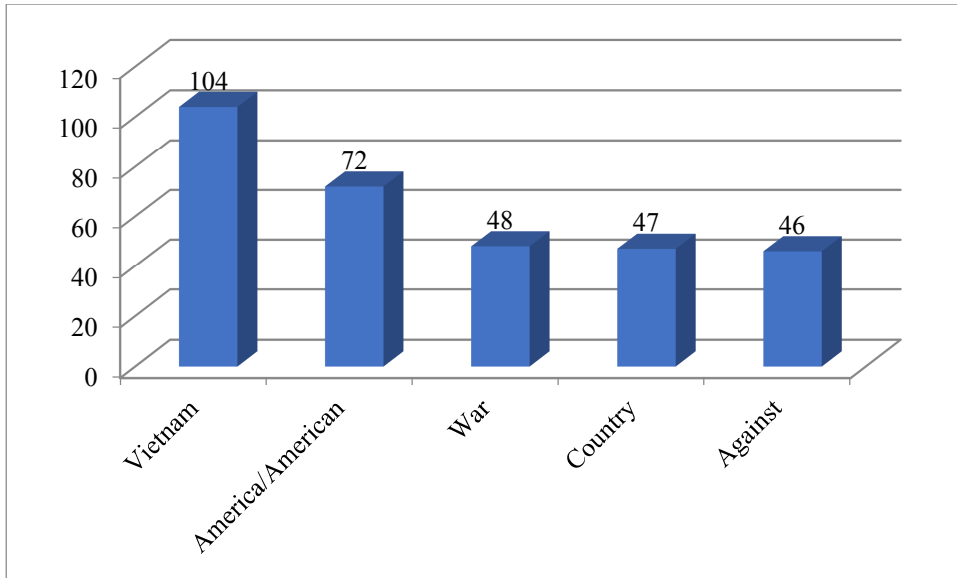


Figure-B.2: Issue 3/Augustus 1975

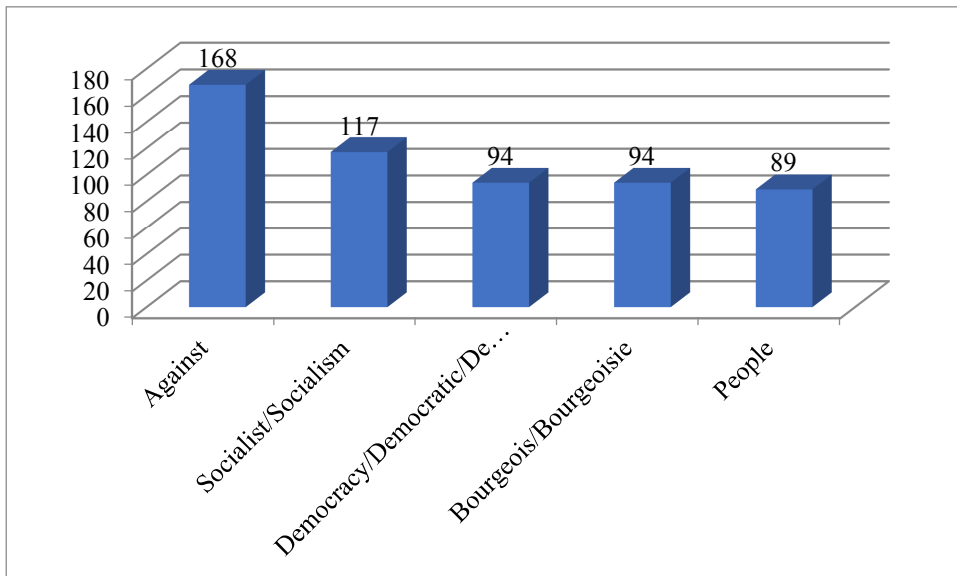


Figure-B.3: Issue 4/September 1975

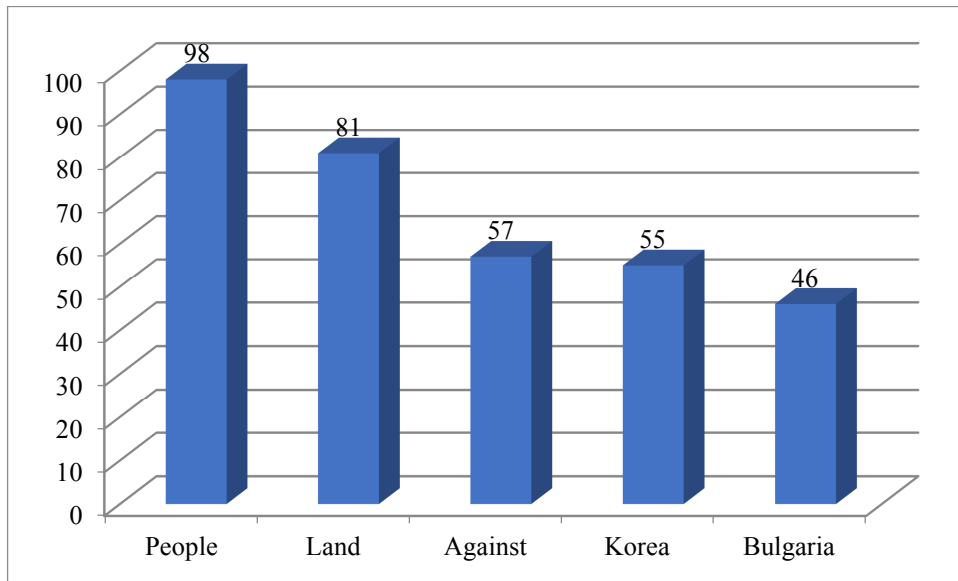


Figure-B.4: Issue 5/October 1975

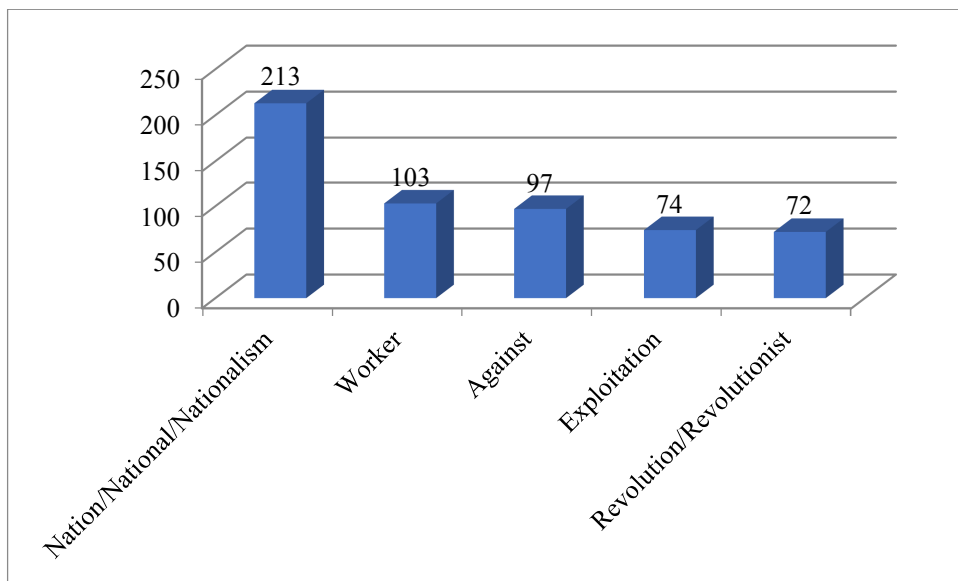


Figure-B.5: Issue 6/November 1975

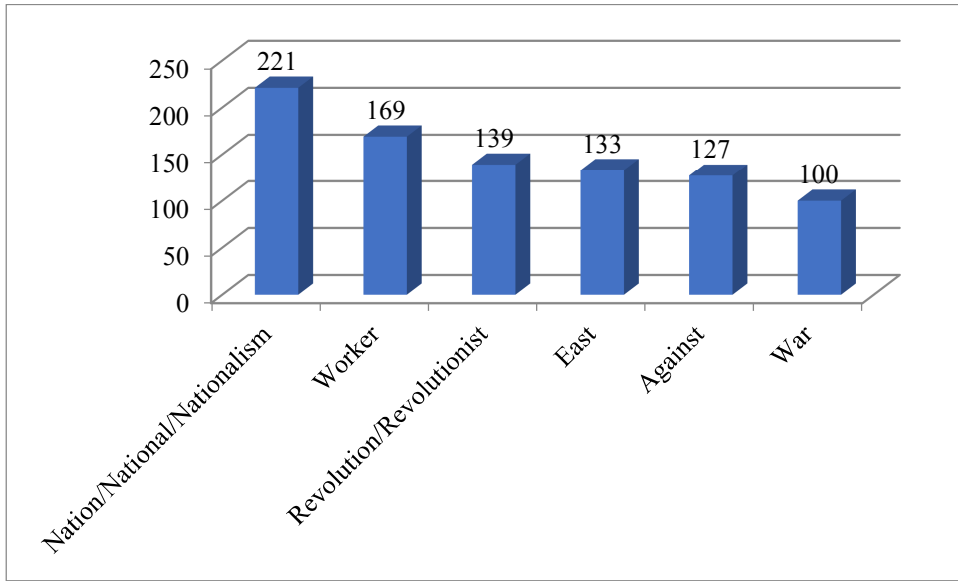


Figure-B.6: Issue 7/December 1975

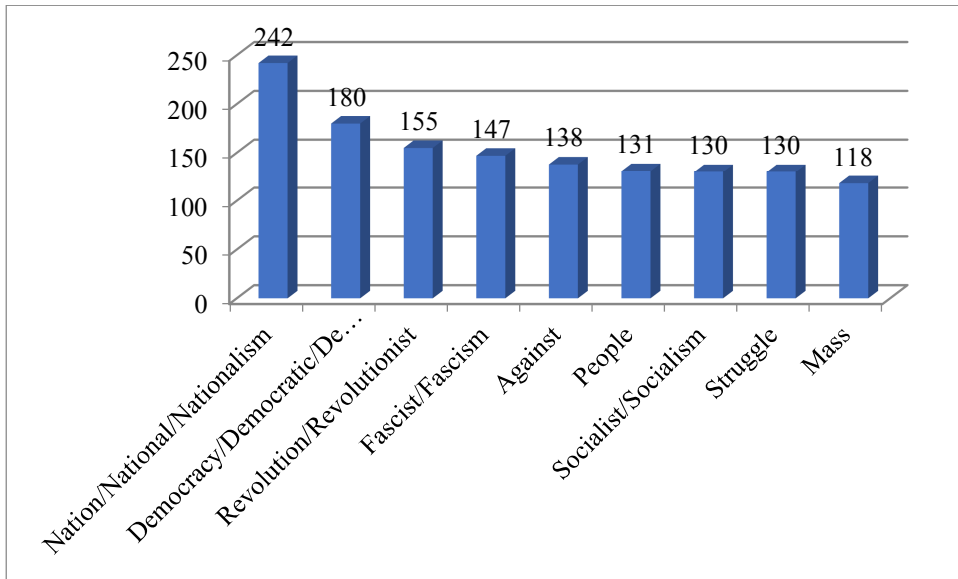


Figure-B.7: Issue 8/January 1976

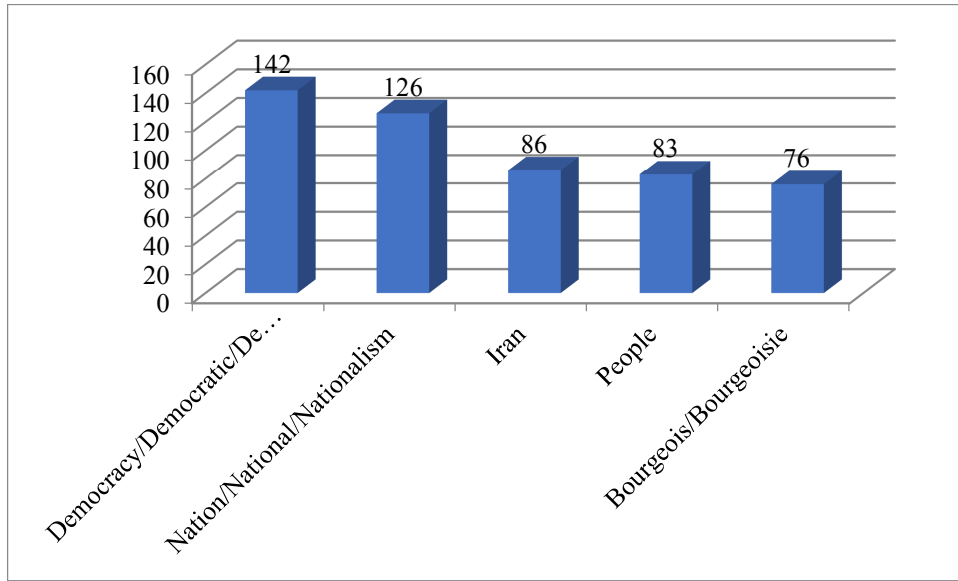


Figure-B.8: Issue 9/February 1976

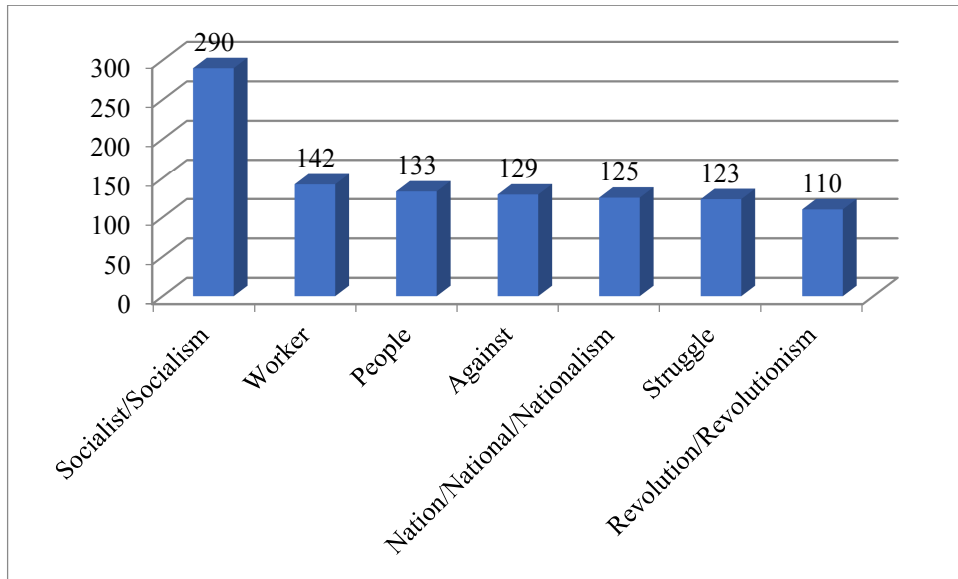


Figure-B.9: Issue 10/March 1976

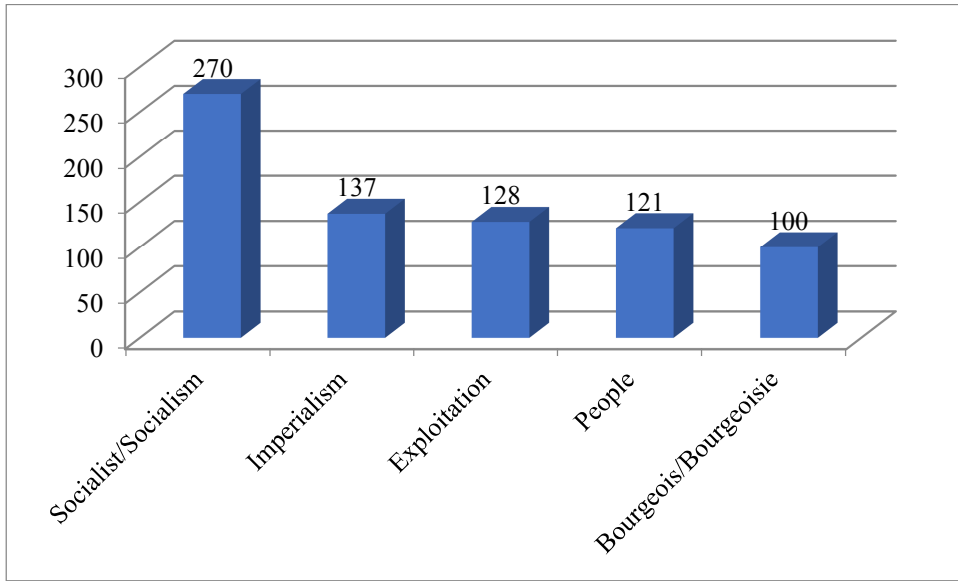


Figure-B.10: Issue 11/April 1976

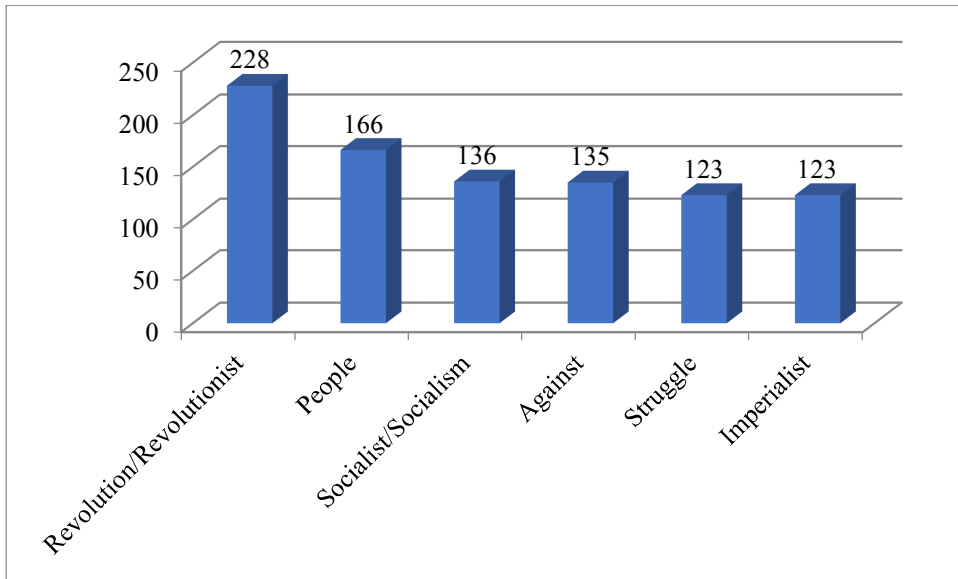


Figure-B.11: Issue 12/May 1976

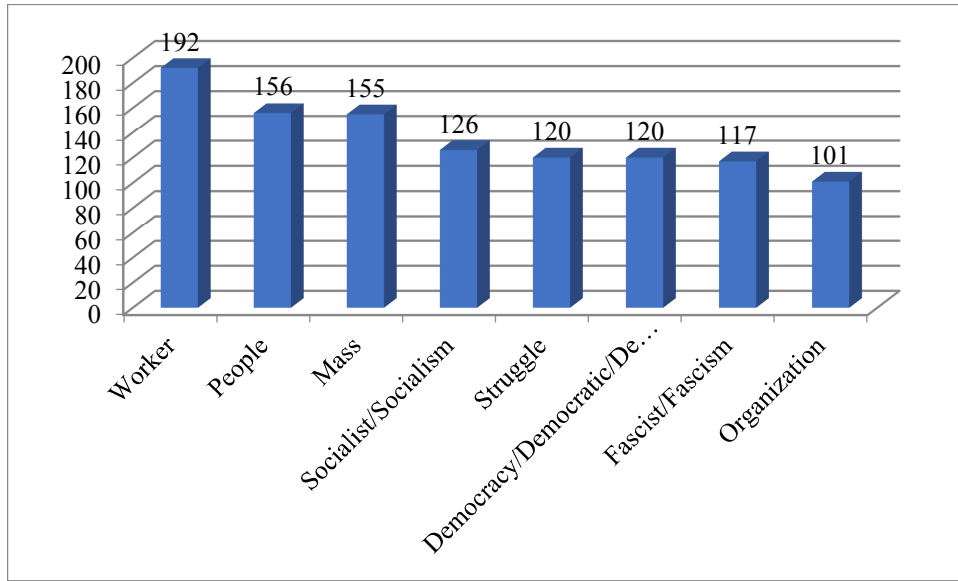


Figure-B.12: Issue 13-14/June-July 1976

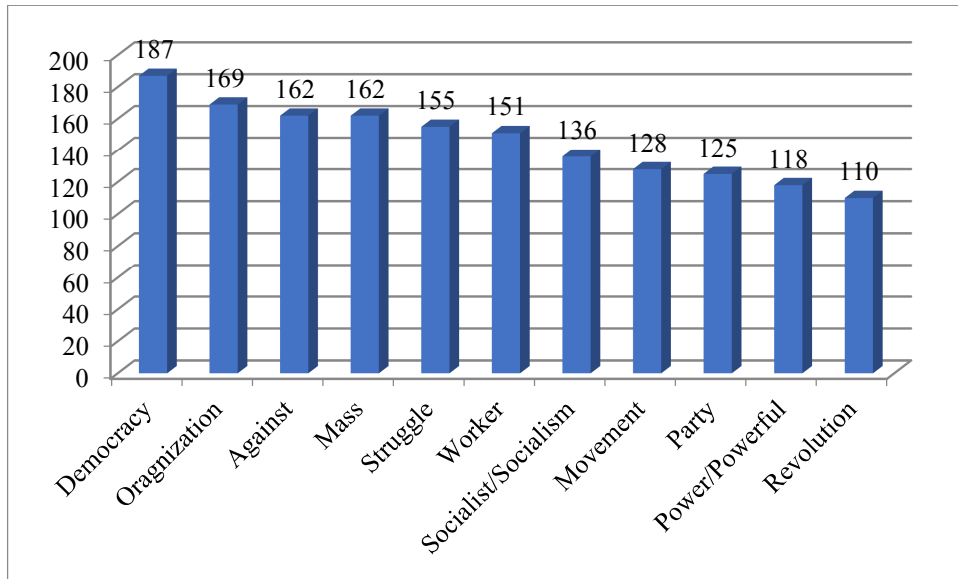


Figure-B.13: Issue 15-16/Augustus-September 1976

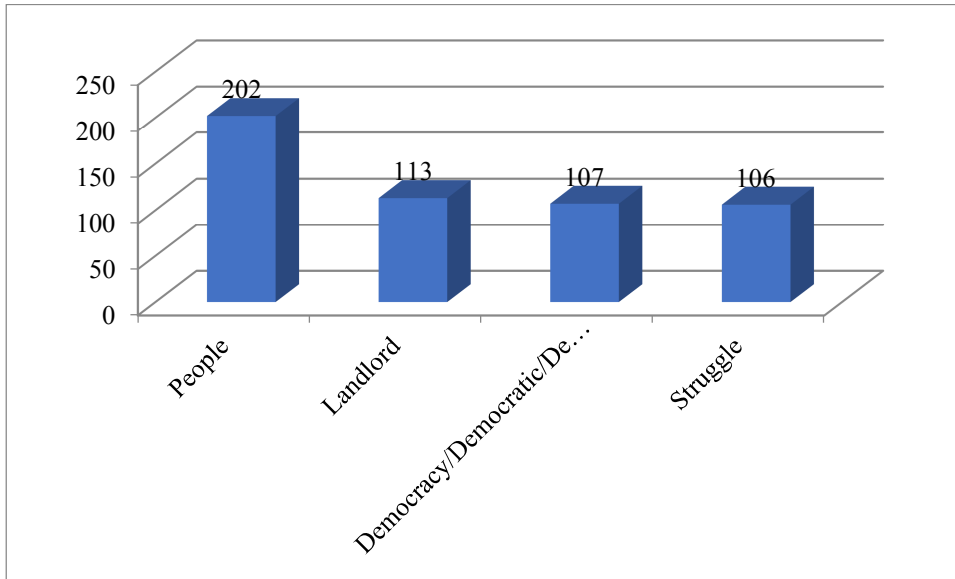


Figure-B.14: Issue 17/October 1976

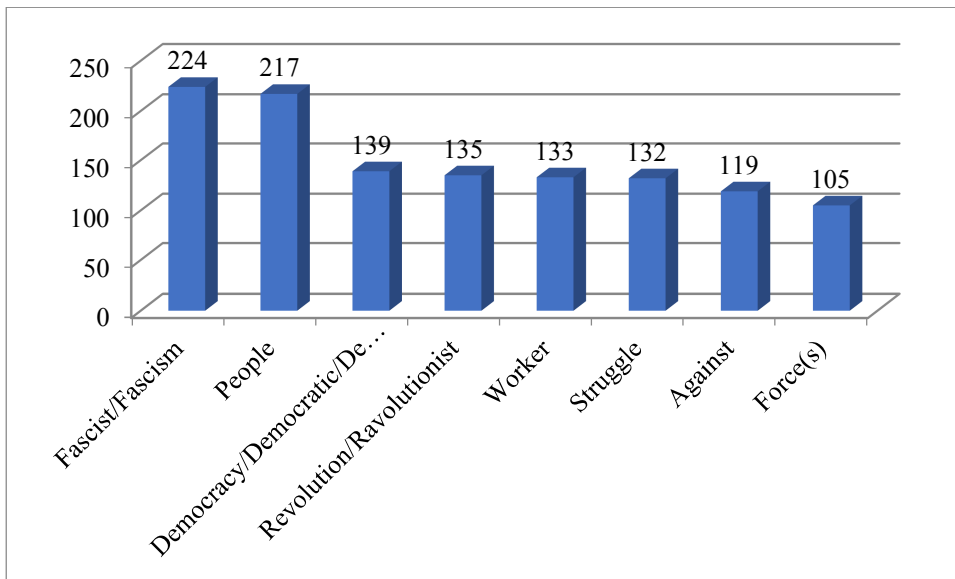


Figure-B.15: Issue 18/November 1976

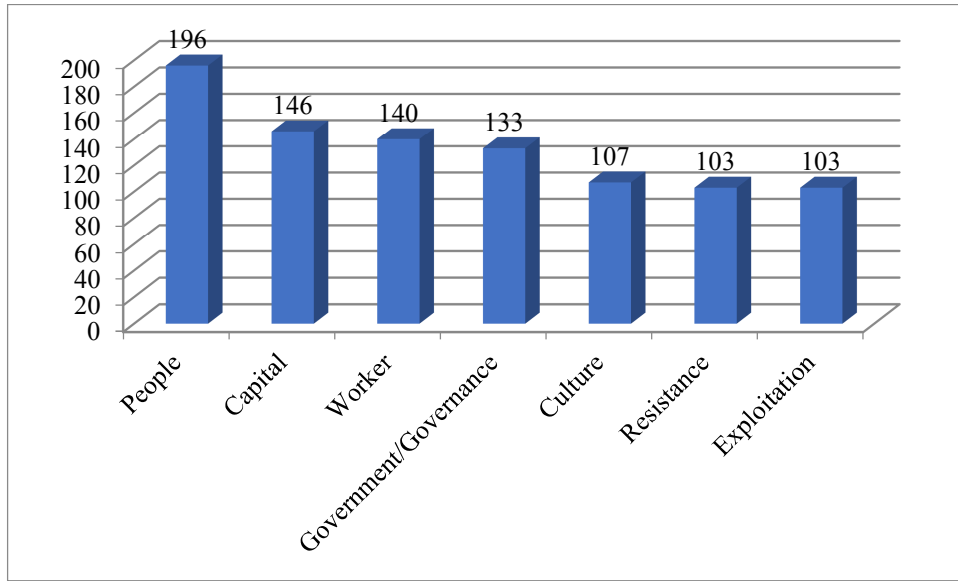


Figure-B.16: Issue 19/December 1976

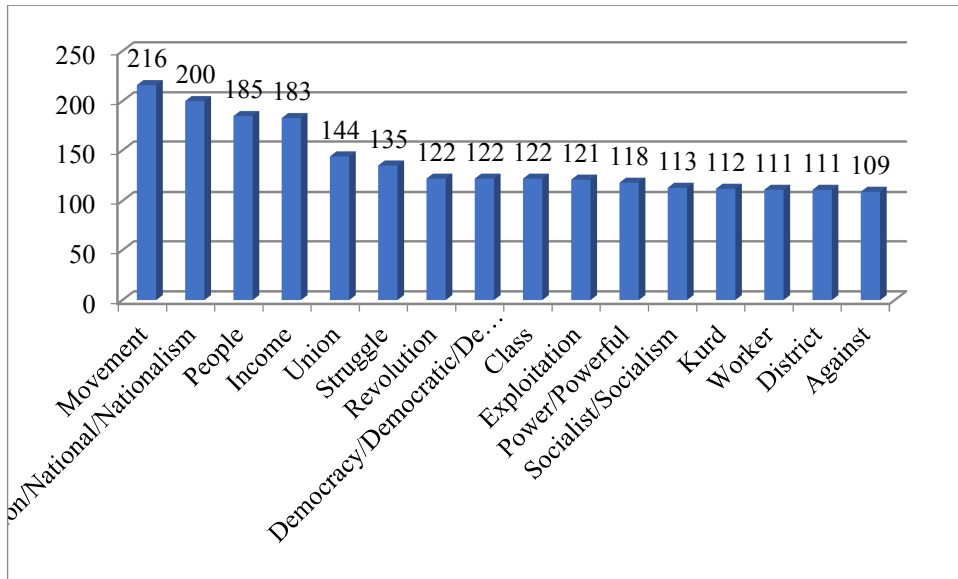


Figure-B.17: Issue 20/January 1977

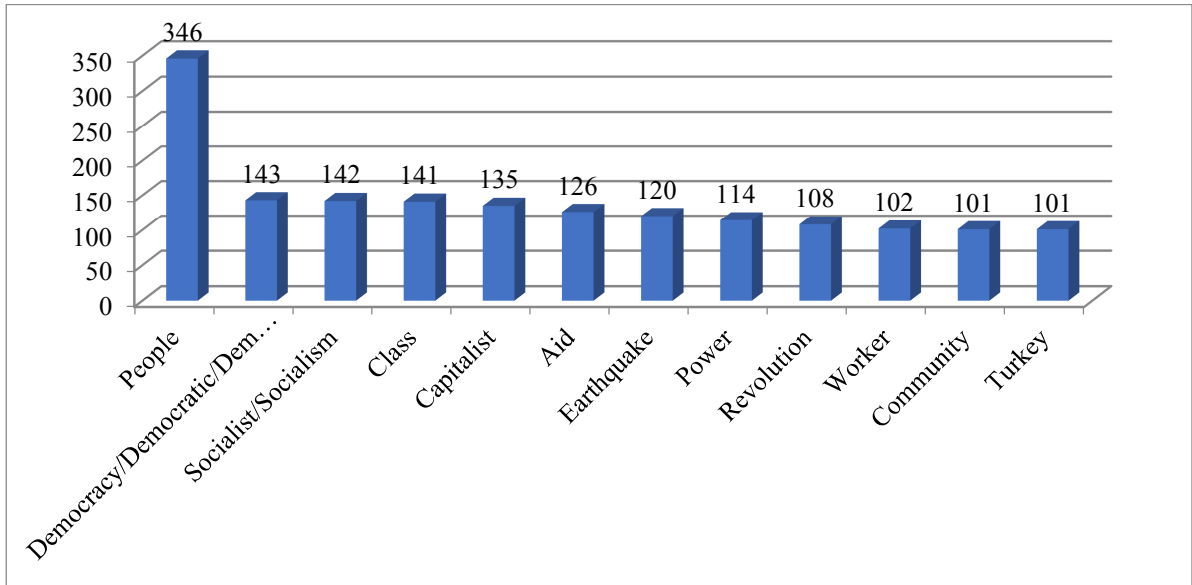


Figure-B.18: Issue 21-22/February-March 1977

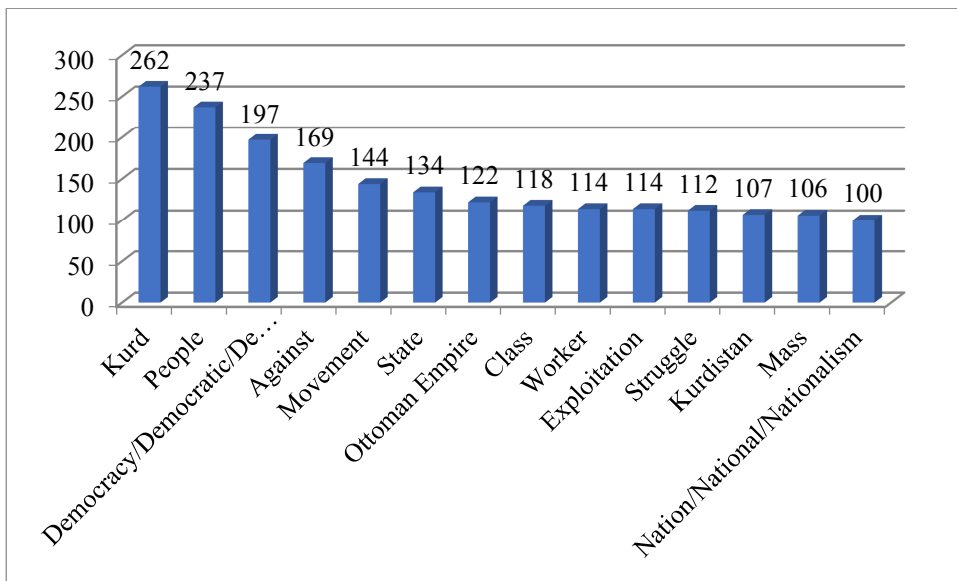


Figure-B.19: Issue 24/May 1977

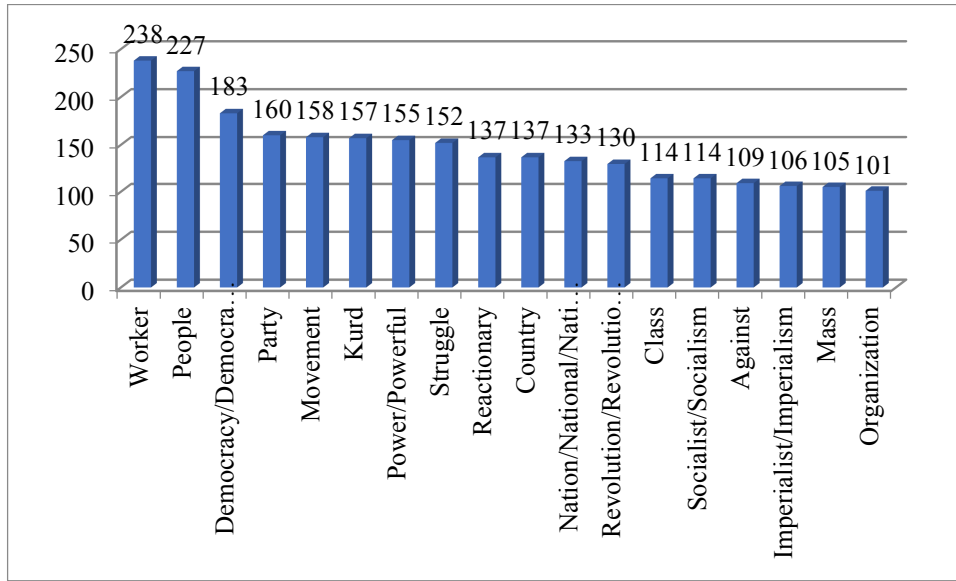


Figure-B.20: Issue 25/June 1977

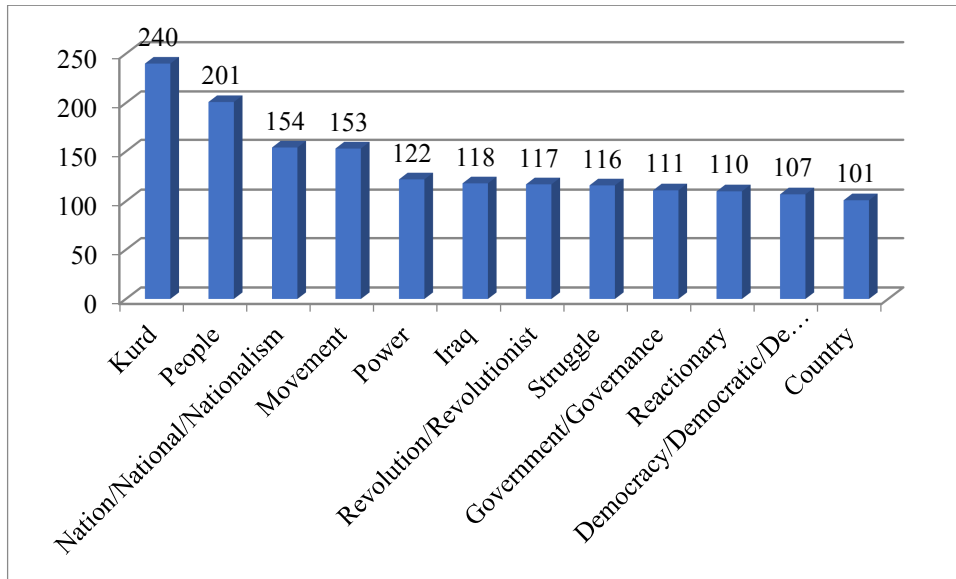


Figure-B.21: Issue 26/July 1977

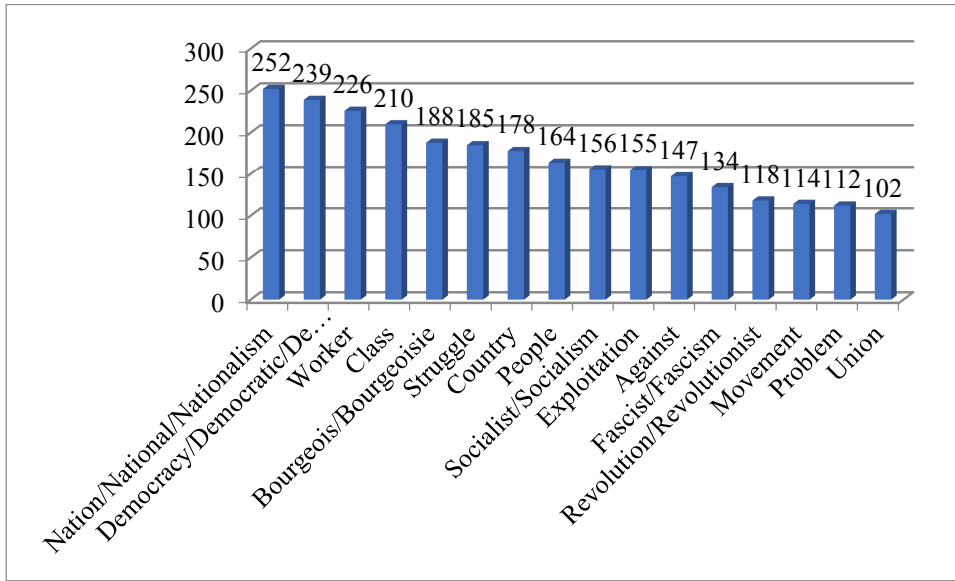


Figure-B.22: Issue 27/Augustus 1977

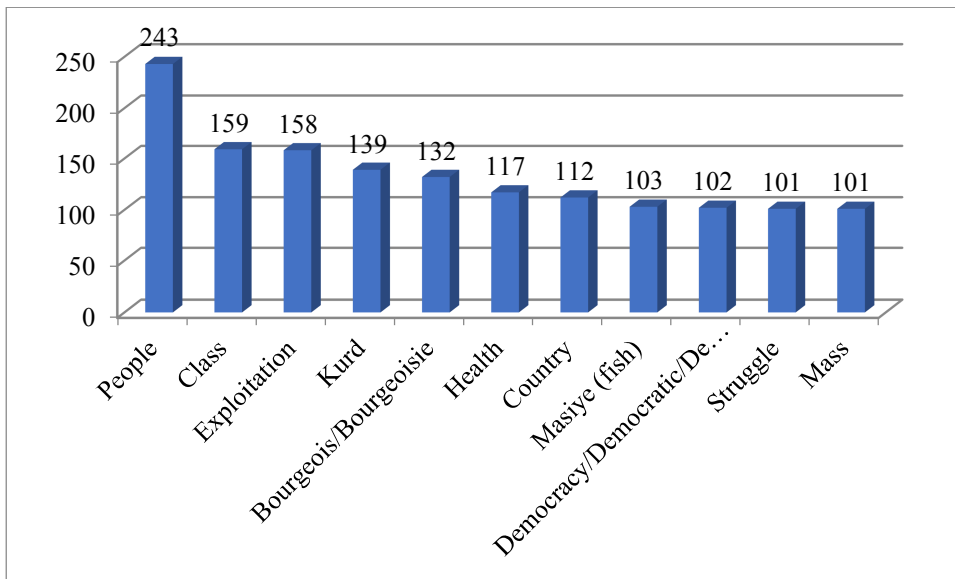


Figure-B.23: Issue 28/September 1977

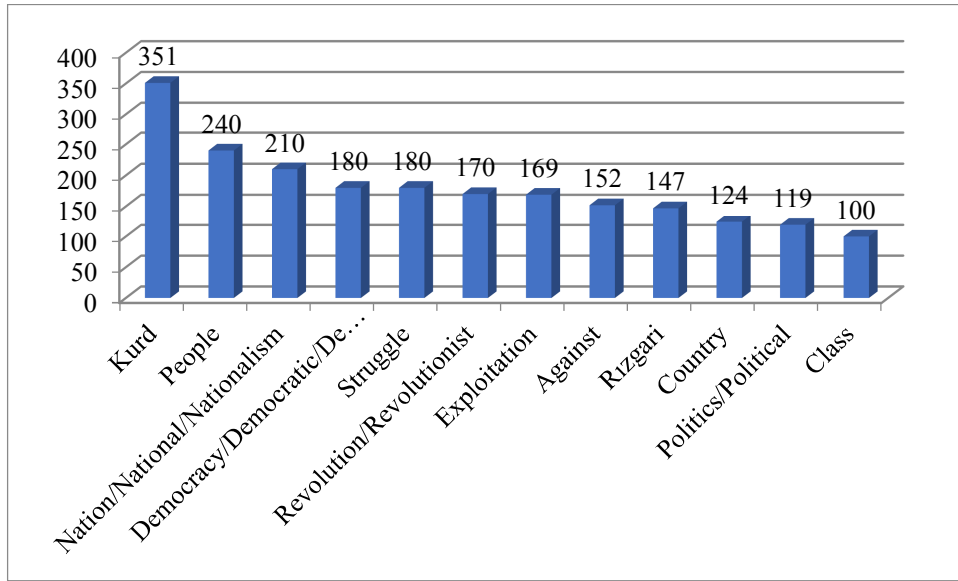


Figure-B.24: Issue 29/October 1977

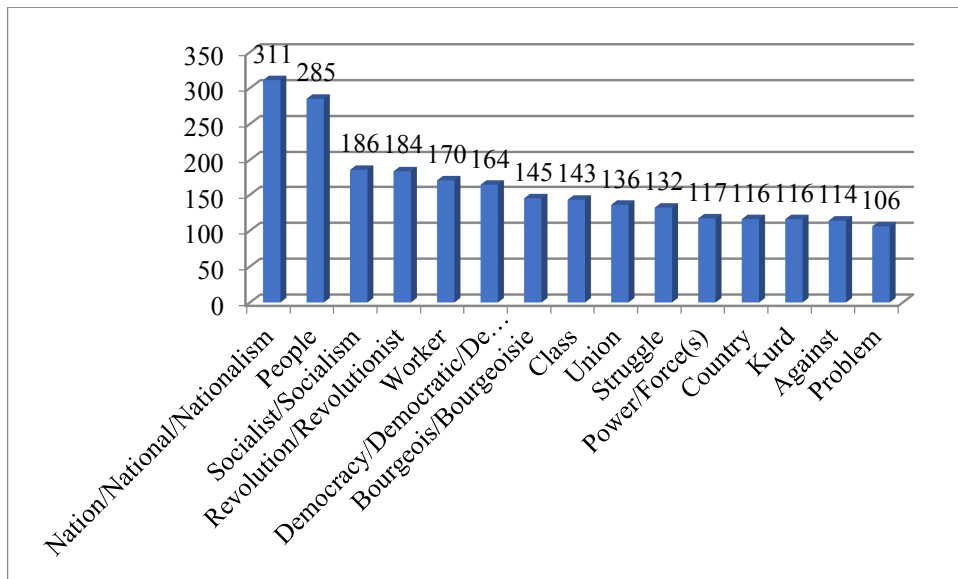


Figure-B.25: Issue 31-32/December-January 1977-1978

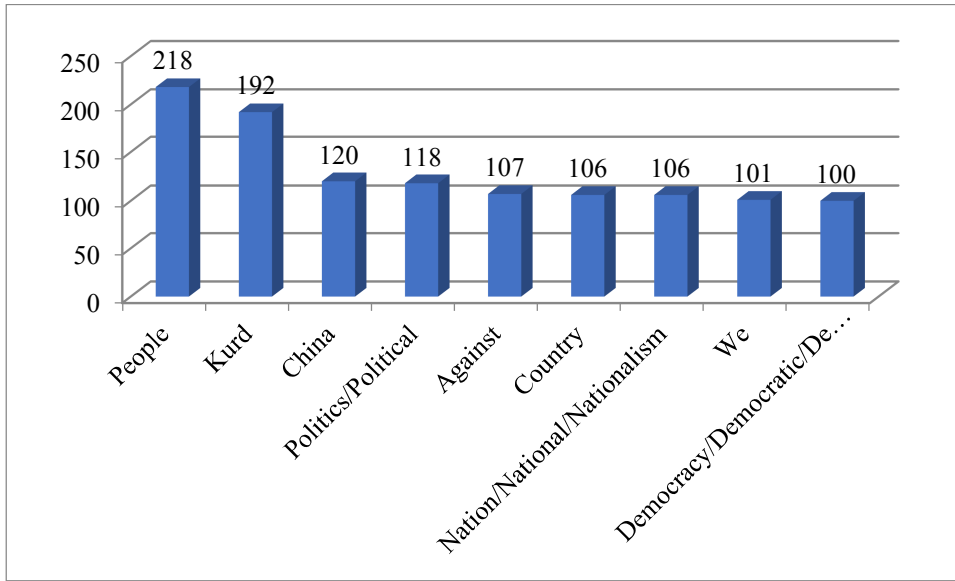


Figure-B.26: Issue 33-34/February-March 1978

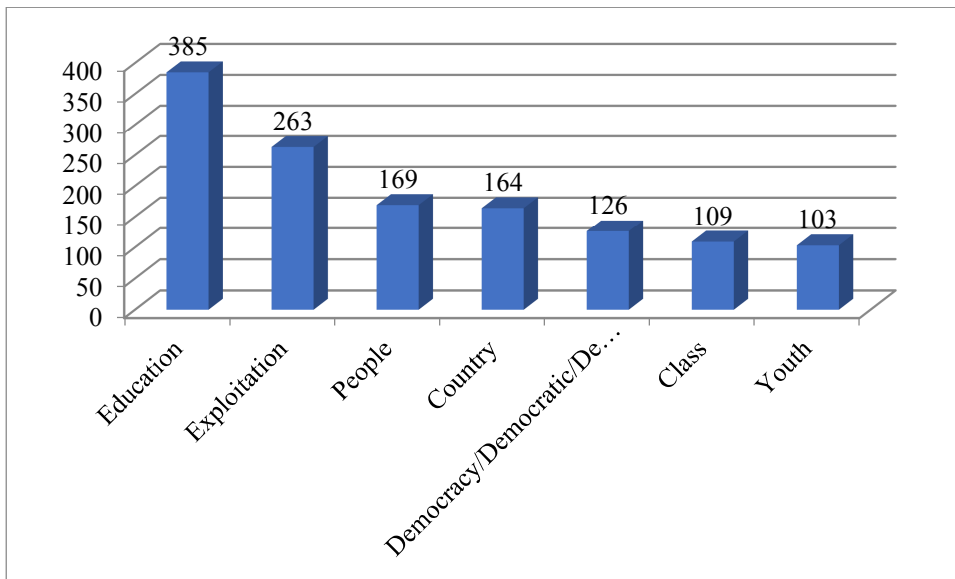


Figure-B.27: Issue 35/April 1978

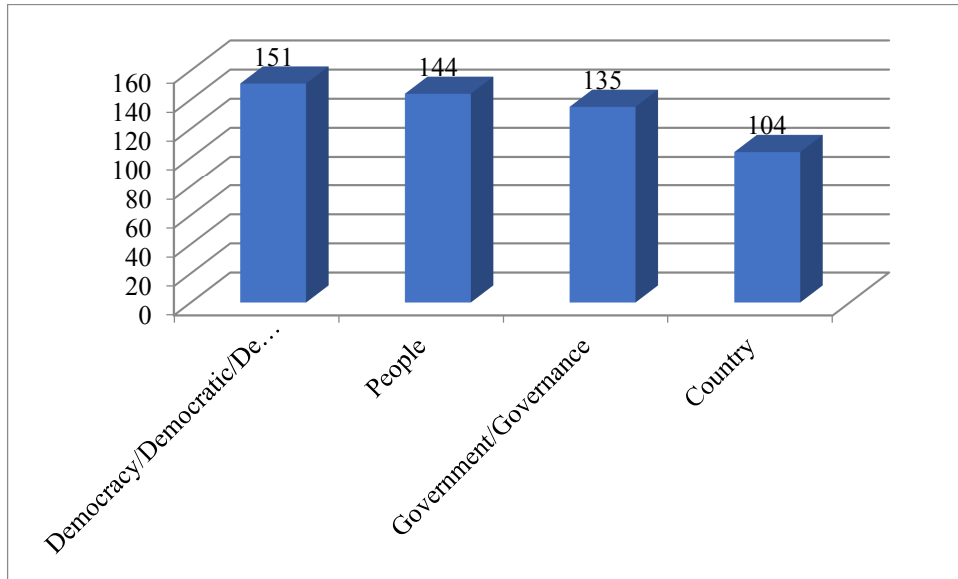


Figure-B.28: Issue 36/May 1978

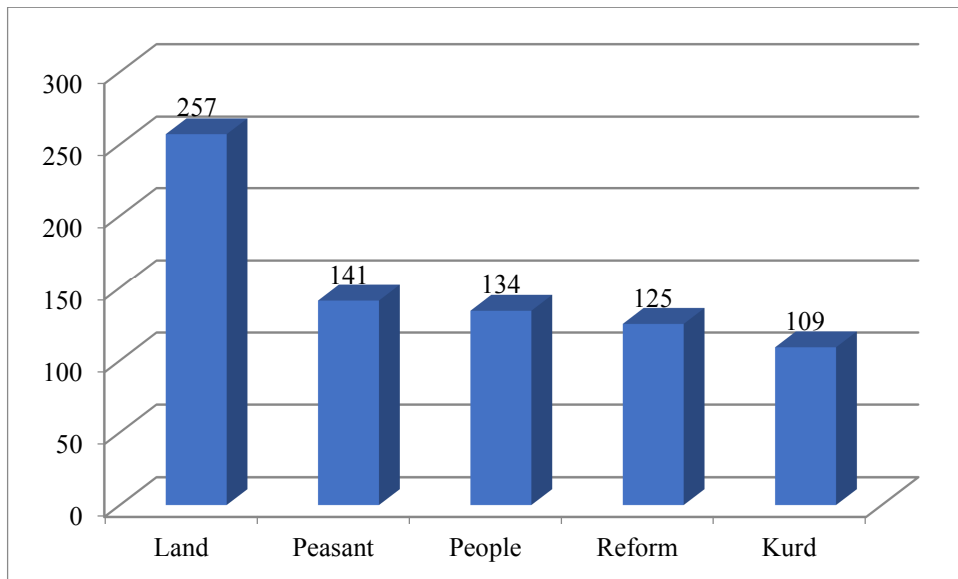


Figure-B.29: Issue 37-38/June-July 1978

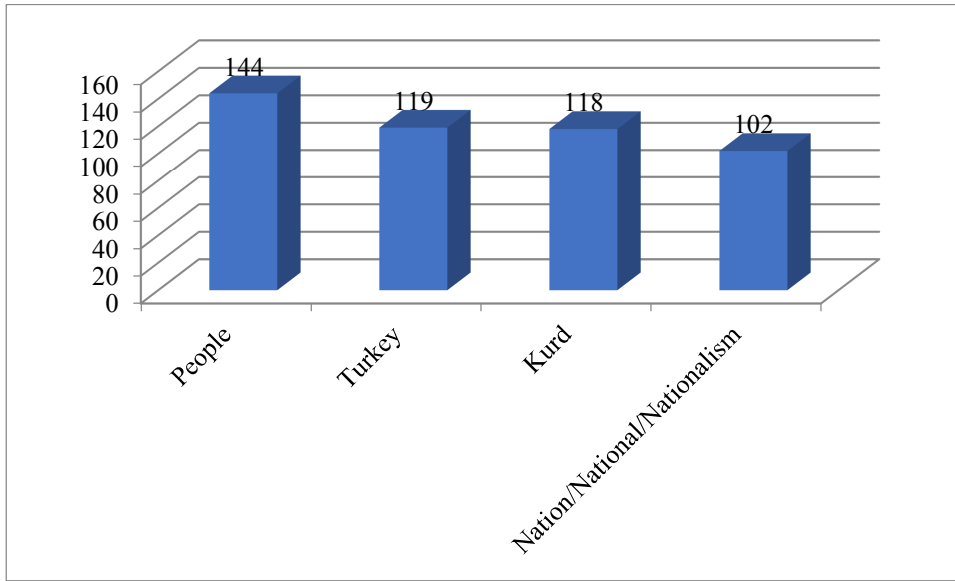


Figure-B.30: Issue 39-40/Augustus-September 1978

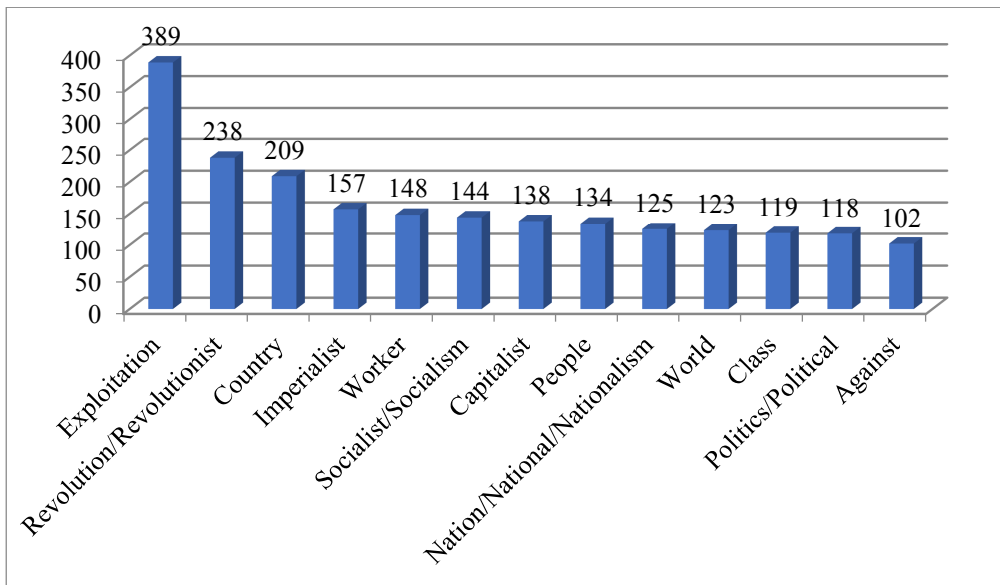


Figure-B.31: Issue 41/October 1978

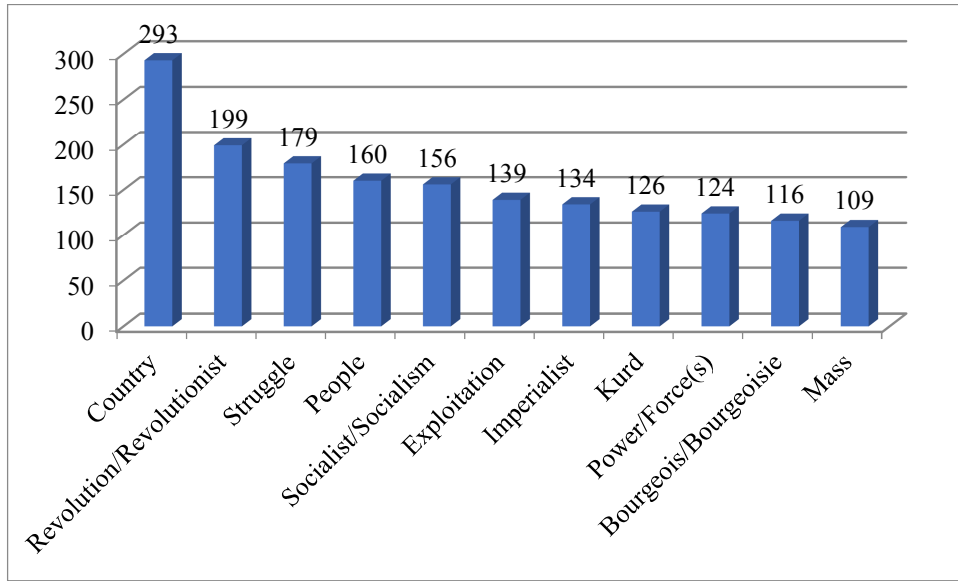


Figure-B.32: Issue 42/November 1978

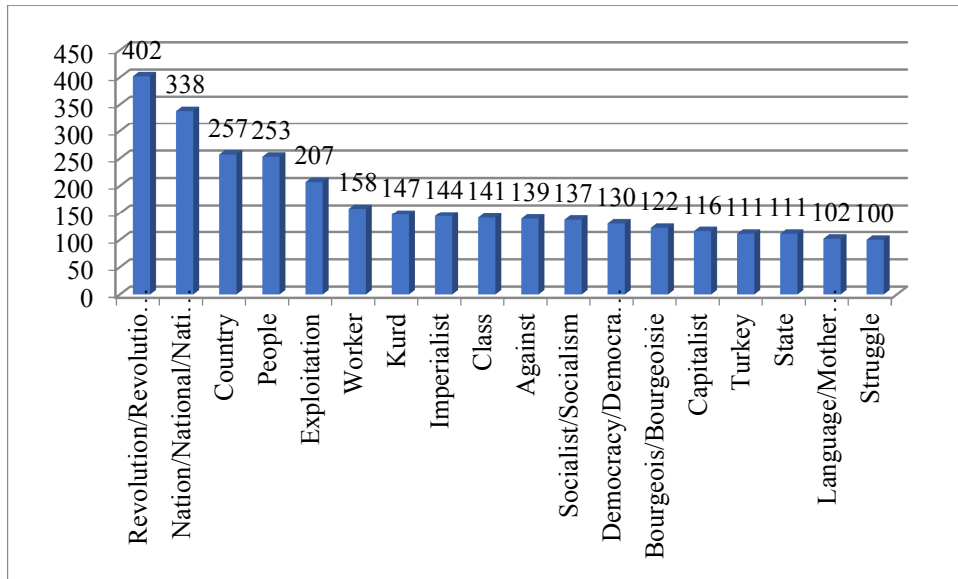


Figure-B.33: Issue 43/December 1978

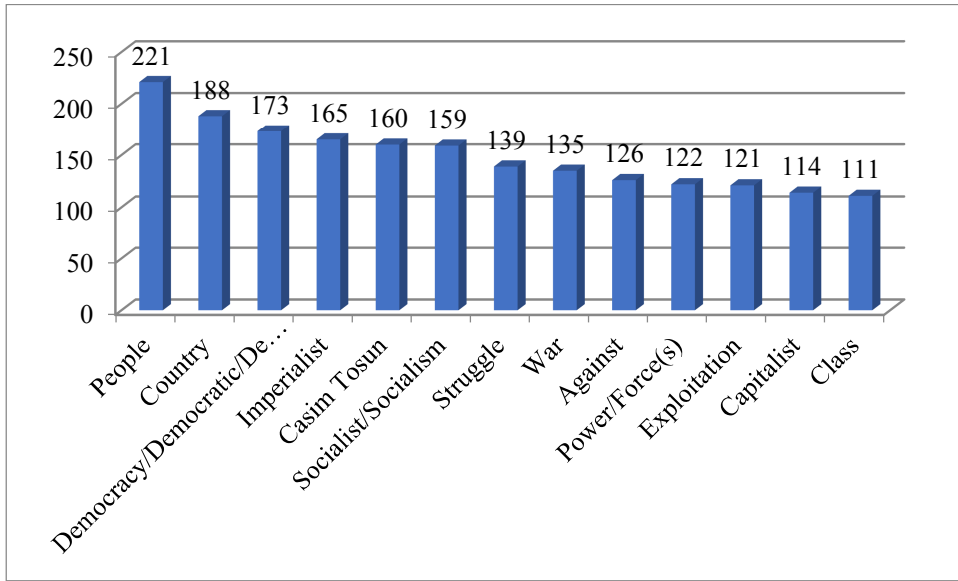
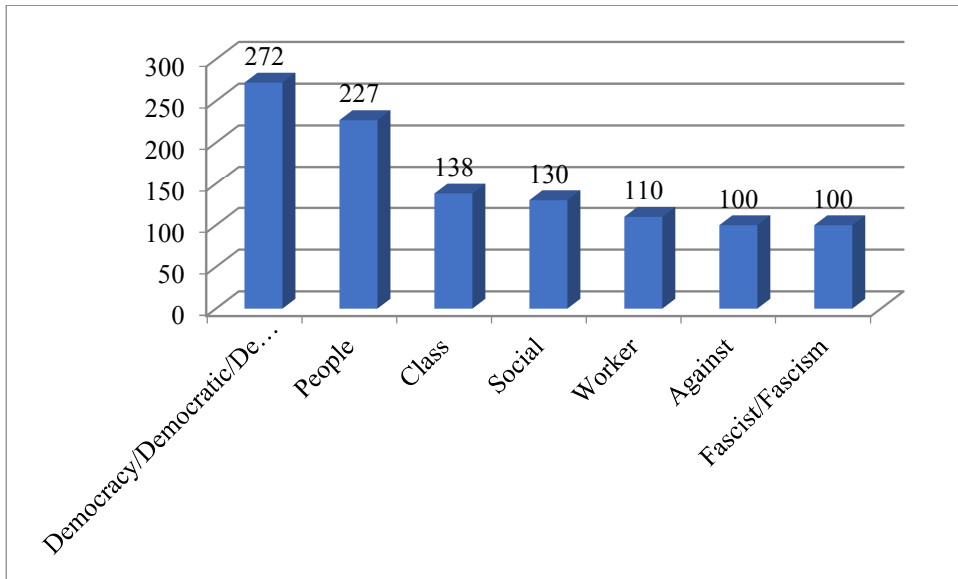


Figure-B.34: Issue 44/January 1979



APPENDIX C CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Güven Önenli, Merve

Nationality: Turkish (TC)

Data and Place of Birth: 25 October 1981, Ankara

Marital Status: Married

email: merveonenli@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

Degree Graduation	Institution	Year of
MS	Sabancı University Conflict Analysis and Resolution	2005
BS	Bilkent University International Relations	2003
High School	Bilim College, Ankara	1999

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2018-Present	General Commandership of Gendarmerie	Field
	Expert/Advisor	
2014-2016	21 st Century Turkey Institute	Director
2013-2006	Prime Ministry	Expert
	Analyst	

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Intermediate German

APPENDIX D TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKKÇE ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı, 1970'lerde Kürt kimliğine yönelik söylem inşasını anlamak ve araştırmaktır. Araştırma dönemi olarak 1970'lerin belirlenmesinin nedeni, Kürt kimliğinin söylem yoluyla yapılandırılan yeni unsurlarla yeniden inşa edilmesine dayanmaktadır. Bu dönemde, kültürel öğeler, siyasi bir çerçeveye üzerinden yeniden tanımlanmış ve inşa edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu tezde kimlik-toplum arasındaki etkileşimden kolektif bir kimliğin; kolektif duygular, kolektif hafıza ve kolektif eylem üretimiyle sonuçlanan ilişkisi, Kürt milliyetçiliği örneği üzerinden araştırılmıştır. Bu temelde bu tez, etnisite üzerine şekillenen duyguların milliyetçi hareketlere nasıl dönüştüğünü açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu amaçla Özgürlük Yolu isimli, 1975-1979 yılları arasında aylık yayımlanan dergi araştırmanın kaynağı olarak belirlenmiştir. Söz konusu kaynakta Kürt halkının sosyo-kültürel ve siyasi yaşantısının nasıl yeniden organize edildiği, Kürt kültürünün nasıl yeniden yorumlandığı, siyasi hususların kültüre entegrasyonu nasıl bir söylem inşa edildiği, bu söylemin içerisinde şiddet anlatısının yer alıp almadığı, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi yöntemi ve Maxqda programı kullanılarak incelenmiştir.

Özgürlük Yolu'nun incelenmesi neticesinde Kürt kültürel değerlerine siyasi unsurların, spesifik semboller, metaforlar ve anlatıların siyasal şiddet söylemi üzerinden yeniden tanımlanarak, Kürt kimliğinin yeniden inşa edildiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, inşa edilen söylem dilinde şiddet unsurunun; yeni değerlerin üretiminde, düşünceleri sınıflandırmada ve konumlandırmada baskın bir şekilde kullanıldığı belirlenmiştir. Bu anlamda şiddetin özellikle sürekli bir tehdit algısının oluşturulması temelinde, spesifik olarak tanımlanan düşman imgesi üzerinden kavramsallaştırıldığı görülmektedir.

Özgürlük Yolu dergisinde kullanılan söylemin incelenmesi neticesinde Kürt kültürel özelliklerinin, milliyetçi öğeler çerçevesinde yeniden tanımlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu şekilde yeniden tanımlanan kültürel değerlerin, gündelik hayatta

halkın deneyimlediği kültürel değerlerden farklı olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Derginin incelenmesi neticesinde, dergide kullanılan söylem dilinin ideolojik özellikler taşıdığı gözlemlenmiştir. Söylem dilinin ideolojik özelliğinden hareketle söylemin nasıl inşa edildiğinin anlaşılabilmesi amacıyla eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Eleştirel söylem analizi vasıtasıyla derginin, 1975-1979 yılları arasında yayımlanan 44 sayısı incelenmiştir. Ayrıca Maxqda programıyla söylem dilini inşa eden kelimelerin kullanım sıklıkları temelinde istatistiki bir çalışma yapılmış, akabinde de eleştirel söylem analizinden elde edilen verilerle niceliksel veriler birlikte analiz edilmiştir.

Dergi içeriği eleştirel söylem analizinin dört yöntemi üzerinden incelenmiştir. Bu yöntemler sırasıyla olay uzamı, zaman/mekan uzamı, zihinsel uzam ve söylem uzamıdır. Bu yöntemlerden derginin söylem içeriğinin olay uzamı temelinde, öznelerin; düşman ve kahraman imgesi ile taraftarların nasıl konumlandırıldığı araştırılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, öznelerin bölgeselleşme üzerinden konumlandırıldıkları tespit edilmiştir. Söylemin bölgeselleştirme temelinde inşa edilme sürecinde, yön olarak doğuda konumlanan bölgenin, kurban olma ve geride bırakılmışlık kavramları üzerinden çerçeveselendiği tespit edilmiştir.

Dergide kullanılan söylemin kavramsallaştırılmasında, bireylerin tanımlanan spesifik özelliklere göre sınıflandırıldıkları gözlemlenmiştir. Bu şekilde bireyin toplum içerisinde sosyal bir kategoriye ve bir gruba ait olma ve kendini güvende hissetme ihtiyacının bu söylem diliyle karşılanmaya çalışıldığı anlaşılmıştır. Bu bağlamda da doğu bölgesi bir gruba ait olmanın fiziksel ve sosyal olarak tanımlanan kategorisinin somutlaşabildiği alan halini almıştır. Bireyin kendi kimliğini sosyal ve fiziksel olarak tanımlayabildiği bölgesel uzam, aynı zamanda kişinin bu bölgeye ilişkin duygularının da oluşmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu şekilde tanımlanan bölgesel uzam, diğer taraftan da grup içi ve grup dışı kişilerin kategorileştirilmesine ve bize karşı onlar kavramsallaştırmasına yol açmaktadır.

Doğu bölgesi üzerinden yapılan sosyal ve fiziksel kategorizasyonun ise söylem inşası sürecinde bir sonraki aşamada *Kürdistan* tanımlamasına dönüştürüldüğü

görülmektedir. Doğu bölgesi kavramsallaştırmasından *Kürdistan* toprağı tanımlanmasına geçişte, tanımlanan bu toprak parçası, Kürtlerin cesaretli ve şerefli bir şekilde düşman güçleriyle savaştığı alan olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Ayrıca *Kürdistan*'ın Kürt kimliğinin kültürel özellikleri kullanılarak tanımlanmasında lirik bir anlatımın kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Örneğin söylemin inşasında, *Kürdistan*, dağlar üzerinden yapılan imgeleme çerçevesinde direniş ve özgürlüğün elde edileceğı mekânsal bir alan olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Olay uzamının tanımlanmasında, *Kürdistan* kavramının vaat içeren bir gelecek tahayyülü üzerinden kesinlik ifade eden söylemler çerçevesinde şekillendirildiğı tespit edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda *Kürdistan* kavramı simgesel bir şekilde ülke imgelemesi üzerinden geleceğı ilişkin bir tasavvur temelinde çerçevenmiştir. Halihazırda geride kalmış olarak nitelenen *Kürdistan*'ın, devrimci mücadele ile dışlanmaktan ve sömürülmekten kurtarılacağı temelinde söylemin şekillendirildiğı görülmektedir. Söz konusu hususlar çerçevesinde *Kürdistan* kavramının, ulusal bilincin teşkil edilmesi özelinde, hedeflenen grupta milli birlik, direniş ve milli hareket eylemlerinin oluşturulması amacıyla kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir.

Geride bırakılmışlık ve dezavantajlı bir şekilde konumlandırılma kavramlarının, söylem inşasında olay uzamının şekillendirilmesinde kullanılan iki temel kavram olarak ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Kürt olma hali kimlik olarak ilk aşamada doğunun geride bırakılmışlığı ve dezavantajlı konuma getirilmesi şeklinde tanımlanmıştır. Kürt kimliğinin söylemsel inşasında kullanılan bölgeselleşme hususu, aynı zamanda mukayese yapma stratejisi temelinde de şekillendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda karşılaştırma stratejisinin, tekrar eden bir nitelikte özellikle doğu bölgesinin, Türkiye'nin geri kalanıyla karşılaştırılması şeklinde tesis edildiğı gözlemlenmiştir. Karşılaştırma stratejisinin özellikle doğu bölgesinin Türkiye'nin geri kalanından ayrıştırılması temelinde kavramsallaştırıldığı görülmektedir.

Bu şekilde belirli bir bölgenin sadece Kürt halkının yaşadığı ve yaşayabileceği alan olarak tanımlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda sadece Kürt halkı için tahayyül edilmiş bir nitelikte tanımlanan toprak parçası üzerinden de mücadele bir eylem yöntemi olarak bölgeselleşmenin kavramsallaştırılmasında kullanılmaktadır. Simgesel olarak yapılandırılan bir toprak parçasında Kürt halkı tarafından yürütülmesi gereken mücadele kavramı bu temelde, olay uzamının söylem inşasında temel bir unsur olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Söz konusu hususlar temelinde, toprak ve mücadele arasında kurulan kavramsal ilişki, aynı zamanda iç grup ve dış grup tanımlanmasında da simgesel ve sonradan yapılandırılmış bir sınırın oluşturulmasında kullanılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, tanımlanan bir toprak parçası üzerinde sadece belli bir etnisite grubundan meydana gelen halkın betimlenmesinde, iç grup iyi olarak nitelendirilirken dış grup, kötü ve düşman olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu şekilde de biz ve onlar arasında oluşturulan sınır keskinleştirilmektedir.

Olay uzamının incelenmesi sırasında, olayların coğrafi konumlarına göre nitelendirildikleri tespit edilmiştir. Bu şekilde söylem dilinin inşasında, çatışma kavramının sürece dahil edildiği tespit edilmiştir. Örneğin 1975 yılında Diyarbakır/Lice'de gerçekleşen deprem, Lice olayı olarak yeniden nitelendirilerek çerçevelenmiştir. Olay uzamının genel olarak incelenmesi neticesinde, bölgeselleşme kavramının üzerine çeşitli değerlerin atfedilerek simgesel bir topluluğun diğerlerinden ayrıştırılması temelinde *Kürdistan* üzerine Kürtlük kimliğinin tesis edildiği ve bu çerçevede milliyetçi duyguların hedef kitlede yaratılmasının amaçlandığı tespit edilmiştir.

Eleştirel söylem analizinin incelenmesinin ikinci aşamasını zaman/mezan uzamı meydana getirmektedir. Zaman/mezan uzamının incelenmesinde tarihi ve kültürel bağlamların nitelendirilmesinde, geçmişe, şimdiki zamana ve geleceğe nasıl anlamlar verildiği incelenmektedir. Bu bağlamda derginin zaman/mezan uzamı çerçevesinde incelenmesi neticesinde, tanımlanan milliyetçi niteliğe haiz

kimlik üzerine farklı insanların bir araya getirilebileceği ortak bir kimliğin tesis edildiği görülmektedir.

Zaman/mezan uzamının söylemsel temelde inşa edilme sürecinde, geçmişte yaşanmış hususların şimdiki zaman bağlamında gelecek tasavvuru temelinde tanımlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Tasavvur edilen geleceğin kurgulanmasında, şimdiki zamanda yapılması gereken hususlar spesifik olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Bu temelde de okuyucuda, tanımlanan gelecek tasavvurunun oluşması için verilen mesajlar vaat içeren bir nitelik taşımaktadır.

Olayların anlatımında özellikle geçmişin şimdiki zaman üzerinden yeniden anlamlandırıldığı, yeniden anlamlandırılan şimdiki zaman kapsamında da geleceğin bu temel çerçevesinde tasarlandığı görülmektedir. Geçmiş, şimdiki zaman ve geleceğin çerçevesinde hafızanın yeniden kurgulandığı tespit edilmiştir. Geçmişte yaşananların yeniden yorumlanmasında, geçmişteki olaylar şimdiki zamanda yapılması gereken eylemlerin niteliğinin tanımlanmasında örnek olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu nedenle de şimdiki zaman içerisinde organize ve aktif mücadele, vaat edilen ve simgesel bir şekilde yapılandırılan geleceğin kurgulanması için olmazsa olmaz şeklinde nitelendirilmektedir. Bu bağlamda kitlelerin aktif mücadele çerçevesinde organize edilmesi, tekrar eden bir söylem olarak şimdiki zamanın anlamlandırılmasında temel olarak kullanılmaktadır.

Şimdiki zamanın anlamlandırılmasında başka bir husus da şimdiki zaman içerisinde tasvir edilen eylemlerin yapılmaması halinde gelecekte karşılaşılabilecek tehditlerin çerçevesindedir. Bu temelde de şimdiki zaman içerisinde kolektif eylemin mücadele temelinde şekillendirilmesinin bir zorunluluk olduğu yönünde söylemin inşa edildiği görülmektedir. Belirtilen hususlar temelinde şimdiki zaman üzerine inşa edilen söylem, sürekli mücadelenin ve savaşmanın anlatısı üzerinden kolektif bir amacın oluşturulması çerçevesinde şekillendirilmektedir.

Eleştirel söylem analizinin incelenmesinde kullanılan üçüncü yöntem, zihinsel uzamın nasıl tesis edildiğinin araştırılmasına dayanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda zihinsel uzamın araştırılması kapsamında sosyal çevrenin ve gerçekliğin nasıl tanımlandığının ortaya çıkartılması gerekmektedir. Bu çerçevede zihinsel uzamı şekillendiren hikayelerin, metaforların ve sembollerin nasıl kullanıldıkları, olayların spesifik olarak nasıl tanımlandıkları incelenmiştir. Bu temelde de ne tür kavramsal metaforlar üretildiği, nasıl bir kavramsal çerçeve tesis edildiği, olayların tanımlanmasına ilişkin ne tür isimler üretildiği ve analogik bağlantılar kurulduğu araştırılmıştır.

Söz konusu hususlar temelinde, zihinsel uzamın şekillendirilmesinde kullanılan söylemin kolektif kimlik algısının oluşturulması bağlamında yapılandırıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Dergide kolektif kimliğin, spesifik olarak tanımlanan düşman imgesi üzerinden sürekli bir tehdit algısının oluşturulması bağlamında tesis edildiği gözlemlenmektedir. Bu nedenle de kolektif kimliğin oluşturulması amacıyla, dergide birlik vurgusunun sıklıkla yinelendiği görülmektedir. Kolektif kimlik, diğeri olarak nitelendirilen dış gruba karşı ortak bir cephe oluşturulması temelinde somutlaştırılmaktadır. Bu çerçevede de iç grubun üyesi olmak, grubun üyesi olmak amacıyla tanımlanan eylemin gerçekleştirilmesi bağlamında kazanılması gereken ayrıcalıklı bir sıfat olarak çerçevenmektedir.

Kolektif kimliğin söylemsel olarak inşasında özellikle kültür, özgürlük, Kürt olmak, *Kürdistan*, anavatan, ana dil ve savaşçı kelimelerinin kullanımında, kolektif kimlik vurgusuyla doğru orantılı bir şekilde artış olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Kelimelerin nasıl yapılandırıldıkları incelendiğinde ise bireysel ve kolektif kimliğin sistematik bir şekilde ilişkilendirildiği görülmektedir. Bu şekilde Kürt kimliği, ‘özgür olmak ve özgürlükleri için savaşan savaşçılar’ üzerinden yeniden üretilmekte ve tanımlanmaktadır. Bireysel özgürlüğün, kolektif kimliğin bölgeselleştirilmesi ve ana dil temelinde yeniden tanımlanmasıyla mümkün olacağı ifade edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, ortak bir geçmiş algısı, kültür üzerinden yeniden inşa edilen öğeler temelinde Kürt kimliğini yeniden tanımlayan bir işlev görmektedir.

Zihinsel uzamın tesisinde öne çıkan diğer önemli hususlardan bir tanesi de yenilmez olarak tanımlanan geleceğin, soyut bir gerçeklik üzerinden kurgulanmasıdır. Yenilmezlik tanımlaması, düşman imgesi üzerinden çerçevelenmektedir. Düşman tarafından acı çektirildiği teması üzerinden biz duygusunun geliştirilmesinin amaçlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Derginin söylem stratejisinde, metaforların öteki olarak nitelenen grup üzerine olumsuzluk atfetme temelinde şekillendirildiği görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan biz olarak nitelenen iç grubun özelliklerinin ve eylemlerinin şiddet dahi içerse olumlandığı tespit edilmiştir.

Bu temelde kolektif kimliğin bilişsel çerçevesinin oluşturulmasında; ulusal hareket, ulusal birlik, direniş ve savaş kavramları üzerinden bir ilişkilendirme yapılmaktadır. Tüm bu durumlar da Kürt olmanın öğeleri bağlamında tanımlanmaktadır. Zihinsel uzamın incelenmesi neticesinde, öykündürülen mücadelenin düşman imgesinin varlığı temelinde meşru bir zemine oturtulmaya çalışıldığı görülmektedir. Dış grubun düşman olarak tanımlanması temelinde iç grup da yok edilmek ve katledilmek istenen Kürt halkı olarak betimlenmektedir. Kürt halkının betimlenmesinde iyi Kürt ve kötü Kürt ayrımı üzerinden, Kürt kimliğinin tanımlanmasına yeni bir boyut eklendiği de görülmektedir. İyi Kürt; ilerlemeci, devrimci ve demokrat olarak tanımlanırken kötü Kürt de geleneksel, gerici, ilkel ve faşist olarak betimlenmektedir.

Tüm bu tanımlamalar, silahlı mücadeleye olan ihtiyaç vurgusunun meşrulaştırılması amacıyla tesis edilmektedir. Bu temelde de soykırım kavramı zihinsel uzamın söylemsel inşasına eklenmiştir. Silahlı mücadele, ulusal mücadelenin temeli olarak meşru bir yol şeklinde betimlenmektedir. Bu bağlamda örneğin, 1975 yılında Diyarbakır/Lice’de gerçekleşen deprem, siyasi hususlarla analogik bir şekilde ilişkilendirilmektedir. Bu amaçla da deprem ve soykırım arasında bağlantısal bir anlam kurulmaktadır.

Söz konusu hususlar temelinde zihinsel uzamın inşasının üç aşamada gerçekleştirildiği tespit edilmiştir. İlk aşamada, düşmanın kim olduğu betimlenmiştir. İkinci aşamada, söylem üzerinden okuyucunun duyguları hedef alınarak düşman imgesi üzerinden eylemsel bir dayanışma ve birliğin kurulması tanımlanmaktadır. Üçüncü aşamada ise mücadelede kimin yer alması gerektiği üzerinden mücadele kavramı çerçevelenmektedir. Bu temelde, mücadelede yer alması gereken kişiler ilerlemeci olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Ayrıca mücadele kavramı; özgürlük, bağımsızlık ve kurtuluş kavramları ile güçlendirilmektedir. Bu şekilde de mücadele kavramının, Kürt halk hareketine ve Kürt devrimine dönüştürüldüğü görülmektedir. Ulusal bir hareketin oluşturulabilmesi için de şiddet, gerekli bir unsur olarak zihinsel uzamın inşasında kullanılmaktadır.

Eleştirel söylem analizinin son yöntemi olan söylem uzamının araştırılması, diğer uzamlar temelinde nasıl şekillendirildiğinin incelenmesine dayanmaktadır. Bu bölümde, Kürt kimliğinin yeniden inşasında kültürel ve siyasi özelliklerle şiddet kavramının nasıl yapılandırıldıkları ve birbirleriyle nasıl ilişkilendirildikleri araştırılmıştır. Bu bağlamda söylemsel uzamın etnik milliyetçilik temelinde inşa edildiği tespit edilmiştir. Derginin dokuzuncu sayısı ile beraber, etnik milliyetçi söylemin, sosyalist ideolojinin öğeleri üzerinden tanımlandığı belirlenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, sosyalizm, devrim, işçi sınıfı ve sosyalist devrim gibi kavramların milliyetçi taleplere entegre edildikleri görülmektedir.

Bu çerçevede, söylem uzamının inşa sürecinde ilk aşamada kültür kavramı milli gurur temelinde sömürü ve feodalizme karşı korunması gereken bir kavram olarak çerçevelenmektedir. İkinci aşamada, milli gururun korunması amacıyla ulusal kurtuluş devriminin yapılmasının gerektiği vurgulanmaktadır. Üçüncü aşamada ise ulusal kurtuluş devriminin ancak işçi sınıfı ve sosyalizm sayesinde gerçekleştirilebileceği belirtilmektedir. Bu bağlamda etnik milliyetçiliğin ilk aşamada, sosyalist ideolojinin kavramları üzerinden söylemsel olarak inşa edildiği tespit edilmiştir.

Sosyalist kavramların milliyetçi söylemin inşasında ödünç olarak kullanılmasına rağmen bir noktadan sonra ulusal olarak baskı altında tutulmanın sadece kapitalizm üzerinden açıklanamayacağı ifade edilerek sosyalist kavramların etnik milliyetçi söylemin inşasında kullanımından sarfi nazar edilmeye başlandığı görülmektedir. Sosyalist ideolojiye dayanan kavramların terk edilerek etnik milliyetçi söyleme geçişin, *Kürdistan* kavramının şekillendirilmesiyle başladığı tespit edilmiştir. *Kürdistan* kavramıyla oluşturulan imgeleme, simgesel bir cemaatin varlığı temelinde iç grubun sınırlarının, dış grup üyeleri üzerine tesis edilen tehdit kavramı çerçevesinde şekillendirildiği görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda da etnik milliyetçi söylemin ilk yapı taşlarının simgesel cemaatin tasavvur edildiği bir ülke üzerinden inşa edildiği tespit edilmiştir.

Simgesel bir cemaatin tanımlanmış bir toprak parçası üzerinden kendi kaderini tayin hakkı çerçevesinde inşa edilmesinde; soykırım, ırkçılık ve katliam kavramlarının özellikle kullanıldığı ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu bağlamda da *Kürdistan* imgesinin de soykırımın, ırkçılığın ve katliamların ortadan kaldırılması amacıyla uğruna savaş verilmesi gereken bir olgu olarak tesis edildiği görülmektedir. Bu temelde savaş imgelemesinin güçlendirilmesi amacıyla dış grup tarafından iç gruba yönelik barbarca bir yok etme savaşı yürütüldüğü hususu kullanılmaktadır. Bu anlamın tesisinde, ulus kavramının deneyimlenebilmesi için tanımlanan eylemlerin ulusal bir görev niteliğinde betimlendiği görülmektedir. Bu temelde iç grubun eylemleri şoven niteliğinde tanımlanan rejimin devrilmesi ve bağımsız *Kürdistan*'ın kurulması çerçevesinde tanımlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda da silahlı mücadele, bir çözüm yolu olarak betimlenmekte ve meşru bir zemine oturtularak makul bir hale büründürülmeye çalışılmaktadır.

Bu çerçevede ulusal kimliğin; özellikle dil ve kültür öğeleri üzerinden tanımlandığı gözlemlenmektedir. Ayrıca ulusal kimliğe ilişkin söylem inşasında özellikle Kürt nüfus, Kürt dili, kültürü, eğitim, feodalizm ve birlik hususlarının birbirleriyle bağlantılandırılarak ve birbirini destekler nitelikte kullanıldıkları

tespit edilmiştir. Söylem uzamının inşasında kültür kavramının öğeleri üzerinden yeniden çerçevelendiği ve yeniden tanımlandığı ortaya çıkartılmıştır.

Söylem uzamının inşasında temel stratejilerden birisinin kültürün etnik milliyetçi bileşenler üzerinden tanımlanması olduğu görülmektedir. Ulusal kültür üzerinden çerçevelenen kavramlar, egemenlik problemi üzerinden tartışılmaktadır. Bu temelde ulusal kültür üzerinden tesis edileceği belirtilen egemenlik kavramına ulaşmanın ancak ulusal bir hareket ile mümkün olacağı ifade edilmektedir. Ulusal kültür öğelerinin ancak ulusal direniş üzerine sembollerin üretimi ile mümkün olacağı ve bu hususun da ulusal kültürün geliştirilmesini mümkün kılacağı belirtilmektedir. Bu bağlamda da söylem inşasında yeni hikayelerin, sembollerin ve metaforların hedef alınan grubun mobilize edilmesinde ve kolektif ulusal kimliğin oluşturulmasında yeniden keşfedildikleri ve yeniden yapılandırıldıkları görülmektedir.

Bu çerçevede Kürt halk müziği ve şarkılarının, masalların, şiirlerin ve destanların siyasi olayların, savaş olgusunun, zalimlik, sürgün ve katliamların yeniden tanımlanmalarında bilgi stoku olarak kullanıldıkları tespit edilmiştir. Bu temelde Kürt kimliği üzerine inşa edilen söylemin, kültürel ve siyasi öğelerin birbirlerine entegrasyonu ile tanımlandığı görülmektedir. Özgürlük Yolu dergisinde bu nedenle özellikle sanat ve edebiyat bölümü altında seçilen tüm eserler, Kürt yazarlara ve Kürt kültürüne aittir. Dergide genel bir başlıkla sanat ve edebiyat bölümü şeklinde adlandırılan kısımda, Kürt kültürü ve Kürt kültürüne ait eserler dışında herhangi başka bir esere yer verilmemiş olmasının nedeni, Kürt kültürünün okuyucu nezdinde görünür kılınmasının amaçlanmasına dayandığı değerlendirilmektedir. Bu temelde de sanat-edebiyat bölümünün altında yer alan eserlerin önce Kürtçe sonra Türkçe olarak verildiği gözlemlenmektedir.

Söylem uzamının şekillendirilmesi sürecinde hikaye anlatıcılığı yönteminin kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu yöntemin, derginin sanat-edebiyat bölümlerinde kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Eski geleneklerin ne kadar geride kaldığı, nasıl bir değişimin yapılması gerektiği ve eski geleneklerin olumsuz özelliklerinin nasıl

bertaraf edilmesi gerektiği, hikayeler üzerinden anlatılmaktadır. Ayrıca hikaye anlatıcılığı yöntemiyle geçmiş üzerinden bugüne taşınan hikayeler, kolektif bilincin oluşturulması amacıyla kullanılmaktadır. Geçmişten bugüne taşınan hikayelerden, aynı zamanda geleceğin tahayyül edilmesinde de faydalanılmaktadır. Özgürlük Yolu'nda kültürün mitler ve semboller üzerinden yeniden keşfedildiği, kolektif kimliğin, kolektif hafızanın tesis edilmesi üzerinden somutlaştırıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu şekilde Kürt kimliği üzerine Kürt kültürel öğelerinin yeniden tanımlanması ve anlamlandırılması üzerinden yeni bir anlayış tesis edildiği görülmektedir. Kürt kültürel özellikleri ve pratikleri, derginin ideolojisi temelinde yeniden tanımlanmaktadır.

Özgürlük Yolu'nun eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemiyle incelenmesi neticesinde, derginin temel söylem stratejisinin geleneksel Kürt kültürel özelliklerine siyasi hususların entegrasyonu ile kültürün yeniden keşfedilmesi ve yeniden yorumlanmasına dayandığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu şekilde de söylemin Kürt etnik milliyetçiliği temelinde inşa edildiği belirlenmiştir. Bu söylem inşa sürecinde, Kürt etnik milliyetçiliği üzerinden ahlaki kaideler ve değerler üretildiği de tespit edilmiştir.

Yeniden tanımlanan Kürt kimliği üzerinden üretilen ahlaki değerlerin, özellikle sömürü ve haksızlıklara karşı direniş gerçekleştirecek bir birliğin oluşturulması temelinde şekillendirildiği görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda ahlaki değerlerin söylemsel inşasında örneğin *Mem-u Zin* isimli eserin kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Söz konusu eserin *Özgürlük Yolu*'nda milliyetçi imgelemeler ve metaforlar üzerinden, Kürtler arasında bir birliğin oluşturulması temelinde yeniden yorumlandığı tespit edilmiştir.

Derginin söylem inşasında dikkat çeken diğer önemli hususlardan birisi de dış tehdidin sürekli olarak betimlenmesidir. Dış tehdidin tanımlanmasında; katliam, soykırım gibi kavramların özellikle kültürel öğelere entegre edilerek kullanıldığı ve tanımlanan davranışların düşman tarafından Kürt halkına yönelik geçmişte de

yapıldığı, bugün de yapılmaya devam edildiği, bugün gerçekleştirilemeyecek birliğin yokluğu kapsamında da gelecekte de devam edeceği ifade edilmektedir.

Dış tehdide yönelik söylemin inşasında, katliam ve asimilasyon kavramlarının özellikle vurgulandığı görülmektedir. Katliam ve asimilasyonun gerçekleştirilmesine ilişkin spesifik tanımlanmış durumlar olmasa da katliama ve asimilasyona neden olabilecek eylemlerin tehdidinin potansiyel varlığı üzerinden, düşman imgesine yönelik yaratılmak istenen algı ve duyguların perçinlenmesinin amaçlandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu iki kavram, düşmanın Kürt halkını asimile etme ve katletme niyeti üzerinden çerçevelenmektedir. Bu temelde de mücadele etmek ve savaşmak, ilerleme ve gelişmenin sağlanmasını mümkün kılan eylemler olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede de ulusal bağımsızlığa ulaşmanın tek yolunun silahlı mücadele üzerinden gerçekleşebileceğine ilişkin bir söylem inşa edilmektedir.

Bu temelde şiddet kavramı, Kürt halkına yönelik sürekli ve devamlı bir şekilde uygulanan bir eylem olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Bu bağlamda şiddetin; düşmanlık, ırkçılık, faşizm, terör, zalimlik, baskı, işkence, sömürü, ayrımcılık, yok etme, zorbalık, tecrit, soykırım, öfke ve düşmanlık üzerinden kavramsallaştırıldığı görülmektedir. Şiddet kavramı ayrıca düşmanın negatif bir şekilde tahayyül edilmesinin de sabitlenmesi kapsamında, ana bir unsur olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu şekilde de şiddet kavramı iç ve dış grupların eylemlerinin çerçevelenmesi amacıyla söylem içerisinde yer almaktadır. İç grubun eylemlerinin tanımlanmasında, dış gruba karşı şiddet kullanabilmesi için söylemsel zeminde meşru bir temel inşa edildiği görülmektedir.

Söylem uzamının incelenmesinde, epistemik ve zamansal yakınlaştırma, kullanılan araştırma yöntemlerinden birisidir. Bu yöntemle yapılan inceleme neticesinde de şiddet kavramının; sömürme, zalimlik, mağdur etme, ırkçılık, şovenizm, ayrıştırıcı politika, zorbalık, baskı, faşist terör ve saldırı kavramları üzerinden çerçevelendiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu eylemlerin tanımlanması; sürekli, devamlı, sabit kelimeleri ile de güçlendirilmektedir. Bu şekilde de tehdit

algısının süreklileştirilmesinin amaçlandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda da derginin içeriğinde yer alan olayların; kan, cinayet ve soykırım öğeleri temelinde tanımlandıkları görülmektedir.

Söz konusu hususların temelinde düşman imgelemesine yönelik olarak kolektif duyguların oluşturulmasının amaçlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu temelde tehdit algısının süreklileştirilmesi özelinde Kürt halkı olarak tanımlanan iç grupta; hüsrana, öfke, güvensizlik, nefret ve düşmanlık duygularının oluşturulmasının amaçlandığı görülmektedir. Bu duyguların kolektif bir şekilde söylem yoluyla oluşturulmasıyla, hedef grupta kolektif eylemin gerçekleştirilmesini sağlayacak motivasyonun tesis edilmesinin amaçlandığı görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda da eylemler; devrimci mücadele, ulusal ve demokratik haklar için haklı savaş, Kürt halkı için özgürlük talep edilmesi temelinde çerçevelenmektedir. Bu şekilde tesis edilen duygular ve eylemler, tanımlanan gelecek tasavvurunun somutlaştırılması amacıyla kullanılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda gelecek; Kürt halkı için yenilmez olarak tasavvur edilirken, gelecek imgelemesinin; ezilen halkın zaferi, durdurulamaz devrimciler, Kürt halkının demokratik mücadelesi ve Kürt halkının tutsaklığının zincirlerinin kırılması şeklinde betimlendiği tespit edilmiştir.

Söz konusu hususlar temelinde direkt ve dolaylı olarak şiddet kavramının oluşturulmasında kullanılan kelimeler incelendiği zaman bu kelimelerin; karşı, silahlı/silahlanma, kan/kanlı, sömürü, faşist/faşizm, zora dayalı, güç/güçlü/kuvvet, baskı, kurtuluş, terör, zorbalık ve savaş/savaşçı oldukları tespit edilmiş olup bu kelimelerin ayrıca artan bir nicelikte kullanıldıkları ortaya çıkartılmıştır. Ayrıca 1978-1979 döneminde; asimilasyon, acı, inkar, karşı çıkmak ve kölelik kelimelerinin, söylem inşasında şiddetin kavramsallaştırılmasında kullanıldıkları görülmüştür. Bu kelimelerin de eklenmesiyle beraber, düşman imgesine karşı şiddet kullanımının meşrulaştırılmasına ilişkin söylem inşasının pekiştirildiği tespit edilmiştir. Şiddete ilişkin olarak kullanılan direkt ve dolaylı kelimelerin, iç grupta düşman tehdidinin canlı tutulması amacıyla kullanıldığı gözlemlenmektedir.

Bu durum da derginin söylem inşasında kullandığı konumlandırma stratejisini ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Her özne, olay ve eylem belirli çerçeveler içerisinde tanımlanarak konumlandırılmaktadır. Bu temelde de ideolojik olarak betimlenen belirli imaj şemaları üretilmektedir. Şiddet kavramı üzerinden tanımlanan belli imaj şemalarına ilişkin olarak üretilen kavramlara; kirli savaş, şiddetli mücadele, iğrenç cinayet, tiksindirici saldırı tanımlamaları örnek olarak verilebilir.

Derginin 1975 yılında yayımlanan ilk sayılarında, Kürt kültürü ve etnik milliyetçi söylemlere ilişkin spesifik tanımlamaların olmadığı görülmektedir. Bu sayılardaki temel konu emperyalist ve sömürülen aktörler arasındaki ilişkinin, ezilen ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalan halklar üzerinden şekillendirildiği tespit edilmiştir. Emperyalist ve sömürülen aktörler arasındaki ilişki de sınıf kavramı üzerinden açıklanmaktadır. Bu meyanda da emperyalizme, feodalizme, ırkçılığa ve faşizme karşı organize olunması, ifade edilen ana hususlardan olmuştur. Bu kavramlar bağlamında da biz ve onlar üzerinden kimlik tanımlamaları yapılmıştır. Böylelikle kimin kime karşı organize olması gerektiği detaylı bir şekilde tanımlanmaktadır. 1975 yılında, örgütlü bir yapının oluşturulması için birlik olma hali ideolojik bir mücadele üzerinden çerçevenmiştir.

Derginin ikinci basım yılı olan 1976'da, Kürt milliyetçiliğinin etnik unsurlar temelinde oluşturulan anlatılar üzerine tesis edilen bir söylem çerçevesinde tanımlanmaya başlandığı görülmektedir. Ezilen Kürt halkının kurban olduğu, mağdur edildiği söylemine geçişle sosyalist ideolojiden ödünç alınan örgütlü mücadele, Kürt halkı ve işçi sınıfının örgütlenmesi üzerinden tanımlanmıştır. Bu temelde de sosyalist ideolojinin etnik milliyetçi söylemin inşasında ilk sayılarda bir temel olarak kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Ezilenlerin sömürülmesi üzerine tesis edilen söylem, ulusal kurtuluş anlatısına dönüştürülmüştür. Bu bağlamda da 1976-1979 arasında, etnik milliyetçi söylemin muhafaza edilerek daha da somutlaştırıldığı tespit edilmiştir.

Bu şekilde söylem inşası sürecinde, okuyucuda ideolojik temelde bir mobilizasyon yaratmanın amaçlandığı görülmektedir. Bu ideolojik temelde

yaratılması amaçlanan mobilizasyon dört aşamada şekillendirilmiştir. Birinci aşamada, önce bir düşünce tanımlanmaktadır. İkinci aşamada ifade edilen ve tanımlanan düşünceye yönelik olarak spesifik anlatılar üzerinden ortak bir bilinç yaratılması amaçlanmıştır. Üçüncü aşamada ise duygular, söylem çerçevesinde hedef alınarak şekillendirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Dördüncü aşamada ise duygular üzerinden yaşanan olaylara spesifik isimler verilerek iç grup ve dış grup ayrımı üzerinden iç grupta ortak bir hafızanın üretilmesi hedeflenmiştir.

Yaşanan olayların farklı şekillerde isimlendirilerek ortak bir hafızanın yeniden tanımlanmış olaylar üzerinden oluşturulması, grup kimliği temelinde idealize edilmiştir. Bu şekilde belli olaylar üzerinden okuyucuda ortak bir kanı oluşturularak farklı bireylerde aynı düşüncenin tesis edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda sömürülen Kürt halkının kurtuluş mücadelesi meşru bir temele dayandırılarak direniş kavramı, şiddet kavramının da entegre edilmesiyle ulusal bağımsızlık mücadelesi olarak çerçevenmektedir.

Özgürlük Yolu'nun eleştirel söylem analizi üzerinden incelenmesi neticesinde, 1970'lerde Kürt kimliğinin, baskı, sömürü ve asimilasyon kavramları üzerinden çerçvelendiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu söylem stratejisi ilk dönemlerde sosyalist ideolojiye ait kavramlar temelinde şekillendirilmiş olsa da sonrasında bu söylem dilinin etnik milliyetçi özellikler taşımaya başladığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu temelde Kürt halkının ulusal bağımsızlığı, vaat edilen geleceğin, özgür *Kürdistan* çerçevesinde tesis edildiği görülmektedir. Vaat edilen geleceğe ulaşılabilmesi için de örgütlü bir yapının kurulmasının tek doğru yol olacağı belirtilmiştir.

Bu bağlamda Özgürlük Yolu'nda, etno-sembolik söylem inşası temelinde bir anlatı kurgulanmasının, derginin temel stratejisi olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu temelde bu tez, Anthony Smith'in milliyet kavramının etno-sembolik yaklaşımına bir katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Kürt milliyetçiliğinin etno-sembolik ulusal kimlik temelinde inşa sürecinde, olayların yorumlanmasında ve tekrar tanımlanmasında, mitlerin ve sembollerin kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Böylelikle, kültürel geleneklerin yeniden

keşfedilerek kolektif bir hafızanın oluşturulmasında temel olarak kullanıldıkları ortaya çıkartılmıştır. Yeniden inşa edilen ortak geçmiş algısı, kolektif hafızanın kurulumunda temel olarak tesis edilmiştir. Ortak geçmişin çerçevesinde, kolektif bir şekilde çerçeveselenen şimdiki zaman, kolektif bir geleceğin projeksiyonunda temel olarak kullanılmaktadır. Geçmişin, şimdiki zamanın ve geleceğin tasvir edilmesinde; ulusal semboller, yeniden tanımlanan gelenekler ve ritüeller kullanılmıştır. Zamansal tanımlamalar üzerinden üretilen kültürel metaforların ve değerlerin, ritüeller üzerinden nesilden nesile aktarımının mümkün kılınmasının temel alındığı bir söylem stratejisinin benimsendiği tespit edilmiştir.

Bu nedenle milliyetçi söylemin inşası, etno-sembolik bir karakter taşımaktadır. Kürt kimliği, geçmişten günümüze taşınan kültürel değerlerin, tarihi özellikler üzerinden yeniden yorumlanarak bir cemaat oluşturulması temelinde yeniden tanımlanmaktadır. Özgürlük Yolu'nun incelenmesi neticesinde, Kürt kimliğinin, etno-sembolik milliyet olgusu üzerine inşa edildiği ve günümüzde bu kimlik tanımlaması üzerine tesis edilen söylemin hala kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Bugün, sosyal ve siyasi olayların anlaşılmasında, bu dönemde oluşturulan etno-sembolik yaklaşımın, Kürt milliyetçiliğinin tanımlanmasında temel teşkil ettiği görülmektedir. Örneğin; bugün bazı gruplar tarafından organize edilen Nevruz kutlamalarında, ritüeller ve bu minvalde gerçekleştirilen eylemler, baharın gelişinin kutlanması için değil, direniş ve *Kürdistan* üzerine tahayyül edilen ulusal toprak tanımlanmasının somutlaştırılması çerçevesinde gerçekleştirilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Özgürlük Yolu'nda üretilen asimilasyon, sömürü, baskı ve geride bırakılmışlık üzerine tesis edilen anlatıların, metaforların ve sembollerin günümüzde hala kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir. Örneğin; günümüzde hala yayımlanmakta olan Özgür Halk isimli dergide, bahse konu söylemlerin aynı minvalde kullanıldıkları görülmektedir.

Özgürlük Yolu'nun söylem inşasında ortaya çıkan etnik milliyetçi karakterin; bilinç, direniş, bağımsızlık, kültür, Kürt/Kürtçü/Kürtlük ve *Kürdistan* kelimelerinin, milliyetçiliğin tanımlanmasında kullanmasıyla şekillendirilmeye

başladığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu minvalde Kürt kimliğinin milliyetçi bir nitelikte, 15 ve 16. sayılarda tanımlanmaya başlandığı görülmektedir. Ayrıca Kürt kimliğinin milliyetçi bir temelde söylem yoluyla inşa sürecinde özellikle Kürt kültürüne ait özelliklerin kullanıldığı gözlemlenmektedir. Kültürel öğelerin söylem dilinde kullanılmaya başlanmasıyla birlikte seçilen kültürel öğelerin, siyasi unsurlar üzerinden yeniden yorumlandığı ve yeniden nitelendirildikleri tespit edilmiştir.

Bu bağlamda simgesel bir toprak parçası üzerinde tahayyül edilen geleceğe ulaşılabilmesi adına yürütülmesi gereken savaş söylemi üzerinden bir betimleme yapılmaktadır. Bu savaş betimlemesi üzerinden de kimin kime karşı nasıl bir pozisyon alması gerektiği kesinlik ifade eden kelimelerle tanımlanarak iç grup ve dış grup arasındaki kimliğe dair sınırlar somutlaştırılmaktadır. Bu şekilde hedef alınan okuyucu kitlede, bireyin kimliğinin grup kimliği nezdinde söylem yoluyla inşası, bireylerin algı dünyası, duyguları ve eylemleri hedef alınarak şekillendirilmeye çalışılmaktadır.

Kürt kimliğinin tanımlandığı nitelikte inşa edilebilmesi için şiddet kavramı, söylemi oluşturan anlatılarda olmazsa olmaz bir öge olarak betimlenmektedir. Şiddet kavramının söyleme entegrasyonunun aşamalı bir şekilde yapıldığı tespit edilmiştir. İlk aşamada direniş üzerinden mücadele yürütme temelinde betimlenen eylem ihtiyacı, sayılar ilerledikçe silahlı mücadele ihtiyacına evrilmiştir. Bu bağlamda da Kürt kültürüne ait özelliklerin siyasi öğelerle yorumlanması sürecinde şiddet içerikli bir söylemin inşa edildiği tespit edilmiştir. Şiddet unsurunun özellikle kültürel geleneklerin yürütülmesi süreçlerinde siyasi duruşun temsili kapsamında, eylem üzerinden yeniden inşa edildikleri ve kültürel geleneklere, kültürün atfettiği gündelik hayata dair hususlardan ziyade siyasi bir nitelik kazandırıldığı ortaya çıkartılmıştır. Söz konusu hususlar temelinde Özgürlük Yolu'nun söylem inşa stratejisinde; sabit ve sürekli bir şekilde etnik bağların, etnik sembollerin, mitlerin ve geleneklerin yeniden keşfedilerek yorumlandıkları tespit edilmiştir. Söz konusu söylem inşası

sürecinin, Kürt kimliğinin etnik-milliyetçi bir söylem üzerinden yeniden inşa edilmesi temelinde şekillendirildiği görülmektedir.

1975-1979 yılları arasında 44 sayı olarak yayımlanan Özgürlük Yolu'nun eleştirel söylem analizi ve Maxqda programı üzerinden incelenmesi neticesinde, Kürt kimliğinin yeniden tanımlandığı ve söylem yoluyla yeniden inşa edildiği tespit edilmiştir. Kürt kimliğinin söylem yoluyla yeniden tanımlanması üzerinden inşa edilmesi sürecinin, kültürel ve siyasi öğeler üzerinden gerçekleştirildiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu çerçevede Kürt kimliğinin etnik milliyetçi bir bağlamda yeniden inşa edildiği ve Kürt kimliğine yeni bir anlam kazandırıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Kürt olmak, geçmişin, bugünün ve geleceğin bilişsel olarak yeniden organize edilmesiyle anlamlandırılmaktadır. Bu şekilde söylem üzerinden bireyin düşünme, öğrenme, hatırlama ve unutma süreçleri hedef alınmaktadır. *Kürdistan* üzerine tesis edilen tahayyül, kolektif kimliğin oluşturulması amacıyla temel olarak kullanılmıştır. Kolektif kimliğin inşasında, milli birlik ve milli hareket eylemsel olarak kolektif kimliğin bileşenleri olarak nitelendirilmiştir.

Belirli bir düşünceye yönelik olarak tesis edilen anlam dünyası, semboller, metaforlar, anlatılar ve imgelemeler üzerinden bağlantılandırılarak çerçevelenmektedir. Bu çerçevede de dergide, Kürt kimliğine ilişkin yeniden inşa sürecinde yeni bir kolektif kimlik tanımlamasında; anlatılardan, metaforlardan, sembollerden ve imgelemelerden faydalanılmıştır. Tüm bu bileşenler, örneğin bir olayın yeniden yorumlanması üzerinden bireyin bilişsel süreçleri hedef alınarak yaşanmış bir olaya yeni anlamlar, duygular atfedilmesine ve söz konusu olaya ilişkin nihai görüşün değişmesine neden olabilmektedir. Örneğin, dergide Kürt olmaya ilişkin çerçevelenen imgeleme, Kürt halkının baskıya ve katliama maruz kaldığı söylemi üzerinden bir soykırım niteliğinde tanımlanmaktadır. Bu temelde de 1975 yılında Diyarbakır/Lice'de gerçekleşen eylem ve soykırıma uğramak arasında anlamsal bir bağ tesis edilmektedir. Deprem olgusu, siyasi unsurların entegrasyonu ile bir halka yönelik sistematik bir şekilde yürütüldüğü iddia edilen soykırım temelinde çerçevelenmiştir.

Bu temelde Kürt kimliğinin yeniden tanımlanması sürecinde, Kürtlük öz imgesi, düşman imgesi temelinde çerçevelenmektedir. Düşmanın sürekli tehdit nitelikli varlığı üzerinden, düşmana karşı mücadele yürütme temelinde kolektif bir bilincin tesis edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu çerçevede kolektif hikayeler üretilmiştir. Lice depreminin, Lice olayı olarak tanımlanması ve bu olayın soykırım temelinde çerçevelenerek Kürt halkının devlet tarafından kasıtlı bir şekilde yok sayılarak ölüme terk edildiği üzerine kurgulanan anlatı bağlamında, deprem üzerinden hikayeler üretilmesi bu duruma örnek teşkil etmektedir.

Bu şekilde, deprem olgusu üzerinden bir hikaye üretilmekte ve deprem bir metafor olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu olay üzerinden ortak bir hafıza tesis edilerek, Lice olayı betimlemesi üzerinden tanımlanan olayların hatırlatıcı özelliği üzerinden ortak hafızanın canlı tutulması amaçlanmaktadır. Ortak hafıza da beraberinde ortak bir bilincin oluşmasını mümkün kılmaktadır. Ortak bir bilincin oluşturulmasında, belirli düşüncelerin söylem inşasında spesifik bir inancın tesis edilmesi için tekraren vurgulandığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu temelde Kürt kimliğinin şekillendirilmesinde yok sayılma, katledilme ve yok edilme kavramlarının, öz bilincin tesis edilmesinde temel öğeler olarak kullanıldıkları tespit edilmiştir. Sürekli yok edilme, katledilme gibi tehditler altında bulunduğu üzerine yapılan anlatılar çerçevesinde hedef kitlede mağduriyet hissinin yaratılması ve ortak paydada buluşturulması hedeflenen duyguların da ortak bir eyleme dönüştürülmesi, incelenen derginin temel söylem stratejisini meydana getirmektedir.

Bu temelde düşman imgesi üzerinden geçmiş olaylar şimdiki zamanla bağlantılandırılarak bir grubun ortak eylem anlayışının oluşması amaçlanmaktadır. Ortak eylem anlayışının oluşturulmasında öne çıkan önemli öğelerden bir tanesi de Kürt kimliğinin inşasında, içinde bulunan mağduriyet halinin aşılabilmesi amacıyla çerçevelenen eylemlerin, ahlaki kurallar ve değerler üretilerek tanımlanmasıdır. Bu bağlamda tanımlanan ortak eylemleri gerçekleştirmeye istekli olan iç grup dahilinde yer alanlar iyi Kürt, dışında

kalanlar ise kötü Kürt olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Bu temelde de iyi Kürt tanımlaması dahilinde bulunan kişilerin kendi öz imgelemelerini oluşturabilmeleri içinde spesifik imgeleme şemaları; direniş, mücadele ve düşmana karşı savaş yürütmek temelinde çerçevelenmektedir.

Bu araştırma neticesinde, söylem yoluyla bireysel kimliğin grup kimliği temelindeki inşa sürecinin hangi aşamalarla, nasıl gerçekleştiğini gözlemleyebilmek mümkün olmuştur. Özgürlük Yolu'nun analizi neticesinde, tarihi, kültürel ve siyasi bağlamların yeniden yorumlanarak yeni bir ortak kimliğin nasıl inşa edildiği görülmüştür. Bu çerçevede yeniden tanımlanan Kürt kimliği, hayal edilen *Kürdistan* imgesi üzerinden yeni kimlik tanımlamasına uyan her Kürdün bir araya gelebileceği bir alanda ortak eylem birlikteliği temelinde yeniden inşa edilmiştir. Bu inşa süreci, söylem yoluyla sürekli hale getirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda derginin her ay bir sayısının yayımlanması da bu sürekliliği şekillendiren önemli hususlardan birisi olmuştur. Bu sayede inşa edilen söylemin devamlılığı sağlanmıştır. Özgürlük Yolu'nun incelenmesi ve analiz edilmesi neticesinde, anlatı ve benlik/kimlik arasındaki karşılıklı ve etkileşimli ilişki ortaya çıkartılmıştır.

Bu tez, yeni bir kolektif kimliğin, kültürel ve siyasi öğelerin şiddet anlatısı üzerinden yeniden yorumlanarak söylem yoluyla nasıl inşa edildiğinin ortaya çıkarılması vasıtasıyla milliyetçilik çalışmalarına katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada söylemin sistematik olarak inşa edilmesiyle, yeni anlamların, semboller ve anlatılar üzerinden güçlendirilerek nasıl ortaya çıkartıldığı incelenmiştir. Bu şekilde yeni üretilen anlatılar üzerinden bireylerin algı, anlayış, duygu ve eylemlerini şekillendirmenin nasıl mümkün olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Araştırmanın neticesinde, Kürt kültürel özelliklerinin Özgürlük Yolu dergisinde milliyetçi unsurlarla yeniden yorumlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Yeniden inşa edilen Kürt kültürünün, gündelik yaşamda deneyimlenen halk kültüründen farklı olduğu, yeniden yorumlanan kültürün, şiddet söylemi üzerinden milliyetçi bir

özellik taşıdığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu tezde, Kürt kimliğinin söylem yoluyla nasıl inşa edildiği betimsel bir şekilde çalışılmıştır. Bu çerçevede kültürel ve siyasi öğelerin şiddet üzerine temellendirilen söylem özellikleri çalışmada detaylı bir şekilde tanımlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda tezin çalışma kapsamına, Kürt kimliği üzerine inşa edilen bu söyleme neden olan hususlar alınmamıştır ve bu minvalde elde edilen bulgular üzerine bir tartışma yürütülmemiştir.

Bugün Türk siyasetinde, ‘Kürt sorunu’ olarak nitelendirilen bir çerçeve üzerinden yürütülen bir tartışma alanı bulunmaktadır. Bu tartışma alanının 1970’lerde Özgürlük Yolu’nun incelenmesi neticesinde tespit edilen kavramlar üzerinden yürütüldüğü görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda, bugün hala kullanılmakta olan söylem yoluyla inşa edilmiş ve yeniden üretilmiş kavramların, geçmiş nitelikteki özellikleri üzerinden bugünün anlamlandırılmasında kullanılması, bugünün siyasi tartışmalarının anlaşılması açısından önem arz etmektedir. Bu minvalde inşa edilmiş milliyetçi bir kimliğin, etnik-sembolik özellikleri üzerinden şiddetin kullanımını meşru hale getiren anlayışın, nesilden nesile söylem aktarımı yoluyla bugüne taşındığı tespit edilmiştir.

Şiddet üzerine inşa edilen söylemin, bugün kültürel-siyasi öznelerin konumlandırılmasında ideolojik bir temel olarak kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Geçmişten bugüne taşınan şiddet nitelikli söylemin sürdürülebilmesi de bu ideolojik zeminin meşru bir temelden geldiği algısına da neden olmaktadır. Bu çalışmada geçmişten günümüze olayların ve öznelerin kolektif bir anlayış yaratılarak nasıl taşındığı, bu inşa sürecinde kültürel ve siyasi öğelere ne tür anlamların hangi bağlamlarda yüklendiği, bu sürece şiddetin nasıl zerk edilerek kültürel-siyasi anlam dünyasının belirli bir grubun kimlik inşası sürecinde şekillendirildiği incelenmiştir. Bu temelde Kürt kültürünün, siyasi ve şiddet içerikli öğeler üzerinden yeniden keşfedilerek yorumlanması temelinde oluşturulan söylemin bugüne taşınmasını mümkün kılan yapı taşlarının, 1970’lere kadar uzandığı söylenebilecektir. Kürt kimliğinin kültürel ve siyasi öğelerin yeniden yorumlanarak inşa edilmesi sürecini mümkün kılan söylemin 2000’li yıllarda da hala kullanıyor olmasından hareketle bu döneme taşınan

söylem dilinin, nasıl taşındığı ve hangi öğeler üzerinden tanımlanarak söylemin sürekliliğinin sağlandığı ilerde yapılacak arařtırmaların konusu olabilecektir.

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