
A B S T R A C T S

Anna Maria Beyluniođlu, Özgür Kaymak
*The Perception of Minorities toward the Turkish State: The Case of
Ethno-Religious Communities*

The relationship between state and non-Muslim communities has been a delicate issue since the founding of the Turkish Republic despite the principle of secularism stated in its constitution. Against this background, the association of national identity with Sunni-Islam has been the main marker of inclusion/exclusion for national identity. Especially since 2002 when the Justice and Development Party (JDP) came to power, the debate with regard to freedom of religion and the rights of religious minorities came to the fore. Over the course of decades there have been numerous studies approaching the state's perspective towards religious minorities. However, there is a paucity of academic studies that focuses on citizenship experiences of the members of these communities through the course of their daily and social lives. In this article, we first provide a historical perspective of the state towards religious minorities from the establishment of the Republic until today, including the JDP period. In the second part of this study we aim to explore recasting perspectives of the non-Muslim minorities over the previous decade by taking the standpoint of the members of Greek Orthodox, Jews and Armenian communities. To this end, we conduct in-depth interviews with the members of these communities who reside in Istanbul. Finally, new negotiation fields which have been flourishing among these communities will be addressed.

Key words: national identity, non-Muslim minorities, ethno-religious identity, religion-state relations, freedom of religion, civil society.

Melih Çoban
*Caught Between the Notions of Ethnicity, Citizenship and Diaspora:
The Case of the Bosniaks in Turkey*

Along with many others, Bosniaks are an ethnic group within the contemporary Turkish nation with immigrant roots dating back to the last quarter of the 19th century. Constituting a significant ethno-demographic part of the Ottoman legacy within the modern Turkish nation, Bosniaks in Turkey have long refrained from

identifying themselves with a separate ethnic or cultural identity when confronted with the assimilationist cultural policies of the new nation state. But, while adapting themselves to Turkish culture and identity, Bosniaks have also preserved a collective identity of Bosniakness, mostly owing to the fact that their population in Turkey has been fed by continuous migration waves in different periods. The aim of this study is to analyze the problematic development of a Bosniak identity in Turkey with regards to the cultural assimilation processes and continuous migration waves and other factors on both foreign and domestic scales. Based on the findings of the study, it can be concluded that Bosniaks in Turkey do not yet constitute a Bosniak diaspora, but rather they can be regarded as a diaspora in the making.

Key words: Bosniak, Turkey, identity, diaspora, citizenship, ethnicity.

William Gourlay

The Remaking and Unmaking of Multi-Ethnic Spaces: Diyarbakir and Southeast Anatolia in the 21st Century

Focusing on 21st century developments in southeast Anatolia, this article examines the circumstances of minority communities within the contexts of the shifting dynamics of Turkey's national project. Until the early 20th century southeast Anatolia was an ethnic patchwork. The early republican era saw efforts to "Turkify" through the promulgation of a national identity project asserting ethnic unity. From the 1980s, conflict with the PKK gave urgency to the notion that uniformity was paramount for national cohesion. In this milieu, ethnic diversity was suspect. Circumstances changed with the AKP government's 2002 ascendance and the earlier emergence of Kurdish municipal politicians. This article documents how thereafter the re-imagining of the national project away from an exclusive ethnic categorisation allowed acknowledgement and accommodation of ethnic and religious diversity across southeast Anatolia. The chapter analyses these events in light of a backlash by nationalist politicians, the 2015 re-ignition of the PKK conflict and the subsequent resurgence of nationalist rhetoric in the political arena. It appears a narrow, exclusive national identity is re-asserting itself. The article thus examines the extent to which the experience of south-eastern Anatolia represents the re-imagining of Turkey's national project and the embrace of a previously denied multi-ethnic socio-political fabric.

Key words: Turkey, southeast Anatolia, ethnic identity, minorities, national identity, Justice and Development Party (AKP), nationalism.

A. Banu Hülür, Yusuf Ekinci, A. Çağlar Den

Surviving Through Tactics: The Everyday Life of Syrian Refugees in Turkey

The Syrian civil war and related migration affected Turkish border cities such as Antakya, Şanlıurfa, Mardin, Gaziantep, and Kilis. In this study, we explore the tactics and strategies developed by Syrian asylum seekers in order to cope with the prejudices and negative perceptions about Syrians commonly shared by locals. The findings of our research are drawn from the in-depth interviews we conducted with more than one hundred refugees, locals, and staff members of different NGOs. Our arguments and conclusions in this article are also the result of observations made during several research trips and a thorough examination of news about refugees in local and national media. Our field research lasted from August 2014 to February 2015, but the substantial part of this study was conducted between January and February 2015.

Key words: Syrian asylum seekers, sociology of everyday life, Gaziantep, Kilis, Turkey.

Ayşe Serdar

“So What If I Am Laz?”: Irony, Mockery and Humor in Ethnic Integration and Insubordination

This study argues that the ethnic Laz in Turkey resort to irony, humor and mockery to cope with and negotiate the stereotypes, ethnic humor and mockery they encounter in their interactions with outsiders. The trope of irony, humor and mockery have enabled the Laz to navigate the national and regional hierarchies and reproduce their symbolic boundaries regardless of the common and ardent appropriation of Turkishness. In so doing, the Laz can more subtly challenge the official ideology of uniformity. While the public use of Lazuri is still considered a threat to the negotiated boundaries of Lazness, new instruments present creative displays of their ethnic capital which do not contradict present day principles of Turkish nationalism, and offer a legitimate sharing of intimacy without embarrassment. The Laz, like other non-Turkish Muslim peoples of the Black Sea region, abandoned their politically threatening ethnic distinctions, appropriated the capital of Turkishness through their performances, and coped with mockery and stigma by ironizing differences and negotiating, trivializing or selectively appropriating the stereotypes imposed upon them. Ironically, they have “out-performed”

ethnic Turks in certain ways, in their search for acceptance as Turks, achieving upward mobility and avoiding forms of stigmatization.

Key words: Laz, ethnicity, Turkey, irony, humor, mockery.

Abdulmesih BarAbraham

Returning Home: The Ambivalent Assyrian Experience in Turkey

Discrimination and precarious living conditions in Tur Abdin, in southeastern Turkey, prompted Assyrians, indigenous Christian ethnic people to the country, to leave their homeland for Europe in the early 1960s. The process of migration continued for several decades and intensified with the militarization of the eastern provinces during the fight against the Kurdish PKK. Many Assyrian villages had to be abandoned. With an appeal formulated in a circular letter by Turkey's then Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit in 2001, the Turkish government encouraged Assyrians abroad to return to their former homeland, assuring them that their security and rights as citizens would be guaranteed by the state. At the beginning of the new millennium, the situation in Tur Abdin seemed noticeably improved. The end of the state of emergency in the eastern provinces and the application of rule of law in the wake of the reforms in the context of EU accession process contributed to this. Many of the Assyrians who emigrated re-visited their former villages, but also tried to rebuild churches and their mostly dilapidated houses. Clarification of ownership of land and properties after occupation and changes of legal basis became a key issue.

Key words: Assyrians, migration, minority, Tur Abdin, property issues.

Özge Onay

The Diminishing Agency of Urbanised Alevis Against the Rise of Political Islam in Turkey

This paper critically examines the diminishing agency of the first-urbanised Alevi generation vis-à-vis the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and their sectarian agenda mediated by political Islam. The conceptual position is underpinned by Foucault's concept of governmentality and theory of agency in broader cultural terms. These theoretical frameworks interweave to present a rich and complex

set of snapshots that document the first-urbanised Alevi generation's decreasing possibilities of action in the urban context. Accordingly, the empirical data that informs this piece has been collected by a series of qualitative and semi-structured interviews with the first-urbanised Alevi generation, children of those who migrated to urban areas in the 1960s and wittingly or unwittingly kept their identities undisclosed to varying degrees. Those interviewed come from a range of different professional backgrounds, with the only common point being that they have spent their childhoods and adult years in Istanbul, Turkey. Through a close engagement with the empirical material, this paper addresses the effects of the AKP's Sunnification process centring around political Islam on the first generation urbanised Alevi and to what extent the systemic nature of this process attenuates or takes away their agency in the urban context. The account is focused around three key themes including daily life, institutional forms of discrimination and the workplace.

Key words: political Islam, AKP government, urbanised Alevi, agency, governmentality.

Mettursun Beydulla

Struggles and Dilemmas of Uyghur Immigrants in Turkey

The social and economic integration of the Uyghurs into Turkish society reflects a problem to which policy makers have not yet found a response. Marginalized by the larger society and separated by linguistic differences and cultural and social life-styles, a significant proportion of Uyghurs, especially “newcomers” who have arrived since the 1980s, is in danger of becoming part of a “parallel society.” This is reinforced by exclusion, inferiorization and “otherness,” restricted educational achievements, uncertain citizenship, legal status limbo and low socioeconomic status. Pro-Uyghur, pro-independence and anti-Chinese government mobilization in Turkey has attracted the attention of Chinese authorities for a long time, and this attention has in turn affected and shaped mobilization in Turkey. The Turkey-China relationship is involved as well. The main goals of Chinese policy and strategy in Turkey are the security of “Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region” (a.k.a. East Turkistan), access to natural resources, security of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and economic and technological investment. It means that China believes it must consolidate its control of “Xinjiang” (East Turkistan) and restrain the Uyghur independence movement in Turkey. China's economic and technological power and investments in Turkey are not just increasing its influence; they are making Turkey far more reticent to speak out about Beijing's abuses, systematic

oppression and atrocities in the “Xinjiang” (East Turkistan). China’s geo-economic strategy has resulted in political influence in Turkey that profoundly affects its Uyghur population.

Key words: Uyghur refugees, Uyghur immigration, integration, Uyghur dilemma, Turkish policy, “Xinjiang” (East Turkistan), Turkish and Chinese relations.

Ulaş Sunata

The Construction of Turkey’s Circassians as a Docile Minority

The 2014 Sochi Olympic Winter Games revived memories related to the Circassians’ forced migration from their Caucasus homeland into the Ottoman Empire after 150 years. In that year, I conducted a considerable oral history project to understand the collective memories of Circassians in Turkey. The main focus of this study is, however, the social construction of the Circassian minority in Turkey. I examine their oral historical narratives related to their immigration, reception and resettlement, and instrumentalization. It is as important to place emphasis on the protected, multiplied and renewed sociocultural values of Circassians as it is to confront the history. I will examine the relationship between their diasporic identity and minority identity as well as their preferences in identity reproduction.

Key words: Circassians, Adyghe, minority, diaspora, ethnicity, collective memory, social construction.

Gökçe Balaban

Ontological (In)Security and the Kurdish Issue in Turkey: The Use of Security Discourse (1925–1984)

How could one account for the discourse of security used by the Turkish state considering the Kurdish issue before 1984, when the terrorist attacks of the Partiya Karkaren Kurdistanî (PKK) had not yet started, and hence there was no physical security threat against the state? This article aims to answer this question from the perspective of ontological (in)security. Based on Critical Discourse Analysis of state discourse, the article argues that the political, social and cultural traits of Kurdish identity created uncertainty in the Turkish self after the Sheikh Said rebellion in 1925. Tribal/religious structures that were influential among Kurds and

the expression of Kurdishness as a distinct identity disrupted the autobiographical narratives about Turkishness, hence generating ontological insecurity for the Turkish state. To overcome this problem, the state relied on security discourse and securitized the traits of Kurdish identity, by which it felt threatened. As a result of this securitization, the state was able to legitimize the extraordinary measures taken against Kurds, such as forced resettlements. Securitization, in this sense, regenerated ontological security for the state, because the extraordinary measures served to suppress the Kurdish identity that threatened the certainty and continuity of the Turkish self.

Keywords: ontological (in)security, the Kurdish issue, security discourse, securitization, Turkey.

P O V Z E T K I

Anna Maria Beylunioğlu, Özgür Kaymak

Mnenje manjšine o turški državi: primer etničnih in verskih skupnosti

Vse od ustanovitve republike Turčije je kljub načelu sekularnosti, ki je zapisano v njeni ustavi, odnos med državo in nemuslimanskimi skupnostmi občutljivo vprašanje, povezovanje nacionalne identitete s sunitskim islamom pa glavni označevalec za vključenost v nacionalno identiteto ali izključevanje iz nje. Zlasti z letom 2002, ko je na oblast prišla Stranka za pravičnost in razvoj (JDP), je v ospredje stopila razprava o verski svobodi in pravicah verskih manjšin. Čeprav so v preteklih dveh desetletjih številne študije preučevale stališče države do verskih manjšin, pa je akademskih raziskav, ki bi se osredotočale na državljanske izkušnje pripadnikov teh skupnosti iz vsakdanjega in družbenega življenja zelo malo. Avtorici v prispevku najprej predstavita odnos države do verskih manjšin v zgodovinski perspektivi, od ustanovitve republike do danes, vključno z obdobjem vladavine stranke JDP. V drugem delu študije skozi poglede pripadnikov grške pravoslavne, judovske in armenske skupnosti raziskujeta, kako se je stališče do nemuslimanskih manjšin spremenilo v preteklem desetletju. V ta namen sta izvedli poglobljene intervjuje s pripadniki teh skupnosti, ki živijo v Istanbulu. V sklepnem delu raziskave pa obravnavata nova pogajalska področja, ki se uspešno razvijajo v teh skupnostih.

Ključne besede: nacionalna identiteta, nemuslimanske manjšine, etnično-verska identiteta, odnosi med religijo in državo, verska svoboda, civilna družba.

Melih Çoban

*Ujeti med idejami etnične pripadnosti, državljanstva in diaspore:
primer Bošnjakov v Turčiji*

Ena izmed številnih etničnih skupin, ki živijo v sodobni turški državi, so Bošnjaki. Začetki njihovega priseljevanja segajo v zadnjo četrtino 19. stoletja. Kot pomemben etnično-demografski del otomanske zapuščine v moderni turški državi Bošnjaki, spričo asimilacijske kulturne politike nove nacionalne države, dolgo niso kultivirali ločene etnične ali kulturne istovetnosti. Toda hkrati s prilagajanjem turški kulturi in identiteti so ohranjali tudi kolektivno bošnjaško identiteto, predvsem zahvaljujoč stalnim migracijskim valovom, s katerimi se je v različnih obdo-

bjih napajala njihova populacija. Namen pričujoče študije je bil analizirati težavni razvoj bošnjaške istovetnosti v Turčiji z ozirom na procese kulturne asimilacije in neprekinjene migracijske valove ter druge dejavnike tako v okviru turške države kot tudi zunaj njenih meja. Izsledke raziskave lahko strnemo v sklep, da Bošnjaki v Turčiji zaenkrat še ne predstavljajo diaspore, je pa ta v nastajanju.

Ključne besede: Bošnjaki, Turčija, identiteta, diaspora, državljanstvo, etnična pripadnost.

William Gourlay

*Preoblikovanje in razgradnja multietničnih prostorov:
Diyarbakir in jugovzhodna Anatolija v 21. stoletju*

S poudarkom na razvoju dogodkov v jugovzhodni Anatoliji v 21. stoletju avtor v članku obravnava položaj manjšinskih skupnosti v kontekstu spremenljivih dinamik turškega nacionalnega projekta. Do začetka 20. stoletja je bila jugovzhodna Anatolija mozaik etnij, potem pa so se v zgodnjem obdobju republike začela prva prizadevanja za poturčevanje s projektom nacionalne identitete, ki je zagovarjal etnično enotnost. V 80. letih prejšnjega stoletja se je zaradi konflikta s Kurdsko delavsko stranko (PKK) začelo odločno enačiti etnično uniformnost z nacionalno enotnostjo in v takem okolju je bila etnična raznolikost sumljiva. Razmere so se začele spreminjati leta 2002, ko je prišla na oblast Stranka za pravičnost in razvoj (AKP), in s predhodnim pojavom kurdskih občinskih politikov. V članku je dokumentirano, kako je pozneje odmik nacionalnega projekta od izključujoče etnične kategorizacije omogočil priznavanje in sprejemanje etnične in verske raznolikosti po vsej jugovzhodni Anatoliji. V članku so ti dogodki analizirani v luči silovite reakcije nacionalističnih politikov, leta 2015 spet razvnetega konflikta s PKK ter poznejše ponovne okrepitev nacionalistične retorike v politični areni. Vtis je, da se zdaj znova uveljavlja ozka, izključujoča nacionalna identiteta. Avtor v članku tako preučuje, v kolikšni meri je izkušnjo jugovzhodne Anatolije mogoče razumeti kot preoblikovanje turškega nacionalnega projekta in sprejemanje v preteklosti zavračane multietnične družbenopolitične tkiva.

Ključne besede: Turčija, jugovzhodna Anatolija, etnična identiteta, manjšine, nacionalna identiteta, Stranka za pravičnost in Razvoj (AKP), nacionalizem.

A. Banu Hülür, Yusuf Ekinci, A. Çağlar Den

Taktike preživetja: usakdanje življenje sirskih beguncev v turčiji

Sirska državljanska vojna in z njo povezane migracije so prizadele turška obmejna mesta, med njimi Antakyo, Sanliurfo, Mardin, Gaziantep in Kilis. V študiji raziskujemo taktike in strategije, ki so jih razvili sirski prosilci za azil, da bi se lahko spopadli s predsodki in negativnimi predstavami o Sircih, ki so splošno prisotni med lokalnim prebivalstvom. Ugotovitve naše raziskave izhajajo iz poglobljenih intervjujev, ki smo jih izvedli z več kot sto begunci, domačini in uslužbenci različnih nevladnih organizacij. Utemeljitev in sklepi, podani v tem članku, so tudi rezultat opazovanj med več raziskovalnimi potovanji in temeljitega pregleda novic o beguncih, objavljenih v lokalnih in državnih medijih. Čeprav je naša terenska raziskava trajala od avgusta 2014 do februarja 2015, je bil večji del te študije opravljen med januarjem in februarjem 2015.

Ključne besede: sirski prosilci za azil, sociologija usakdanjega življenja, Gaziantep, Kilis, Turčija.

Ayşe Serdar

“Pa kaj potem, če sem Lazijka?” Ironija, norčevanje in humor v etnični integraciji in uporništvu

Prispevek prikazuje, kako etnični Lazijci v Turčiji stereotipe, etnični humor in zasmehovanje, na katere naletijo v interakciji z nečlani svoje skupnosti, premagujejo z ironijo, humorjem in norčevanjem. S temi besednimi figurami se Lazijci uspešno prebijajo skozi regionalno in državno hierarhijo ter kljub splošno razširjenemu in vnetemu usvajanju turške identitete poustvarjajo svoje simbolične meje, s čimer na bolj pretanjen način izpodbijajo uradno ideologijo enakosti in enotnosti. Medtem ko javna raba lazijščine še vedno velja za grožnjo sprejetim mejam lazijske identitete, se skozi ta nova jezikovna sredstva ustvarjalno izraža etnični kapital lazijskega ljudstva, ki ni v nasprotju s sodobnimi načeli turškega nacionalizma in ponuja možnost pristne intimnosti brez zadrege. Lazijci so se, tako kot druga neturška muslimanska ljudstva iz črnomske regije, odrekli svoji politično ogrožajoči etnični drugačnosti, s svojim delovanjem so prevzeli kapital turštva, posmehu in družbeni zaznamovanosti pa se zoperstavljajo z ironiziranjem razlik ter s trivializiranjem ali selektivnim usvajanjem stereotipnih vlog, ki so jim bile vsiljene. Ironija je, da so v želji, da bi bili sprejeti kot Turki, v določenih pogledih

etnične Turke prekosili, saj se uspešno vzpenjajo po družbeni lestvici in izogibajo nekaterim oblikam stigmatizacije.

Ključne besede: Lazijci, narodnost, Turčija, ironija, humor, posmeh.

Abdulmesih BarAbraham

Vrnitev domov: ambivalentna izkušnja sirskih kristjanov v Turčiji

V zgodnjih 60. letih prejšnjega stoletja so diskriminacija in negotove življenjske razmere v Tur Abdinu v jugovzhodni Turčiji prisilile Asirce, avtohtono etnično skupino krščanske vere tega dela države, da so začeli zapuščati svojo domovino in se izseljevati v Evropo. Migracije so se nadaljevale več desetletij in naraščale z militarizacijo vzhodnih pokrajin v boju proti Kurdski delavski stranki (PKK). Številne asirske vasi so se izpraznile. Leta 2001 je tedanji turški premier z okrožnico pozval v tujini živeče Asirce, naj se vrnejo v svojo nekdanjo domovino, in jim obljubil, da jim bo država zagotovila varnost in državljske pravice. Na začetku novega tisočletja je bilo opaziti, da so se razmere v Tur Abdinu vidno izboljšale. K temu sta prispevala odprava izrednega stanja v vzhodnih pokrajinah Turčije in uporaba načel vladavine prava v kontekstu reform, ki so bile izpeljane v okviru procesa pridruževanja Evropski uniji. Mnogi izmed Asircev, ki so zapustili državo, so spet obiskali svoje vasi ter v njih tudi poskušali obnoviti cerkve in svoje povečini propadajoče hiše. Ključni težavi, na kateri so naleteli, sta bili vprašanji opredelitve lastništva zemlje in nepremičnin po okupaciji ter spremembe v pravni podlagi.

Ključne besede: Asirci, migracije, manjšina, Tur Abdin, vprašanje lastništva.

Özge Onay

Zmanjšano delovanje urbaniziranih alevitov proti vzponu političnega islama v Turčiji

Avtorica v članku kritično obravnava vse manjše delovanje prve generacije urbaniziranih alevitov proti Stranki za pravičnost in razvoj (AKP) in njenemu sektaškemu programu, ki ga narekuje politični islam. Svoje konceptualno stališče utemeljuje v Foucaultovem konceptu vladnosti ter teoriji delovanja v širšem kulturnem smislu. Medsebojno prepletajoča se teoretska okvirja tvorita bogat in kompleksen nabor podob, ki dokumentirajo vse manjše možnosti delovanja prve

generacije urbaniziranih alevitov v urbanem okolju. Skladno z njima so bili empirični podatki, na katerih prispevek sloni, pridobljeni v nizu kvalitativnih in polstrukturiranih intervjujev s prvo generacijo urbaniziranih alevitov, tj. z otroki tistih, ki so se priselili v mestno okolje v 60. letih prejšnjega stoletja in so svojo identiteto nalašč ali nehote bolj ali manj skrivali. Izpraševanci prihajajo iz zelo različnih poklicnih okolij, skupno jim je zgolj to, da so otroštvo in odraslo dobo preživeli v Istanbulu, v Turčiji. Tesno navezujoč se na pridobljeno empirično gradivo, avtorica ugotavlja, kakšni so vplivi procesa »sunifikacije« stranke AKP, osredinjenega na politični islam, na prvo generacijo urbaniziranih alevitov in v kolikšni meri sistematičnost tega procesa krni ali zmanjšuje moč njihovega delovanja v urbanem kontekstu. Prispevek se osredotoča na tri ključne teme: vsakdanje življenje, institucionalne oblike diskriminacije in delovno okolje.

Ključne besede: politični islam, AKP-jevska vlada, urbanizirani aleviti, delovanje, vladnost.

Mettursun Beydulla

Težave in dileme ujugurskih priseljencev v Turčiji

Družbena in ekonomska integracija Ujugurov v turško družbo odraža težavo, za katero odločevalci še niso našli rešitve. Potisnjen na rob večinske družbe zaradi jezikovnih razlik ter drugačnih kulturnih in družbenih življenjskih slogov, je znaten del Ujugurov, zlasti »novih prišlekov« po letu 1980, v nevarnosti, da bo postal »vzporedna družba«. Izključevanje, podcenjevanje in »drugačnost«, omejeni dosežki v izobraževanju, vprašljivo državljanstvo, negotov pravni status in nizek družbenoekonomski položaj to možnost samo še povečujejo. Ujugurom in samostojnosti naklonjena ter proti kitajski vladi usmerjena mobilizacija v Turčiji že dolgo budi pozornost kitajskih oblasti, ta pozornost pa ima povratni vpliv na mobilizacijo v Turčiji in jo nadalje oblikuje. Z vsem tem so povezani tudi turško-kitajski odnosi. Kitajsko strategijo in zunanjo politiko v Turčiji narekuje taktika in notranja politika s ciljema utrditi oblast nad »Xinjiangom« (Vzhodnim Turkestanom) in obrzdati ujugursko gibanje za samostojnost v Turčiji. Ne le, da Kitajska gospodarska in tehnološka sila ter vlaganja še povečujejo vpliv te države v Turčiji; zaradi njih je Turčija tudi precej manj pripravljena na glas govoriti o zlorabah Pekinga, o sistematičnem zatiranju in grozodejstvih v »ujgurski avtonomni pokrajini Xinjiang« (poznani tudi kot Vzhodni Turkestan). Kitajska geografsko-gospodarska

strategija ima v Turčiji politične učinke z globokimi posledicami za njeno ujugursko prebivalstvo.

Ključne besede: ujugurski begunci, ujugursko priseljevanje, integracija, ujugurska dilema, turška politika, »Xinjiang« (Vzhodni Turkestan), turško-kitajski odnosi.

Ulaş Sunata

Konstrukcija turških Čerkezov kot pokorne manjšine

Zimske olimpijske igre v Sočiju leta 2014 so obudile spomine na Čerkeze, ki so 150 let poprej iz svoje domovine na Kavkazu prebežali v Osmansko cesarstvo. V tistem času sem vodila obsežen projekt o ustni zgodovini, cilj katerega je bil razumeti kolektivni spomin Čerkezov v Turčiji. Glavni poudarek pričujoče študije pa je družbena konstrukcija čerkeške manjšine v Turčiji. Preučevala sem njihove ustne zgodovinske narative, povezane s priselitvijo, sprejemanjem in prisilnim preseljevanjem ter instrumentalizacijo. Enako pomemben kot seznanjenje z zgodovino Čerkezov je tudi poudarek na njihovih zaščitenih, multipliciranih in znova ožvljenih družbeno-kulturnih vrednotah. V prispevku analiziram odnos med diasporsko in manjšinsko identiteto Čerkezov ter njihove preference pri reprodukciji identitete.

Ključne besede: Čerkezi, adigejski jezik, manjšina, diaspora, narodnost, kolektivni spomin, družbena konstrukcija

Gökçe Balaban

*Ontološka (ne)gotovost in kurdsko vprašanje v Turčiji:
Raba sekuritarnega diskurza (1925–1984)*

Kako lahko pojasnimo sekuritarni diskurz, ki ga je turška država uporabljala pri soočanju s kurdskim vprašanjem pred letom 1984, še preden je prišlo do terorističnih napadov Kurdske delavske stranke (PKK), ko torej državna varnost ni bila fizično ogrožena? Na to vprašanje skuša avtor v prispevku odgovoriti z vidika ontološke varnosti oziroma negotovosti. Na podlagi kritične analize državnega diskurza dokazuje, da so politične, družbene in kulturne poteze kurdske identitete po uporabi šejka Saida leta 1925 v turško jastvo vnašale negotovost. Plemenske in verske strukture, ki so imele med Kurdi velik vpliv, in izražanje kurdstva kot ločene identitete so kazili avtobiografske narative o turštvu ter posledično turško državo

postavljali v ontološko negotovost. Država je skušala težavo rešiti s sekuritarnim diskurzom in sekuritizacijo lastnosti kurdske identitete, za katere je menila, da jo ogrožajo. S sekuritizacijo je upravičevala izredne ukrepe, ki jih je sprejemala zoper Kurde, denimo prisilno preselitev. Na ta način je obnovila svojo ontološko varnost, saj ji je z izrednimi ukrepi uspelo zatreti kurdsko identiteto, ki je ogrožala gotovost in kontinuiteto turškega jaza.

Ključne besede: ontološka (ne)gotovost, kurdsko vprašanje, sekuritarni diskurz, sekuritizacija, Turčija.