



The last “terrorist”

Kurdish Marginalized Perspectives in the Turkish Social
And Political Landscape

Isabella Berfin Aslan

Peace and Conflict Studies
Bachelor of Arts
12 ECTS
Spring 2019
Supervisor: Corina Filipescu
Word count: 13944

Acknowledgement

My thanks go first and foremost to my interviewees who dedicated their time and shared their experiences, perspectives and opinions with me. Thank you for sharing so many stories and making this research possible. Thank you, to all my friends and family in Diyarbakir, Ankara and Istanbul that helped me recruit participants for this study, I wish you the best.

I also want to thank my own family for their great support during the writing process of this thesis. Thank you for showing me your world, to being part of the Anatolia culture, the hospitality and the history.

Abstract

Despite the vast research on the protracted conflict between the PKK and the Turkish state, recent battles in the South-East of Turkey have increased the anti-Kurdish attitudes and discourses in the Turkish society. I argue that Kurdish marginalized individuals conflict understandings are silenced in the Turkish social and political landscape.

This study examines how Kurdish social identities narrate their conflict understanding between Kurds and Turks. The aim is to get a deeper understanding of the Kurdish participant's feelings, attitudes, experiences and perspectives in an intergroup environment. This study contributes to the knowledge of intergroup relations and tensions in the Turkish social setting and shed light into out-group prejudice and discrimination in Turkey. The study uses a theoretical framework linking peace and conflict theories such as, prejudice, discrimination, in-group and out-group, enemy images, cultural- structural and direct violence, intergroup contact theory and reconciliation. The dataset consists of sixteen semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted in three different cities in Turkey; Ankara, Diyarbakir and Istanbul. The interview material was analyzed through a thematic analysis with a qualitative approach. The research found that the identifying characteristics of being a Kurd in today's Turkey is to fight against injustice, oppression, assimilation and shared feelings of discrimination.

Key words: Kurdish perspectives, thematic analysis, Oral History, out-group, discrimination, enemy images, cultural violence

Words: 13944

Abbreviations and Translations

AKP	Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
HDP	People's Democratic Party (Halkların Demokratik Partisi)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (United Nations)
PKK	Kurdistan's Worker's Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan)
TSK	Turkish Armed Forces (Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri)
UN	United Nations

Table of Content

1. Introduction	5
1.1 <i>Research Problem</i>	5
1.2 <i>Aim and Research Questions</i>	6
1.3 <i>Relevance to Peace and Conflict Studies</i>	7
1.4 <i>Limitations and Delimitations</i>	8
1.5 <i>Thesis outline</i>	9
2. Background	10
2.1 <i>The Kurdish-Turkish Conflict</i>	10
2.2 <i>State of emergency in the Kurdish regions</i>	11
3. Theoretical Framework	14
3.1 <i>Social Identity Theory</i>	14
3.2 <i>In-groups and Out-groups</i>	15
3.3 <i>Prejudice</i>	15
3.4 <i>Stereotype</i>	16
3.5 <i>Discrimination</i>	16
3.6 <i>Othering</i>	17
3.7 <i>Enemy Images</i>	17
3.8 <i>Cultural, Structural and Direct Violence</i>	18
3.9 <i>Intergroup Contact Theory and Conflict Reconciliation</i>	19
4. Previous Research	21
5. Methodology	24
5.1 <i>Research Design</i>	24
5.2 <i>Data collection and Selection of Participant</i>	25
5.3 <i>Transcription and Translations</i>	25
5.4 <i>Method</i>	26
5.5 <i>Researcher's Position</i>	27
5.6 <i>Ethical Consideration</i>	27
6. Analysis	29
6.1 <i>The Creation of In-groups and Out-groups</i>	29
6.2 <i>Consequences of the Out-group Formation</i>	34
6.3 <i>Intergroup Contact Theory and Possibilities Towards Resolution</i>	38
7. Conclusion	41
7.1 <i>Findings and Discussion</i>	41
7.2 <i>Critical Reflection and Future Research</i>	43
8. References	45
9. Appendices	50
9.1 Interview Questions	50
9.2 Interviewees	52

1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

Since the past 100 years, Turkey has struggled with deep ethnic conflicts. Ethnic, religious and cultural minority groups have, thus, long been silenced by the Turkish state (Barkey and Fuller, 1998:5). In the case of Turkey, Kurds constitute the second largest ethnic group, after Turks, where Kurds make up to 20-25 per cent of the Turkish population. They have for decades been the victims of violence, assimilation and oppression by the Turkish state (Karlsson, 2017:15). This situation can be traced back to the fall of the Ottoman Empire, when Mustafa Kemal Ataturk took over the newly established Turkish state. Ataturk wanted to create a homogeneous and secular Turkish nation-state. He, therefore, focused on Turkish unity of language, ethnicity and culture. Further, the Turkish model that the Kemalist elite (Ataturk's ruling party) attempted to abolish, deny the Kurds political rights, constitutional recognition of the Kurdish ethnic identity and the Kurdish language the status of being an official language in Turkey (Güvenc, 1998:1; Taspınar, 2005:xi). Such hostile state attitudes and policies triggered the rise of a Kurdish ethno-nationalist movement, which went by the name *Kurdistan's Worker's party* (PKK). The PKK have been in an armed struggle with the Turkish State since the 1980's, with the aim to fight for Kurdish rights, recognition, independence and autonomy (Sarigil and Karakoc, 2016). The prolonged conflict has cost the lives of approximately 50 000 people, including militia and civilians on both sides (Bilgin, 2013:vii).

Thus, the research problem concerns itself with that people in the Anatolia region¹ have been troubled by the Kurdish-Turkish conflict. While many of the youth have not been affected by the Kemalist ruling party's attempt to make Turkey a homogenous society, the stereotypes and enemy images have, however, been passed through oral history and increased the anti-Kurdish attitudes and discourses in the Turkish society as discussed by Sarigil (2018), Bora (2003), Saracoglu (2009), Yegen (2009) and Sarigil and Karakoc (2017). Consequently, direct-structural and cultural violence have sustained towards the Kurdish 'out-group' in Turkey.

¹ Present day Turkey.

Eventually, this prolonged tension between the Turks and the Kurds lays ground for future wars to break out. The exclusion of Kurdish people's identities, (as they are multiple and varied) in Turkey, where the Kurdish oppression is undermined and silenced, causes the Kurdish 'outgroup' to feel more excluded and marginalized in the Turkish society. Consequently, reaching sustainable peace is far from near.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to reveal and explore how individuals of a Kurdish identity experience and perceive the conflict. I argue that Kurdish voices and conflict understandings from an inductive 'bottom up' way are thus silenced. When the Kurdish narratives, however, are only coming from a top-down approach, peacebuilding becomes as an impossible task. Peacebuilding should be rooted in the experimental and personal realities that shapes people's perspectives and needs. By studying the narration of marginalized individuals and addressing issues such as fears and needs will help us understand conflicts and the role of identity in the resolution of violent conflicts (Lederach 1997:26; Braun and Clarke, 2006:13).

This thesis derives from a qualitative approach, with a narrative design, based on the social constructivist worldview. Constructivists believe that affiliations and identity are essential to understand individual experiences of conflict (Creswell, 2014:37). Members of a certain community provide patterns of standardized emotional expressions that constitute certain cultures by setting them apart from others (Koschut, 2018). This approach of emotion is interconnected with the idea of social identities as introduced by Tajfel and Turner (1986) and the creation of in-groups and out-groups as proposed by Allport (1979). These theories as well as Johan Galtung's (1990) theory about cultural, structural and direct violence and Steiner's (2012), Keen's (1987), Bahador's (2012) and Zur's (1991) perception of enemy images in war propaganda will be used in a thematic analysis when analyzing the interviewees' conflict experience, attitudes, opinions and perspectives in an intergroup environment.

The thesis examines the complexity of viewpoints of Kurds, living in three different cities in Turkey – Ankara, Diyarbakir and Istanbul. This will be achieved by conducting 16 interviews from 16th of December 2018 to 3rd of January 2019.

The material gathered will contribute to the knowledge of intergroup relations and tensions in the Turkish social setting.

This study intends to answer the following research question:

- *How do the Kurdish community in Turkey narrate their understanding of the conflict between the Kurds and the Turks?*

In order to answer the main research question, these operational questions will be used:

1. *What are the characteristic of the in-group and the out-group formation according to the interviewees? Who do they perceive as responsible for the in-group and out-group formation?*
2. *What are the consequences of the in-group and out-group formation, according to the interviewees?*
3. *What solution to these tensions can the interviewees see?*

The emerging findings give an insight into the participants' experience of structural, cultural and direct violence as introduced by Johan Galtung, as well as their narration of prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination, othering, and other theories in social psychology that relate to intergroup violence and conflict.

Ultimately, through an Oral History design and the use of semi-structured in-depth interviews through an inductive 'bottom up' way (Braun and Clarke, 2006:13), this thesis aims to achieve a greater understanding of Kurdish people's experiences, perspectives, feelings, opinions and attitudes in an intergroup environment.

1.3 Relevance to Peace and Conflict Studies

Within Peace and Conflict Studies this thesis belongs to the subgroup of research on ethnic conflicts. The program analyzes how different forms of armed conflict begin and develop over time. Namely, by explaining the roots and causes of ethnic conflict. For instance, by studying prejudice, stereotypes, othering, discrimination and different forms of violence, lead us to

understand why people act in a certain way towards others in intergroup environments (Lederach, 1997). This could eventually improve old or develop new resolution theories and hopefully prevent future wars and conflicts.

Peace and Conflict Studies also discuss the role of different approaches in peacebuilding. John P. Lederach argues that peacebuilding should be rooted in the experimental and personal realities that shaped people's perspectives and needs through a 'bottom up' approach (Lederach, 1997:24). This study intends to contribute to that by bringing in new empirical data focusing on the narration of marginalized individuals living in conflict situations. By bringing access to hegemonic ways of voicing to the interviewees and addressing issues such as fears and needs will thus help us understand the role of identity in the resolution of violent conflicts (Kelman, 2004:12).

1.4 Limitations and Delimitations

Brabant (2010) indicates that conflict resolution is about exploring the causes of conflict by involving all the parties, which is also argued by (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005:29). Perspectives from people with a Turkish social identity would strengthen the purpose of understanding the Kurdish-Turkish conflict from both sides. The purpose of this study is not to understand the reconciliation process among Turks and Kurds in Turkey; however, the aim of my research is to understand how the Kurdish minorities bring meaning to their stories, therefore my study will only focus on people with a Kurdish background.

This thesis analyzes Kurdish peoples conflict experience in relation to their Kurdish identity, this is a limitation of the study, as Kurdish people are not a homogenous group. There are several layers of identities within the Kurdish population. For instance, one of my interviewees in this study, is Kurdish and Alevi². Thus, she experiences an intersection of oppression by being both Kurdish and also through belonging to a religious minority.

² A religious minority in Turkey.

1.5 Thesis outline

Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter provides a background of the historical moments of the last three decades of war between PKK and the Turkish state as well as describing the consequences of the State of Emergency in Turkey. The third chapter presents the theoretical framework which contains theories from Peace and Conflict Studies. The fourth chapter discusses previous research that has been done on Kurdish identities but also other studies that relate to identity and conflict. The fifth chapter describes the methodology and entails a description of narrative analysis that is used in this study. It also contains the research design, the material, sampling of participants, data collection, data analysis, the positionality of the researcher and ethical considerations. Chapter six presents an analysis of the empirical material in relation to the theoretical framework. In the last chapter of this thesis a conclusion will be given, and in the end, the reader will find list of references and appendices from the study.

2. Background

The chapter will start with introducing some historical moments of the Kurdish-Turkish conflict in order to provide a background to the analysis. Section (2.2) will discuss The State of Emergency with focus on the Kurds, for the reader to understand the social context but also the references made by the interviewees. In the end, the chapter highlights some considerable consequences of the Kurdish-Turkish setting, with the help of reports taken from Human Rights Watch and Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR).

2.1 The Kurdish-Turkish Conflict

The Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) has been engaged in an armed conflict against the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) since 1978. During the insurgency, more than 50 000 people were killed, including PKK soldiers, TSK soldiers and civilians on both sides (Bilgin, 2013). To begin with, the PKK aimed at accomplishing an independent nation state, and thus, recruited PKK soldiers from the villages situated in the South-East of Turkey, regions with a strong Kurdish population. For instance, in Diyarbakir, Van, Hakkari and Sirnak (Barkey and Fuller, 1998).

However, during the outbreak of the Kurdish-Turkish Conflict, the assimilation and repression towards Kurdish identities became harsher. The use of Kurdish language and cultural clothes were illegal under martial law during the 90's. In the aftermath, the Turkish government evacuated Kurdish villages in the South East of Turkey, and over 3000 of them were burned and destroyed. Consequently, thousands of Kurds were forced to leave the countryside and adjust into city environments (Karlsson, 2017).

Meanwhile, after the capture of the PKK's imprisoned leader Abdullah Öcalan in 1999, the organization underwent major changes. Öcalan decided to steer PKK into a new direction. He asked the PKK to leave the country, outline a cease-fire and most importantly, called for a fundamental shift in the PKK's ideology. They would no longer advocate for national independence, instead they would campaign for securing constitutional rights for the Kurds. He

finishes his statement by announcing his “Democratic Republic” thesis, which rested on the idea of a common land and political unity with the Turks. During the years after his capture, the negotiating parties achieved progress in the peace process. More precisely, the process seized legitimacy as people from both sides declared their support for peace in polls, participated in town hall meetings, and mobilized in the street (Aydin and Emrence, 2015).

However, after the Justice and Development Party (AKP) lost their absolute majority to form a one-party-government for the first time in thirteen years, they dismissed the peace process and launched a new war against PKK in November 2015 (Hakyemez, 2017). The Turkish military besieged city centers and declared curfews to fight the urban militias situated in the South-East of Turkey. As a response, PKK militants targeted places of symbolic value in attacks that have killed 45 people, including Turkish state officials and civilians in Ankara and Istanbul. The breakdown of the peace process was the beginning of a new period of violent attacks, hate-crimes, persecution, imprisonment, armed-clashes and human rights abuses in Turkey (Human Rights Watch, 2016; OHCHR, 2018).

2.2 State of emergency in the Kurdish regions

In 2016, a failed coup d'état was attempted against President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the Justice and development party (AKP) government. The attempted coup left at least 241 citizens and governments law enforcement dead. In the aftermath, the government declared a state of emergency³ and jailed thousands of people, accusing them of being followers of the PKK, which is labelled as ‘terrorist’ organization by the Turkish government (Human Rights Watch, 2017, 2019). Including, a Kurdish elected representative from the People’s Democratic Party (HDP)⁴, Selahattin Demirtas, who was captured and imprisoned later in 2016. The prosecutors accused the HDP leader of praising the PKK and carrying out “terrorist” propaganda in speeches made in 2013. He came third in 2018’s presidential election while being behind bars (Toksabay and Gumrukcu, 2018).

The state of emergency continued to take place in the south-eastern borders, whereas official round-the-clock curfews were imposed on nine villages. The government stressed that the

³ A state of emergency is a situation of national danger or disaster in which a government suspends constitutional procedures in order to regain control (DCAF, 2005).

⁴ The HDP party is a PRO-Kurdish party in Turkey.

purpose of these security operations was to neutralize the recruitment of PKK members and thereby “save” the nation in the fight against “terrorist” organizations. Subsequently, security operations took place in the areas home to, in large part, Kurdish residents and targeted ethnically Kurdish people for their perceived affiliation to the PKK. The UN report note that:

The operation included killings, torture, violence against women, the excessive use of force, destruction of housing, cultural heritage as well as preventing access to emergency medical care (OHCHR, 2018).

Additionally, most of the activities that have been dismissed, suspended or are on a current pending investigation for “terrorist” charges, are mostly situated in the South-East of Turkey, where there is a strong Kurdish population. This includes, 370 nongovernmental associations with focus on Human Rights, Women’s Rights and humanitarian organizations (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

In the work context, OHCHR (2018) and Human Rights Watch (2017, 2019) reveal that, nearly 160 000 people were arrested during the state of emergency; 152 000 civil servants dismissed or suspended; which includes, teachers, judges and lawyers. As much as 28,000 teachers and 1,500 Human Rights lawyers were labelled by the government as part of a “terrorist” organization. Nonetheless, approximately 600 women with young children were held in detention in December 2017 in the South-East of Turkey. In almost all cases, they were arrested as “associates” of their husbands, who were the governments primary suspects for connection to “terrorist” organizations.

Additionally, the central target is capturing, killing and torturing people that could have any perceived affiliation to a “terrorist” organization. Many of the trials in Turkey lack compelling evidence of criminal activity or acts that would reasonably be deemed “terrorism” (Human Rights Watch, 2019). People who advocate for peace, including Human Rights defenders and activists are captured or persecuted for such charges and without separate evidence, they are accused of associating with “terrorists” or spreading “terrorist” propaganda. As many as almost one-fifth of the total prison population have been convicted of such offences (OHCHR, 2018).

Ultimately, people with a different opinion to the state are either facing prosecution or are in deep fear in today’s Turkey. Those who have lost their jobs are facing a hard time economically,

socially and politically, which leaves them with physical and psychological pain. Nevertheless, since the PKK also changed their strategy⁵ and moved to the city centers in the South-East of Turkey, the main victims of all, are the civilians. Thus, they are either killed in collateral damage as a result of military operation or in PKK attacks on coalition targets. It is estimated that at least three violent attacks on civilian territories have been declared by insurgencies and PKK militants since 2016. Consequently, at least a thousand people have been found dead, including militia and civilians on both sides, and as many as 400 000 residents displaced (Human Rights Watch, 2018, 2019).

Importantly, references made by the interviewees will be explained in accordance with these particular events which will be further discussed during the analysis. However, moving on to the next chapter of the thesis, the theoretical framework will be introduced. The chapter entails some important concepts in order for the reader to better understand the interviewees' narratives.

⁵ PKK usually rely on Guerrilla Tactics, where they hide in the Sinjar Mountains and the Qandil Mountains (both in Iraq). When the Turkish military declared curfews in the South-East of Turkey, the PKK showed up and built barricades to fight the Turkish forces where civilians were killed or displaced (Human Rights Watch, 2018, 2019).

3. Theoretical Framework

As Lederach (1997:25,107) puts it, peacebuilding is about exploring the root causes of war which can be done by focusing on the cognitive skills of analyzing conflict. As such, a description of concepts such as social identity theory, in-group and out-group, prejudice, stereotype, discrimination, othering and enemy images will be introduced in this chapter. As well as a description of Johan Galtung's violence triangle. Since the aim of the research is to explore the participants' Kurdish-Turkish conflict understanding through their Kurdish identity one must understand how social identities are built and discuss the issues and conflicts that arrive from it. Finally, this chapter ends with a discussion on intergroup-contact theory and reconciliation in order to analyze if contact between in-groups and out-groups influence the interviewees' conflict understanding. The above theoretical framework are used in a thematic analysis, for the reader to understand the narrative analysis and obtain a deeper insight into the empirical material, which will be further explained in chapter five.

3.1 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory as introduced by Turner, Brown, and Tajfel (1979), is a theory in social psychological research. The theory focuses on the central role of people's various social identities, (e.g. gender, nationality, social class, race, ethnicity, interests, characteristics or identity) which become salient in different situations and impact social judgement and behavior. Tajfel and Turner (1986:9) note that a social identity is based upon which groups' a person belongs to. When people have identified themselves with one group, they form an in-group. People who do not share the same social identities form the out-group and the 'us' versus 'them' arises (Abrams and Hogg, 2001). Moving on to the next section, some of the consequences of in-group and out-group formation will be discussed in relation to identity and conflict.

3.2 In-groups and Out-groups

According to Tajfel, Turner (1986:14-16) different processes can be identified during the creation of in-groups and out-groups. One is called *social categorization*, which means that when a social identity is created people are placed in different groups in order for them to understand who they are. When a person has identified themselves to one group, they develop group partisanship and ethnocentrism that implies a way of living with characteristics, habits, codes and beliefs that keep members unified. *Social comparison* occurs when people compare their in-group with members of other out-groups, to determine who they are and be able to recognize differences between groups. When social comparison occurs, people are more motivated to see their in-group as positive and distinct from out-groups, since it helps to maintain one's positive self-esteem and coherence of one's self-image (Abrams and Hogg, 2001). Prejudice and discrimination are thus created due to in-group's tendency to observe the negative characteristics of out-group members in an effort to show loyalty towards their own group and strengthen their in-group ties (Tajfel and Turner, 1986:18; Allport, 1954b: 29-32).

3.3 Prejudice

According to Gordon Allport, prejudice is when a person or a group is judging someone just because they belong to a certain group. He argues that prejudice can both appear as positive and negative. For example, a prejudiced person may argue that they have enough information of the 'other' to know how that person is, thus basing their personal views on a few people and generalize the whole group with those qualities (Allport, 1954b: 9). Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that the prejudiced person has direct contact with the person or group they are acting prejudiced against. Their judgment can be based on someone else's perception of the person or the group as a whole. For instance, a negative prejudice is a threatening picture of the person, just because the person belongs to that group (Allport, 1979:6-7; Allport, 1954b: 9). Allport stresses that the act of prejudice derives from the cognitive function and the use of categories in social psychology. He stresses that humans tend to categorize and generalize and thereby not pay attention to individual differences, and rather understand them in the bases of the opposed category (Allport, 1954b: 27).

3.4 Stereotype

Prejudice is closely related to another concept called Stereotype. Walter Lippmann (1922:81, 268) defines stereotypes as: “the first image that appears in our head”. Lippmann was not the first to use the term “stereotype”, but was the first one to put the term on individuals of a certain social, ethnic and national group, and focused on the discriminatory behavior that could follow from those stereotypes (Newman, 2009:12). A stereotype is thus based upon faulty generalizations through prejudice about people’s behaviors and attitudes (Pettersen, 2009:460). Lippmann revealed that the construction of a ‘stereotype’ is something that arises through the political, social and economic context which is culturally obtained. Children, for instance, become aware of ethnic and racial differences, and since they seek to please their parents, they adopt their views (Oppenheimer, 2006:275; Zur, 1991:355). Consequently, when some parents explicitly teach their children negative characteristics of other individuals or groups, a negative stereotype is thereby passed from one generation to another. The reason for it, as argued by Lippmann (1922:268) and Newman (2009:15), is people feel safer in a world they recognize. People tend to expect other people to act in a certain way and become hesitant to change their perceptions, which can lead to biased judgements.

3.5 Discrimination

Prejudice, stereotypes and scapegoating appear in the same in-group and eventually leads to discrimination towards the out-group. Discrimination can be of four different forms according to Allport (1954b:29-65). The first form is *verbal rejection* which is expressed by the use of labels, jokes and epithets. The second form is *the denial of equal treatment*, such as exclusion from certain employment, housing, political rights, or exclusion from educational opportunities or other patterns of social privileges. The third is *segregation*, which is a type that sets structural boundaries to underline the disadvantage of out-groups which can also be reinforced legally. This form of discrimination is usually referred to as structural violence as argued by Johan Galtung, which will be discussed in section (3.8). The last form is discrimination is in the form of *violence*, which can be riots and lynching against people of a certain out-group.

3.6 Othering

Harle pays attention to othering and indicates that the easiest way to define the “other” is to argue that they are initially different from “us”. Thus, the “other” is given more negative than positive traits. Modern scholars such as Michael Foucault talk about “the other” in relation to the state and its citizens, and claims that the other has an important social function: to have social order, one must tell the difference between those who commit crimes and those who follow the law. Foucault showed that “the other” is perceived as an abnormal, mad and delinquent person (Holmbäck and Wallenstein, 2014:257; Burchell and Gordon and Miller, 1991:236; Harle, 2000:10).

However, as discussed by (Freedman and Kishan Thussu, 2012:5-8), “the other” in contemporary conflicts is often viewed as the “terrorist” in media discourses (Freedman and Kishan Thussu, 2012:5-8). Particularly, in the post 9/11 era, scholars such as (Carr, 2006: Chaliand and Blin, 2007; Hoffman, 2006; Rubin and Rubin, 2008; Law, 2009) argue that terrorism in the political setting, has often been reduced to acts of fanaticism and random brutality carried out by out-groups against democratic states. Yet, these brutal acts are not deemed as “terrorism” when carried out by democratic states themselves or their allies. As Noam Chomsky (2002:131) puts it; The term applies only to terrorism against “us”, not the terrorism we carry out against “them”. In this way, the “other” and the “terrorist” is seemingly intertwined and thus perceived as the “enemy”, which leads us to the following sections description of enemy images.

3.7 Enemy Images

The concept of the “evil other” as argued by Harle (2000: 11-12), is when the enemy is needed to blame for the bad things in life and therefore emerge as a scapegoat. While “the other” is required to build “our” identity the “evil other” emerges only if “we” and “they” are thought to be fundamentally different. The point is that there are some others who are excluded from among “us”, and are actually witnessed in less human terms, “below” human beings in hierarchical terms.

Enemy images are a special case in speaking of “the other” as discussed by Steiner (2010), Zur (1991) and Keen (1987). The basic idea is that “the other” belongs to the out-group and is

threatening “us”, the in-group. The out-group is ascribed as non-human and thereby radically different from “us” (Steiner, 2012:213). Additionally, when dehumanization has gone so far as perceiving the enemy as a non-human being, the in-group ultimately stops identifying with the enemy. Consequently, as discussed by Steiner (2010:23) this will authorize violent actions toward the enemy. The ultimate function of these images is to bind the stereotypical image and to justify one’s own attitudes and behaviour towards the enemy. By dehumanizing the enemy, and perceiving “the other” as less than human, allows people to kill the enemy with minimum or no sense of guilt (Zur, 1991:360).

Zur (1991: 350) indicates that the enemy out-groups do not necessarily consist of the same social group, they are thus variegated since they depend on political tendencies. Yet, as argued by Steiner (2010:2), they are always represented as stagnant, despotic and static. Consequently, as explained by Keen (1987), this representation of the enemy limits the in-group’s idea of reconciliation towards the out-group.

As argued by Bahador (2012), when a state enters a war, the mass media is believed to be essential in mobilizing the public for the upcoming violence against a particular group. Political leaders often foster conflict by manipulating the larger population through ethnic scapegoating in order to profit from conflict environment. This process can include the creation of enemy images so stripped of their human qualities that their destruction becomes justifiable and even desirable.

3.8 Cultural, Structural and Direct Violence

Within peacebuilding, one must understand the deeper issues within conflicts. To examine peace, it is central to look at the dynamics and root causes that produce war and conflicts (Lederach, 1997:18). Therefore, Johan Galtung’s violence triangle will be introduced in order for the reader to understand the forms of the conceptualized violence and therefore get a deeper perspective and insight of the interviewees’ experiences and conflict understanding in the Turkish political landscape.

The definition of violence, as argued by Galtung and Fischer (2013:35) and Galtung (1996:9) is that peace and violence are on the opposite side of the spectrum. Violence is the use or threat

of power to hurt or harm the human body, mind and spirit. For instance, the threat of violence is when an actor is creating distortion and hopelessness through fear against a human being, actor, individual or social identity. Violence can manifest in three forms according to Galtung: *direct violence*, carried out by violent actors, *structural violence*, as an enforced un-intended or intended violent structure that leaves a mark not only on the human body but also on the mind and the spirit. As argued by Galtung (1990:293), structural violence means that the in-group is in the position of gaining social privileges, where's the out-group does not get the opportunity to experience some of these social privileges. The central argument in structural violence is exploitation, for instance, when the out-group is denied health care, or excluded from educational/work opportunities. Consequently, the out-group can, in fact, be so disadvantaged that through structural violence die or waste away from diseases. In this sense, structural violence leads to direct violence. The third form is *cultural violence*, that is when a violent culture legitimizes direct and structural violence and thus rendered acceptable in society (Galtung, 1990:294). The violence triangle is interconnected and can start from any corner. For instance, as argued by Galtung and Fischer (2013:47), the massive direct violence over centuries in North America against black bodies, quickly exceeded to structural violence, with whites as “top-dogs” and blacks as “underdogs”⁶ leading to massive cultural violence with racist ideas and structures everywhere. Or the cultural violence and ‘othering’ towards the Jews during World War II, that exceeded to structural violence, with anti-Jews laws, which ultimately exceeded to the Holocaust⁷ and direct violence, that systematically murdered over six million European Jews (Zur, 1991:360-362).

3.9 Intergroup Contact Theory and Conflict Reconciliation

So far there has been a discussion of concepts that relate to war and conflict by analyzing the cognitive behavior in in-group and out-group environments hence, Johan Galtung's conceptualized violence triangle. This section will thus focus on peacebuilding from a different approach. Namely, a framework that engages in relational aspects which is fundamental in the discussion of reconciliation and solutions towards peace.

⁶ When the direct violence against black bodies ended, they enforced and legalized racial segregation through the Jim Crow Laws (Blackmon, 2008).

⁷ A Genocide towards the Jews during world war 2 during the rule of Nazi Germany.

When discussing reconciliation theories, Allport's (1954a) *intergroup contact theory* has been widely used in research over the years. The theory implies that in-group and out-group contact decreases prejudice, discrimination and conflict. Due to the new information about "the other" people change their perceptions and facilitate developing positive concepts about them (Dovidio, 2011; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Trifiletti and Bernardo, 2017; Wagner and Crist, 2011).

According to John Paul Lederach, the importance for reconciliation relies on the restoration and rebuilding of relationships. He indicates that reconciliation is not about seeking to minimize conflicting groups' affiliations, but instead is built on mechanisms that engage the sides of a conflict with each other as humans in relationship (Lederach, 1997:24). Thus, a transformation of the relationship to one that respects the other's basic, existential need for identity is necessary for conflict resolution to proceed (Funk, 2013:15). As such, people need opportunity and space to express themselves and by acknowledgement through hearing one another's stories validate experience and feelings, which represents the first step towards the restoration of the person and the relationship (Lederach, 1997:26-27).

4. Previous Research

This chapter discusses previous research in relation to Kurdish identities in the Turkish-Kurdish setting but also other studies that relate to identity and conflict that shed light into out-group prejudice. I argue that there is a gap in research regarding the relationship between conflict and Kurdish identities in Turkey. People with a Kurdish identity have nowhere to go to express their feelings, emotions and experiences. This gap needs to be filled with perspectives that derive from the bottom-up approach in order to contribute to peacebuilding as argued by Lederach (1997) and Bergh and Sloboda (2010). This chapter ends with a discussion on the research studies' strengths and weaknesses in relation to the Kurdish identity.

Sarigil's (2018) research study on the attitudes and relations in the Turkish social landscape provides a systematic comparison of the dominant group's (i.e. Sunni-Turkish majority) attitudes toward the largest ethnic and religious minority out-groups (i.e. Kurds and Alevis). To measure participants' religious and ethnic origin, the public opinion survey that the researcher used as a method, included questions about ethnic and religious backgrounds and thereby relied on individual self-identification to measure ethnic and religious origin (ibid).

Furthermore, the researcher measured social distance, which is a concept that refers to whether individuals from one social identity are open to associate with those from another social identity. Through individuals' response to questions about their desire to engage in social contact of different degrees of closeness with out-group members; such as marriage and friendship, the researcher was able to measure the social distance scale and thereby contribute to the examination of out-group prejudice. The findings indicate that for instance in the public sphere, a negative attitude towards ethnic out-group members is stronger than a negative position towards religious out-group members. As such, the statistical analysis shows that the average social distance from Kurds in the public realm is relatively higher than their average distance from Alevi's (ibid).

Sarigil and Karakoc (2017) conducted a social psychology study concerning inter-ethnic (in)tolerance between Turks and Kurds. They conducted a public opinion survey to measure the difference between the different groups' attitudes towards one another. For instance, they asked direct questions about the out-group, such as (a) *Is the opposite ethnic group untrustworthy?* (b) *Would you be disturbed or bothered by a neighbor having the opposite ethnic group origin?* or (c) *If your child gets married would you accept the opposite ethnic group as son/daughter-in-law?* To measure perceived injustice in the Kurdish setting, they asked questions such as: in your opinion, do you think Kurds in Turkey enjoy similar political and cultural rights and freedom as Turks? (ibid).

Regarding the data, they conducted a public-opinion survey, whereas the final survey involved face-to-face interviews. They relied on the participant's self-identification as an indicator of ethnic origin. Furthermore, the findings indicate that ethnic tolerance of Kurds is much lower than among Turks. As an indicator of ethnic tolerance, they used support for a positive attitude towards having a child-in-law, colleague or neighbor from an ethnic out-group. Ultimately, the authors argue that the result is because Kurds have more out-group contact, which decreases their prejudices towards Turks. Also, they rely on the theory as discussed by Tajfel and Turner (1979), which stresses that dominant in-groups tend to uphold stronger prejudices towards minority groups under conditions of protracted conflict (ibid).

Klein et al., (2018)'s research highlights a specific case between contact and attitudes towards minorities in work context. The research shows that intergroup contact improved the attitudes against minorities and lower out-group prejudice. Through survey research, the author examined Israeli Jews attitudes towards the Arab population in Israel during work contact. Through the method of questionnaires, the author examined the participant's attitude towards the out-group (Arabs) by using five attitude factors: *direct attitude*, which measured the participants' willingness to become friends in the workplace. The second factor, *perception*, included the participants' opinions of Arabs' attitudes towards Jews. The third factor, *contact willingness*, measured the willingness of the participants to engage in contact with Arabs besides work or education. The fourth factor, *general attitude* measured the attitude towards the ability to live in peace. The findings show that work contact between Israeli Jews and Arabs was noticeably linked to positive attitudes generated by *direct attitudes*, *perceptions* of Arabs and *contact willingness*, and rely on Allport's (1979:7) intergroup contact theory (ibid).

On the other hand, the research showed that contact during work did not change participants' general attitude regarding the likelihood of Jews and Arabs living in peace. Also, the Israeli Jews attitude of the Arabs' work quality was perceived to be lower to their own (Klein et al., 2018:153).

Furthermore, whilst discussing and comparing intergroup attitudes, I argue that these three studies mentioned above, are a great way to shed light into ethnic and religious prejudice. Therefore, bring understandings to the root causes of war and prevent future conflicts. The studies conclude answers from a large population, therefore allowing for generalization to be possible. Also, their different ways of measuring attitudes are used as tools in this study, to measure attitudes and contact willingness towards Turks, which can be seen in the semi-structured questions (see appendices).

Yet, I argue that these quantitative findings are limited in ways to interpreting the informants' conflict experiences, which is challenged in this study. I argue that Kurdish identities are silenced in today's Turkey. They have nowhere to go in order to express their thoughts and emotions, and in order to contribute to peacebuilding from a bottom-up approach as argued by Lederach (1997:53), one must find right tools to access these subjugated voices. As such, Oral history, as a narrative method, can be particularly valuable and fill this gap, which will be more thoroughly explained in the following chapter.

5. Methodology

In this chapter the Research design will be discussed, followed by a more detailed discussion of the material, sampling of participants, data collection, presentation of the participants, method, data analysis, the positionality of the researcher and ethical considerations.

5.1 Research Design

This thesis is a qualitative study which uses an Oral History Design. Oral History is a method of collecting narratives from individuals for the purpose of research. The method has roots in anthropology and has long been used to assess the experiential knowledge of marginalized people. Oral History focuses on the narration of groups or people in social research. Additionally, the aim is to rely as much as possible on the interviewees' views and understandings during data collection (Leavy, 2011:4-5).

I argue that Kurdish marginalized individual's perspectives in the Turkish political landscape are being silenced and in order to achieve sustainable peace, as Lederach (1997) indicates, there is a need to know all the different perspectives of a conflict. Oral history will be particularly valuable for research on Kurdish identities in the Kurdish-Turkish conflict. It is used as a tool to narrate their perspectives and experiences as a way of accessing subjugated voices (Leavy, 2011:6). This will be done through an inductive analysis, since understanding appears from the interview material itself (Bryman, 2008:388).

In addition, the research design's epistemological base is social constructivism which is connected to Oral history as argued by Leavy (2011). The social constructivist approach claims that subjective meanings are negotiated socially through *interaction* with others, and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives (Creswell, 2007:21). The approach implies that the researcher recognizes that their own background shapes their interpretation.

5.2 Data collection and Selection of Participant

The material involved semi-structured and open-ended face-to-face interviews with 16 interviewees, including eight women and eight men of Kurdish origin, living in Ankara, Diyarbakir and Istanbul. The interviews lasted between 22 to 60 minutes, with a total amount of 7 hours of recording or 104 transcribed pages.

For interviewees I selected people with a Kurdish identity who were between the ages of twenty and sixty. To be able to answer my research question it was important that the people being interviewed were of Kurdish origin. The requirement was that at least one of the interviewee's parents needed to be an ethnic Kurd in order to participate in this study. To know whether or not this was the case, I relied on the participant self-definition as an indicator of ethnic origin. All the 16 interviewees responded to identify as ethnic Kurds.

Additionally, I applied snowball sampling, which according to Beards-Worth and Kell (1992:261) is best suited if you are dependent on social contacts that the interviewees had with other Kurdish individuals in order to gain access to more participants. I had friends and relatives in the area that helped me recruit participants to this study.

As argued by Chambliss and Schutt (2006:60), a semi-structured interview model allows the researcher to ask more open-ended questions in order to get the answers that they are looking for. Since the aim of this thesis is to understand the participants' conflict understanding in a Kurdish-Turkish context, it was important that the questions were clearly formulated to suit this context (see appendices).

5.3 Transcription and Translations

The recorded interviews were conducted in three different languages, Turkish, Kurdish (Kurmanji)⁸ and English. The transcription is however conducted in English. Before the recording process started, I asked the interviewees which language they preferred to speak. It was important for me that the interviewees had the opportunity to speak the language they felt

⁸ Kurmanji is one dialect in Kurdish. The two most widely spoken dialects of Kurdish is Kurmanji and Sorani. Other dialects spoken by smaller numbers are Hawrami and Zazaki (Karlsson, 2017).

most comfortable with in order to get rich and informative data. Consequently, fourteen were done in Turkish, one in Kurdish (Kurmanji) and one in English.

Many of the interviewees explained to me that they had forgotten most of their Kurdish since they cannot educate themselves in their mother tongue. Beneficially, Kurdish, Turkish and English language are not foreign to me. Due to my background as a Kurd from Turkey, I know all the three languages. This is particularly important in order to understand their meanings and transcribe the interviewees correctly.

5.4 Method

This thesis follows an inductive and open-ended interview model. Oral History involves the gathering of one or several individual's personal reflections of events (Leavy, 2011:9-10). Data is generated through the interviewees' views and perspectives of the situation being studied. Therefore, the method of a semi-structured and open-ended questions in an oral history design can clarify the *specific* research question and still uncover rich descriptive data on the personal experiences of the participants (Creswell, 2014:37).

In this narrative design, the researcher and the participant are engaged in a *collaborative* and shared relationship during the interview session where both parties are integral to the data generation process. As such, both the researcher and the participant may guide the direction of the interview (Leavy, 2011:5-8). The semi-structured questions (see appendices) were applied in a special Kurdish-Turkish political context, in order to clarify the research problem. Thereof, semi-structured questions were asked based on their life experiences, which includes their behaviors, rituals, attitudes, values, opinions, perspectives, beliefs and memories of events in an intergroup setting, as proposed by Leavy (2011). Yet, I still left the questions opened-ended so that the participants were able to guide the direction of the interview.

However, there are different ways of analyzing the material through narrative design. However, in this study, a *thematic analysis* through an inductive or "bottom up" way (Braun and Clarke, 2006:13) will be used to analyze the material produced by the interviewees. The purpose of the method is to identify, analyze and report patterns (themes) within the dataset. An inductive approach means that the themes identified are strongly linked to the data themselves. The researcher decides what he/she considers is most important from the interview material and

connects it to theoretical themes (ibid). The themes will be based on the theoretical framework discussed in chapter three.

5.5 Researcher's Position

My interest in the topic is due to my personal background as an ethnic Kurd. I speak Kurdish, share the culture, its history and have visited Diyarbakir, Istanbul and Ankara many times before. As such, my knowledge in the cultural and political context gives me the possibility to apply this study from an emic point of view (from an insider's perspective) and conduct the study in a shorter period of time. Research conducted from an emic perspective often includes more detailed and culturally rich information. Because the researcher places themselves within the culture of intended study, they are able to go further in-depth on the details of practices and beliefs of a society that may otherwise have been ignored. In Oral History, this is particularly important as discussed by Leavy (2011:5-9). The data is generally collected over large periods of time in order for the researcher to understand the cultural context and thereby better mediate the interviewees' perspectives. Yet, as argued by Bernard (2006:350), if the researcher already knows the culture, its history and the language, they are able to conduct it in a shorter period of time. Potential disadvantages may be that the researcher can be biased due to the emic approach. However, this research aims at being conducted in accordance with the provided theoretical framework and methodological approach.

5.6 Ethical Consideration

Qualitative research can involve ethical problems that need to be reflected upon before starting the interview process. In this study three aspects have been of particular importance. The first one is *Voluntary participation* (Chambliss and Schutt, 2016:221). I informed each participant that this study was voluntary. A consent form was handed out in which all the participants signed before the recording process started. The second aspect to have in mind is the *interviewees well-being* (ibid)

As a researcher, it is important to carefully consider how to avoid harm towards the interviewees or other people during and after the process. Therefore, I asked the interviewees carefully where they felt safe to meet and talk about this topic. The interviewees in both Diyarbakir and Istanbul took place at cafes where the informants were familiar with the location and the staff. The

interviewees in Ankara, however, wanted to meet at home while a family member was present during the interview process. This could have influenced the participants' interviews, either making them more restricted or opened during the process.

Additionally, some participants were present during other participants' interviews which influenced the shape and outcome of that face-to-face interview. One participant asked me to send the interview questions in advance and, before our meeting he had already sent me the response in written text. I then told him that I was conducting the data through recording. At first, he did not seem convinced to participate, so instead, we visited cultural places and enjoyed our shared company. However, after being present during another participant's interview, he changed his mind, and we conducted a face-to-face interview. Afterwards, we compared the written answers with the recorded material, and the results indicate that the latter was much richer in detail. For that reason, I decided to only conclude recorded interview material in this study. Also, this shows that my research is collaborative where both parties are integral to the data process.

Ultimately, the last aspect is *confidentiality* (ibid). It is important to protect their identity and keep them anonymous, therefore, I informed the interviewees through the consent form that I was not going to reveal their real name or identity which was signed by all the participants before the interview process started.

6. Analysis

The following analysis is based upon thematic analysis which means that specific themes are drawn out from the data. The analysis is categorized in themes based on the theoretical framework which includes the following parts: social identity, social categorization, prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination, othering, enemy images, structural, cultural and direct violence. These themes are developed inductively, through the semi-structured interviewees. Additionally, they are created in relation to the participant's Kurdish identity, this will help the reader understand the reason behind the in-group and out-group formation between Kurds and Turks and thus, to be able to further understand the Kurdish attitudes and their conflict narrations.

6.1 The Creation of In-groups and Out-groups

Tajfel and Turner (1986:9) note that a social identity is based on which group a person belongs to (e.g. gender, nationality, language, social class, race, ethnicity, religion, interests, characteristics or identity) which become salient in different situations and impact social judgement and behavior. When people have identified themselves with one group, they form an "in-group". What characterizes Kurds, is their own language, ethnicity, culture, and traditions according to the participants. However, people who do not share the same characteristics as these, form the "out-group" and the 'us' versus 'them' arises. The 'them' in this case are the Turks who are viewed as a separate ethnic group, speaks a different language and have different cultural beliefs compared to Kurds. The Kurdish participants in this study, view themselves as the "out-group" compare to Turks who are perceived as the "in-group". The Turkish language is the main and official language in Turkey and therefore the out-group are the ones that do not speak the Turkish language, as seen in the comment below:

Despite, that one denies that it differences exists, one feels them. Especially, when one goes to the hospital and doesn't get enough help because they can't speak Turkish. If I could not speak Turkish, then I would have experienced it (Ronja).

If one cannot speak the Turkish language in Turkey, discrimination toward the out-groups appears as Ronja explained in the quote above. Similarly, David, Zara, Ronja and Ali explain that if one does not speak the Turkish Language, in Turkey, they will be questioned negatively by the Turkish authorities, in the court of law and by the police.

The difference between the in-group and the out-group, is therefore, also about feelings of belonging to different social classes. According to the participants, the first class-citizens are the Turks, who gain social privileges in the society for belonging to that group. The Kurds on the other hand, are the second-class citizens, and thus, face out-group prejudice, discrimination, negative stereotypes, and enemy images just because they belong to that group which will be further discussed in section (6.2).

Turkish language and Turkish ethnicity go hand in hand, according to the interviewees. This means that even if a Kurd speaks the Turkish language, but view themselves as Kurdish ethnics, they will be rejected by the in-group, as the below quote shows:

I define myself as Kurd and Turkish citizens. When I say this, I get reactions from Turks that: "If you are a Turkish citizen then you are Turkish" ... But I feel as a Kurd and live as a Kurd (Roni).

As Roni explains, the in-group does not seem to accept that Roni defines himself with multiple identities. When social categorization and comparison appear during intergroup contact, prejudice and discrimination is created due to in-group's tendency to observe the negative characteristics of out-group members as discussed by (Tajfel and Turner, 1986:18; Allport, 1954b: 29-32; Abrams and Hogg, 2001). This can explain what Roni is experiencing, since, according to the participants, Kurdish ethnicity is viewed as lesser in Turkey.

The interviewees, however, explain that feelings of discrimination and prejudice as the 'out-group' in Turkey, varies, depending on which region one is situated. My interviewees explain that it is a difference between the West and the East in relation to out-group prejudice. In the West, Kurds are a minority, and therefore meet more verbalised prejudice when they speak Kurdish openly in public places. In the South-East, however, where Kurds are in majority, they do not experience these feelings of prejudice and discrimination to the same extent. As such, the findings indicate that the Turkish in-group tend to stereotype and act prejudiced against the

out-group in a region when they are in majority and the Kurdish out-group in minority, as seen in the comments below:

Here in Diyarbakir I do not encounter any negative reaction, because of my Kurdish identity, because the majority of people surrounding me are Kurds and have Kurdish identity as I have. But when you are in western Turkey and you present your Kurdish identity, for example saying that, “I am Kurd from Diyarbakir”, people start to study you closely, look at you up and down and start saying, “we like Kurds but...” This of course does not sound good, if we live in the same country, we should have the same conditions and live on equal terms. We should not feel like second-class citizens. Despite this treatment, we should not give up so easily and fight for what we are entitled to (Robin).

Zara also expressed a similar view to Robin’s. When Kurds are searching for jobs in the West of Turkey, they get questioned and discriminated because of their ethnic background. Thus, one can easily be denied employment during a job interview, just because one has a Kurdish identity. Eventually, when the in-group learn that one is Kurdish and not Turkish they act prejudiced towards the out-group. Importantly, as discussed by the interviewees, even if one tries to deny their Kurdish identity and consider themselves as Turks, other factors can make the in-group reject the out-group, for instance, by judging the out-group’s city of birth, as seen in the quote below:

Being Kurd in Turkey means that you have a hard time living, and that you have to be away from your language and culture. As a woman, even though I do not state my identity, I already experience difficulties. When I say that I come from Maras, people do not react negatively, because they are mixed ethnic groups there. Since my husband comes from Diyarbakir, my children are registered there according to current Turkish laws. And without mentioning the Kurdish identity, you will be labelled as a terrorist if you come from Diyarbakir, Batman or another Kurdish city. This treatment of Kurds can also cause difficulties for my children at school. They can be discriminated against, treated unfairly. For example, if there is a fascist teacher, my children can get worse grades. My children will have more difficulties than me, I think (Sinem).

As explained by Sinem above, the in-group can, in fact, act prejudiced towards the out-group by judging and stereotyping their parents’ or their grandparents’ location of birth. For instance, my interviewees explain that when they indicate that they are from the East, people look at them with a skeptical gaze, and start propagating Kurds as ‘terrorist’. This is expressed by most of my interviewees. They also highlight that people from the East of Turkey are often portrayed with ‘negative stereotypes’ in the media. As Lippmann (1922) argues, a negative stereotype derives from a certain political context, towards people of a certain ethnic group, which can be

identified here. Kurdish ethnic identities are linked to PKK, and the recruitment of PKK has been linked to the South-East since the outbreak of the civil war, as discussed by Karlsson (2017) and Barkey and Fuller (1998). This can explain why the interviewees feel that they are being rejected by the in-group when they show their ID and their region of origin becomes known.

Nevertheless, what characterizes Kurds, according to my participants is not just ethnicity, culture and language. To be Kurdish in today's Turkey is actually to live away from one's language and culture and to feel the discrimination towards them as the 'out-group'. My interviewees explain that Kurds do not celebrate Kurdish traditions anymore because of the state's policies and atrocities. When I asked Haydar what he thinks is typically Kurdish, he mentioned that everything that represents Kurds is deliberately destroyed due to the Turkish state's oppression and denial policy towards the Kurdish population. Ali also states a similar view as seen in the quote below:

According to me, Kurds have many difficulties, if you compare with others. You may get in trouble, just because you have a Kurdish identity. A few years ago, we could celebrate the Kurdish national day, Newroz. Many people came from different cities, even from Europe and other countries, but because of threats and attacks from security forces, people don't dare to celebrate together anymore (Ali).

As Ali explains here, Kurds experiences difficulties, and therefore are different compared to Turks. To be Kurdish does not necessarily mean that one has to speak Kurdish or to exercise the culture, but it means to fight against injustice, oppression, assimilation and shared feelings of discrimination. For instance, Narin explained that to be Kurdish in Turkey is not just about being part of an ethnic group, it is about the shared struggle to exist, to fight and to maintain one's inner self. All in all, rather than language and culture being the identifying characteristics of being a Kurd, discrimination, feelings of marginalization and the fight against injustice, seems to be the most identifying feature according to the interviewees.

However, due to the fact that the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state has been going on for over 40 years, I asked them if they could narrate the older generation's experiences and views of the conflict and their own (see appendices). They narrate that there are some important changes between the older and the new generation of Kurds, due to the consequence of the assimilation policy towards Kurds. For instance, the new generation does not speak

Kurdish to the same extent since most their families were forced to adjust into the city environments during the beginning of the civil war. In the cities, however, the main spoken language is not Kurdish. Therefore, people often become assimilated in language, when they are structurally forced to go to Turkish schools as explained by Klara, David, Alan and Narin. In the villages, however, the main spoken language is still Kurdish, but since the state and the Turkish militia have evacuated the Kurdish villages, my participants express fear that the Kurdish language might linguicide.

Although not all the interviewees are sympathizing with people who choose to join PKK, they seem to have somewhat understanding to why other Kurds would join PKK. Many of them explain that this is due to the oppression that these people are feeling as second-class citizens. They can understand them because they feel and see the discrimination, as seen in the quotes below:

My classroom friend who sat next to me was imprisoned just because she attended a demonstration. When she was free, she could not adjust, and she went to the mountains and warred. She could not accept the unfair treatment. After three years we were told that she was killed. If you live in Kurdistan and experience this, it is impossible not to understand them (Heval).

My friend (...), was studying to become a doctor. He had a brother that had joined the mountains. And a sister that was a politician, who were arrested and put to prison for critically opposing the government. And every end of the week the police used to come to his home and interrogate and ask where his brother was... Every time he said he did not know anything, where his brother was I mean... they tortured him... for months... At last, he didn't see the point in becoming a doctor anymore... he could not take the ill treatment... and so he went to the streets and warred against the Turkish militia. After 7 months, I watched the news... And they said; The police have captured and killed seven terrorists... And then a picture of him came up... (Roni)

As Roni and Heval explains here, when Kurds are put to prison for attending demonstrations, accused of being “terrorists”, or when their elective parliamentarians and politicians are put to prison, Kurdish identities are rendered powerless and marginalized. Consequently, they join the PKK to fight against the Turkish state as most of my participants explain. Initially, they narrate their conflict understanding by saying that they don't believe that ordinary Turkish people will truly understand the existence of a Kurdish movement, their fight against injustice or why people go to the mountains and war.

6.2 Consequences of the Out-group Formation

In Today's Turkey, a peace process has collapsed between PKK and the Turkish state. Due to the last three years of atrocities, violence, and armed clashes between the PKK and the Turkish state, the participants interpret that the political atmosphere has changed. The Kurdish elective representatives were put behind bars, and replaced by Turkish statesmen, as explained by the interviewees. Hence, Kurds are being accused of "terrorist" offences, and thousands are put behind bars for such charges. People with a different opinion or identity to the government, are deeply silenced, as seen in the comment below:

...they first closed the cultural centers, and then changed Kurdish names to Turkish names. They destroyed the Kurdish monuments... if you came four years ago, probably you would see the Kurdish signs on the streets... Today Kurdishness is totally criminalized, even some wedding singers who sang in Kurdish, were also put in prison. So today are the worst days for Kurdish people in all the history of Turkey (Klara).

As Klara explains here, everything that represents Kurds is criminalized in Turkey. Due to the peace collapse in 2015, the repression and assimilation towards Kurdish identities have become harsher. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the PKK are mostly represented by people of a Kurdish origin as discussed by Barkey and Fuller (1998) and Karlsson (2017). Due to this, many people stereotype Kurds, as terrorist or separatists according to my interviewees. As discussed by Freedman and Kishan Thussu (2012:5-8), "the other" in contemporary conflicts is often viewed as the "terrorist" in media discourses. Terrorism has often been reduced to acts of fanaticism and random brutality carried out by out-groups against democratic states. Yet, these brutal acts are not deemed as 'terrorism' when carried out by democratic states themselves or their allies, as seen in the comment below:

When I was working in Maras, my grandfather died in Diyarbakir. I went there to be part of his funeral. When I came back, I was questioned, even though I had notified my boss in advance. They brought charges against me. Even though I had my grandfather's death certificates with me. They just search for one little thing to get me fired. My Turkish colleagues would never be treated this way. I have been treated as a second-class citizen. My colleague asked me what I thought of the terror in Turkey. When I said that the terror could even come from the state, he broke contact with me. He sent all the patients to me, he himself sat in his room and played games. I had nowhere to turn. Nobody would believe me (Alan).

As Alan explains, when Kurds criticize the Turkish government, the in-group starts to treat the out-group unfairly as a second-class citizen. A majority of the participants express that during intergroup contact, they feel as though Turks do not want to be affiliated with Kurds due to the preexisting stereotypes. Their experiences of prejudice from the Turks is a form of ‘othering’ which causes the Kurds to be viewed as the enemy. The out-group is ascribed as a “terrorist” with a Kurdish identity in the media, and therefore are viewed as radically different from the in-group as discussed by Steiner (2012:213). Additionally, when dehumanization has gone so far as perceiving the enemy as a “terrorist”, the in-group ultimately stops identifying with the enemy. Consequently, this will authorize violent actions toward the out-group as argued by Steiner (2010:23), which is seen in the quote below:

When I say that I am from Diyarbakir, they ask directly: “are you PKK? Are you a terrorist? Once, I was at the post office to send a package to Diyarbakir. As soon as the official saw the address he raised his head and asked me: “How will it go for the country?” When I answered that it will go towards a civil war, but I hope that it won’t, he answered like this: “It may get to it, then we throw down bombs and wipe you out” (Alan).

As Alain explains, the official did not know who Alan was, he only judged Alan’s address and started propagating Kurds as “terrorists” and thus letting him know that “they” will be killed. As discussed by Bahador (2012), when a state enters a war, the mass media and political leaders foster conflict by creating enemy images of the out-group, as seen in the comment below:

Media is absolutely an important aspect. And the media is controlled by the state. Because the media is controlled by the state, they are not telling the truth. Regardless of them being Turkish or Kurdish, they don’t get the real picture of the reality. When they don’t get the real picture, then people start to react in a prejudiced manner. Their picture of Kurds was that they were fighters, thieves and plunderers (Zacharias).

As Zacharias explains, the media is controlled by the Turkish state who has entered a war with the PKK, therefore, people with a Kurdish identity are being stereotyped as the enemy, where acts of “terror” and Kurdish identities are seemingly intertwined.

Johan Galtung highlight that out-groups can be violated through different forms of violence. He argues that cultural violence towards an out-group can lead to structural and direct violence. What the interviewees shared were feelings of cultural violence due to them being affiliated with a “terrorist” label because of their Kurdish identity. They explain that the language that the politicians are using in the media leads to hostilities towards people with a Kurdish identity.

My interviewees explained that cultural violence towards people with a Kurdish identity has particularly grown since the peace process collapsed between the Turkish state and the PKK, as seen in the comment below:

About the relationship between Turks and Kurds, yeah it is worse I think. Especially after the peace process collapse, it is really worse because, the language the politicians use every day, they do hate crimes against Kurdish people. For example, just a few days ago, a father was killed in Sakarya because he said that he was Kurdish...Especially in these last three years we have had these a lot. This is especially opened by the politicians, because every time they say that you know; Kurdish people are terrorists, Kurdish people are like this, lets enter Afrin, let's do this and that!... Then ordinary Turkish people, begin to think that they are terrorists (Klara).

As Klara explains, the relationship between Kurds and Turks has become worse. My interviewees informed me that they fear that they cannot fully express their Kurdish identity openly without being harassed or treated unfairly by Turks or Turkish authorities. Therefore, the cultural violence that they are feeling leads to structural tensions in the society and exceeds to structural violence towards the Kurdish out-group as argued by Galtung (1990). For instance, Roni explained to me that when he went to University, he was discriminated by both his teachers and by students because of his Kurdish identity. He was not approved on a course for three years because the teacher had a “Kurdphobia”. Also, Heval and Malin express that they have experienced structural violence when applying for different employment opportunities. As soon as their Kurdish identity becomes known, they are treated unfairly. My participants also note that in order for a Kurd to become something in Turkey, they have to deny their Kurdish identity first, and to consider themselves Turks, as seen in the comment below:

If one denies their Kurdish identity and considers themselves as a Turk, maybe that person has a chance, but as a Kurd, all the roads are closed. The Kurds are not represented anywhere. In today's Turkey, if one says that they are Kurdish, either they end up in prison or you get tortured or harassed (David).

As David explains, the cultural and structural violence that the interviewees are experiencing, makes them want to hide their identity in the West of Turkey, in order to protect themselves from being victims of direct violence which is the third form of violence according to Galtung (1990), as seen in the quote below:

...Those who live in the West of Turkey do not dare to express themselves openly because of fear of persecution. You dare not to speak Kurdish openly there. People are looking intimidatingly at you. You are feared of getting hurt. (Robin).

As Robin explains, Kurds fear that they might get hurt if they show their identity. My interviewees' informed me that Kurds are being killed in public places for speaking Kurdish with one another. When I first met Roni, during my field trip, he told me that a father was killed, three days before, for being Kurdish and for speaking Kurdish with his son. A similar situation happened when I first met Heval. Hence, a majority of my participants emanate from the same event which can be seen in the quote below:

For example, for just a few days ago, a father was killed in Sakarya because he said that he was Kurdish...Especially in these last three years we have these a lot. This is especially opened by the politicians, because every time they say that you know; Kurs are terrorist, Kurdish people are like this... Then ordinary Turkish people, begin to think that they are terrorist (Klara).

The quote above can explain that cultural violence, which arises from the media and the politicians, leads to an increase in structural and direct forms of violence towards the Kurdish 'out-group'. In this study, however, the interviewees show that cultural violence has increased in Turkey due to the peace collapse between PKK and the Turkish state, which ultimately causes the structural and direct forms of violence to exceed. Kurds are constantly being dismissed and rejected in work contexts and facing direct forms of violence, as seen in the quote below:

There are significant differences between Kurds and Turks. If an employer has fascist views, we don't get jobs. It's that simple. If you still hear people being beaten up and killed on the street for talking Kurdish, it's a big problem. The discrimination has become part of the Kurd's everyday life... Such violent acts come into our everyday life. We live in a dangerous situation, I work in a state institution and in the group I work with, I sometimes hear voices saying that: "She is Kurd, I cannot work with her" ... (Narin).

As Klara and Narin explain, the hatred towards the PKK has increased the anti-Kurdish attitudes in Turkey's social and political landscape. The relationship between Kurds and Turks has become worse due to these political circumstances, as seen in the comment below:

It has become worse. They do not tolerate each other anymore. The politics has caused people to distance themselves from each other. When Kurds and Turks meet, there are direct thoughts about politics and terror (Heval).

As Heval explains, the hatred between the two groups make reconciliation seem far from near. As such, the next section will discuss how they narrate their conflict understanding in relation to intergroup contact theory and resolution.

6.3 Intergroup Contact Theory and Possibilities Towards Resolution

However, many of my interviewees share the same point of view that effect of contact in intergroup environment, can help people to come closer and listen to one another's stories and thereby prevent hostilities and decrease prejudice towards people of a certain social identity as discussed by Allport (1954), Lederach (1997) and Funk (2013), as seen in the quote below:

For instance, when I studied at university, I had a friend from Ankara and another from Konya, and we talked to each other. I wanted to know their experiences and opinions about Kurds. I told them that I was from a city called Denizli. We talked and they started to speak about their opinions about Kurdish people. The discussion became harsher and their opinions about Kurds became harsher. It annoyed me and at last, I could not take it anymore and I told them I was from Diyarbakir and you were talking bullshit about Kurds... It is the fact that we have to know who are the Kurds and who are the Turks. We have to listen to each other and know each other. When I said this, their answer, the thing that made me happy was "what we have been reading from the media, heard from our family and from our friends is like this". They had never known a Kurd before; I was the first Kurd they got to know. I have to understand them, and they have to understand me, and then we will come closer. In reality we are separate and we hate each other. Thus, if we listen and understand each other then we can live as brothers (Zacharias).

What Zacharias mentions here, is an important aspect when it comes to reconciliation according to John Paul Lederach. He argues that reconciliation relies on the restoration and rebuilding of relationships. He indicates that reconciliation is not about seeking to minimize conflicting groups' affiliations, but instead is built on mechanisms that engage the sides of a conflict with each other as humans in relationship (Lederach, 1997:24). As such, by acknowledgement through hearing one another's stories validates experiences and feelings which is essential when it comes to reconciliation between different social groups.

Additionally, Allport's (1954b: 9) theory about prejudice in in-group and out-group environments can also be connected to what Zacharias is experiencing. For example, a prejudiced person may argue that they have enough information of "the other" to know how that person is, thus basing their personal views on a few people and generalize the whole group with a shared identity. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that the prejudiced person is having direct contact with the person or group they are acting prejudiced towards as explained by Zacharias. Zacharias shows that his Turkish friends' judgments are based on someone else's perception of the person or the group as a whole as argued by Allport (1979).

Nevertheless, the participants explain that contact with the Turkish in-group helps the in-group change their perception of the out-group. Especially, when Turks come to the Kurdish cities, they are positively surprised by the Kurdish hospitality and interpret that the media is not showing the right images of the Kurds.

However, on the contrary, the findings also indicate that in-group and out-group contact in the West of Turkey does not necessarily change the in-group's attitudes and perceptions of the out-group, as seen in the comment below:

When I lived in Izmir, I had many Turkish friends. When something happened between the Kurds and the Turkish state, and when they learned about the media, they start to remind me about it and become suspicious of me. I was subjected to ill treatment. They point us as guilty. They are not honest. Their attitudes, ended our friendship (Robin).

What Robin is experiencing can be connected to Allport's (1979:6-7) discussion of prejudice and discrimination. In this case, a negative prejudice is a threatening picture of the person, just because the person belongs to that group, which thus eventually leads to discrimination.

Also, a majority of the interviewees seems to be convinced that Kurdish people do not act prejudiced towards Turks. This connects to Tajfel and Turner's (1986:14-16) process of social comparison and about distorted self-images of in-groups and out-groups. As argued by Abrams and Hogg (2011), when social comparison occurs, people are particularly motivated to see their group as positive and distinct from other groups, since it helps to maintain one's positive self-esteem and coherence of one's self-image. Klara for instance explained to me that it is sometimes hard to criticize one's own movement.

In addition, the Kurds, are represented as socialist, humanist and peaceful people compare to Turks who are viewed as nationalist and fascists, as seen in the quote below:

From the Kurdish side I do not see any discrimination or fascists thoughts, honestly. We are more embraced and, peaceful and have a lot of love (Narin).

As the above quote show, when comparing one's own group with members of other groups, prejudice is thus created. This can be linked to Tajfel and Turner (1986:18) and Allport's (1954b: 29-32) discussion about groups' tendencies to observe the negative characteristics of members of other groups in an effort to show loyalty towards their own group. Therefore, people can justify socially obtained positions in society and argue that 'we' are better than 'them' which increases the group's positive self-esteem (Pettersen, 2009:460). As such, most of the participants are generalizing the Turkish people with negative characteristics even though they have only met a few. As mentioned earlier, generalizing a whole group with such qualities, can lead to biased judgments and prejudice towards people with a Turkish identity. Allport (1954b: 27), stresses that this is due to human's tendency to categorize and generalize and thereby not pay attention to individual differences, and rather understand them in the bases of the opposed category. This can explain why the interviewees act in the way they do during in-group and out-group comparison to determine who they are and be able to recognize differences between Turks and Kurds.

7. Conclusion

This chapter concludes the thesis by relating the findings of the analysis to the main research question, examining how the Kurdish community in Turkey narrate their conflict understanding between Kurds and Turks. The first section concludes a discussion of the findings of the participant's conflict understanding in relation to their Kurdish identity, which includes their attitudes, opinions, perspectives and experiences in an intergroup environment. The second section will give the reader a critical reflection of the study and its findings, as well as the ethical implication of the study. In the end, future research will be discussed in relation to the rich data and information that was collected during the field work.

7.1 Findings and Discussion

This section provides a discussion and a conclusion of how the Kurdish participants narrate their conflict understanding between Kurds and Turks in the Turkish social and political landscape. By using Oral History as a research design, through collaborative research, the paper is able to explain the Kurdish interviewees' feelings and experiences in an intergroup environment. The semi-structured questions included questions about ethnic background therefore, I relied on individual self-identification to measure ethnic origin as proposed by Sarigil (2018). The questions were asked based on their life experiences, including; Their attitudes, behaviors, opinions, perspectives, understandings, beliefs and memories of events in an intergroup environment. In this study, I used a thematic analysis to analyze the interview material. The analyzed interviews show that the participants' conflict understanding between Kurds and Turks is linked to Tajfel and Turner's (1986) theory on social identities and Allport's (1979) theory of in-groups and out-group and the discriminatory behavior that could follow from the creation of in-groups and out-groups.

The findings indicate that the participants use group formation in order to determine who they are and recognize differences between the two groups. The Kurdish participants view

themselves as the “out-group” compared to Turks who they view as the “in-group”. The participants experience shared feelings of prejudice, and discrimination due to the out-group formation. They view Turks as a separate ethnic group who have different cultural beliefs and celebrate traditions differently compared to Kurds. The Turks are the first class-citizens who gain social privileges for belonging to that group. The Kurds are, however, the second-class citizens who face different forms of discrimination due to the group formation. This can be linked to Allport’s (1954b) discussion of in-groups’ tendencies to act prejudiced towards other out-groups, which eventually leads to different forms of discrimination.

Additionally, they narrate their conflict understanding by expressing negative attitudes towards the Turkish state. They feel that the Turkish state is responsible for the in-group and out-group formation. As such, the Kurds are not officially recognized as a minority group in Turkey. They have been denied certain political rights, for instance, publishing, teaching and broadcasting in their language. The findings indicate that the State’s policies of denial and assimilation, causes the participants to feel oppressed and marginalized in the Turkish social and political landscape.

What the interviewees shared were feelings of cultural violence due to them being affiliated with a “terrorist” label because of their Kurdish identity. According to Galtung (1990), cultural violence is when a harmful label is put on a specific culture, this legitimizes direct and structural violence, and may be exemplified by religion and ideology or language and art. The findings indicate that the cultural violence and enemy images towards people with a Kurdish identity has particularly grown since the peace process collapsed between the Turkish state and the PKK. The language the politicians are using in the media leads to hostilities towards people with a Kurdish identity which exceed to structural and direct forms of violence towards the Kurdish out-group. The participants conflict understanding can be linked to Steiner’s (2012), Keen’s (1987), Zur’s (1991) and Bahador’s (2012) perception of enemy images in war propaganda. When a state enters a war, the mass media is believed to be essential in mobilizing the public, by manipulating the larger population through ethnic scapegoating against a particular out-group.

Furthermore, a majority of the participants expresses that during intergroup contact, they feel as though Turks do not want to be affiliated with Kurds due to the preexisting stereotypes. Their experiences of prejudice from the Turks is a form of ‘othering’ which causes the Kurds to be viewed as the enemy. The out-group is ascribed as a terrorist with a Kurdish identity in the

media and therefore are viewed as radically different from the in-group as discussed by Steiner (2012:213). Eventually, this causes the Kurdish outgroup to feel marginalized where they share experiences of structural violence when applying for different employment opportunities due to their Kurdish identity. In this case, the cultural violence extends to structural violence. Additionally, the findings indicate that the cultural and structural violence that the interviewees are experiencing leads to direct violence. They explain that Kurds are being killed in public places for speaking Kurdish with one another.

The findings also indicate that during in-group and out-group comparison, people are particularly motivated to see their group as positive and distinct from other groups as argued by Abrams and Hogg (2011). They categorize the two groups that distinguish certain behaviors and a majority of the participants views Turks as more negative compared to themselves. The Kurds, are represented as socialist, humanist and peaceful people compared to Turks who are viewed as nationalist and fascists. This connects to Tajfel and Turner's (1986) theory about groups' tendency to observe the negative characteristics of members of other groups in an effort to show loyalty towards their own group and hence increase one's personal self-esteem.

Regarding reconciliation, the participants both highlight that they do and do not believe in reconciliation between the two groups. The intensified battles between PKK and the Turkish state has consequently caused a negative effect on the relationship between Kurds and Turks, and most of the participants feel as peace is far from near. On the other hand, the participants highlight that intergroup contact changes the in-group's perception of the out-group when the out-group is located in the South-East of Turkey, where the out-group' is in the majority.

7.2 Critical Reflection and Future Research

As the findings show, Kurdish people narrate their conflict understanding through intergroup comparison, therefore, to conclude, Turkish identities conflict narrations and experiences would strengthen the purpose in understanding the conflict from both sides. This is necessary in order to achieve sustainable peace, as argued by Lederach (1997) and to be able to develop new resolution theories and prevent future conflict. Due to the short time limit, I was only able to provide this thesis with perspectives from the Kurdish identities. This thesis analyzes Kurdish people's conflict experience in relation to their Kurdish identity, this is a limitation of the study,

as Kurdish people are not a homogenous group. There are several layers of identities within the Kurdish population. For instance, one of my interviewees in this study is Kurdish and Alevi. Thus, she experiences an intersection of oppression by being both Kurdish and also through belonging to a religious minority. As the findings indicate, people with a different opinion or identity to the government, are deeply silenced in today's Turkey. This includes, not only Kurdish identities but Turkish identities as well. The findings, however, contribute to filling the gap in research regarding the relationship between conflict and Kurdish identities in the Turkish political landscape and contributes to peacebuilding from a bottom-up approach as proposed by Lederach (1997) and Bergh and Sloboda (2010).

For future research, I propose studying the conflict understandings on participants who identify themselves with several social identities. For instance, examining the intersection of oppression of women who belong to a religious or/ and an ethnic minority. This direction suggests the argument that marginalized individuals usually are subordinated for many different reasons not particularly by one. Yet, the dataset analyzed in this study, signify merely a part of the produced material. Given the word limit and necessity for a focused study, I could not include all the various themes and subthemes that emerged during the data generating process.

8. References

- Abrams, Dominic & Hogg, Michael A. (2001), *Intergroup Relations*. Routledge. Psychology Press Ltd.
- Akin Unver, H (2015), *Turkey's Kurdish Question: Discourse & Politics Since 1990*. Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics. 1 edition.
- Allport, Gordon. Willard. (1954a), *Comments on J. L. Moreno, Transference, counter transference, and tele: their relation to group research and group psychotherapy*. Group Psychotherapy, 7. (pp.307-308).
- Allport, Gordon. Willard. (1954b), *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley
- Allport, G. W. (1979). *The Nature of Prejudice, 25th Anniversary edn*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company
- Aydin, Aysegul & Emrence, Cem (2015), *Zones of rebellion, Kurdish insurgents and the Turkish state*. Cornell University Press. Ithaca and London.
- Babak, Bahador (2012), *Rehumanizing Enemy images: Media framing from War to Peace*, chapter 8.
- Barkey, J. Henri and Fuller, Graham E (1998), *Turkey's Kurdish Question*. Carnegie commission on preventing deadly conflict. Carnegie corporation of New York. Rowman & Littlefield publishers, inc.
- Barkey, Henri. J and Fuller, Graham E. (1997), *Turkey's Kurdish Question: Critical Turning Points and Missed Opportunities*. Published by: Middle East Institute. *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Winter 1997), pp. 59-79
- Bergh, Arild & Sloboda, John (2010), *Music and art in conflict transformation: A Review*. Vol 2. No 2. University of Exeter UK. Oxford Research Group UK.
- Beardsworth, A. and T.Keil. (1992), *The vegetarian option: Varieties, conversions, motives and careers*. Sociological review, 40, (pp. 253-293).
- Bilgin, Fevzi and Sarıhan, Ali (2013), *Understanding Turkey's Kurdish Question*. Bublished by: Lexington Books.
- Blackmon, D. A. (2008), *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

- Brabant, Van K. Interpeace. (2010), what is peacebuilding? Significantly different perspectives on Peacebuilding. (pp. 1-9).
- Bora, T. (2003), Nationalist discourses in Turkey. *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Vol, 102. No.2-3, pp. 433-451.
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006), Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2). Pp. 77-101. ISSN
- Bryman, A. (2008), *Social Research Methods*. Third edition. Oxford University Press.
- Burchell, G., Gordon, C., and Miller, P. (1991), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Carvalho, Roy. J (1993), *Gordon W. Allport on the nature of prejudice*. *Psychological Reports*, 1993, 72, pp. 299-308. History Department. University of North Texas.
- Carr, M. (2006), *The Infernal Machine: A history of Terrorism from the Assassination of Tsar Alexander II to Al-Qaeda*. New York Press.
- Chailand, G. and Blind, A. (2007), *The history of terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chambliss, D.F., and Schutt, Russell, K. (2016), *Makin Sense of the Social World*. Fifth edition. Sage publications.
- Chomsky, N. (2002), Who are the global terrorists? In K.Booth and T.Dunne (eds) *Worlds in Collission: Terror and the future of Global Order*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 128-138.
- Conteh-Morgan, Earl (2005), Peacebuilding and human security: A constructivist perspective. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 10, N. 1. Spring/Summer. Pp. 69-86.
- Creswell, W. John (2014),” *Research Design, Qualitative Quantitative and Mixed method approaches*. Sage publications.
- Creswell, W. John (2007), *Qualitative inquiry & research design. Choosing Among Five Approaches*. 2nd edition. Sage Publications.
- DCAF, Backgrounder. Security Sector Governance and Reform (2005), *States of Emergency*. pp. 1-5.
- Deringil, Selim (1993), The Ottoman Origin of Kemalist Nationalism: Namik Kemal to Mustafa Kemal. Vol 23. Issue 2.
- Dovidio, J. F., Eller, A., & Hewstone, M. (2011), *Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of indirect contact*. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*. Vol, 14, no.2, (pp. 147–160).

- Funk, Julianne (2013), "Towards an identity theory of peacebuilding". CRPD Working paper No. 15.
- Freedman, D., Thussu Kishan, D. (2012), *Media & Terrorism: Global Perspective*. Sage Publications Inc.
- Güvenç, Bozkurt. (1998), "*Secular Trends and Turkish Identity*" in *Perceptions, Journal of International Affairs*, vol II, no. 4, December. 1997- February. 1998, p 1-3
- Galtung, Johan. (1990), "Cultural violence". *Journal of peace research*, Vol. 27, No.3. (Aug., 1990), pp. 291-305. Sage publications.
- Galtung, Johan. (1996), *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. International Peace Research Oslo. Sage Publications.
- Galtung, Johan and Fischer, Dietrich (2013), "Johan Galtung Pioneer of Peace Research". *SpringerBriefs on Pioneers in Science and Practise*. Volume 5. Springer
- Hakyemez, Serra (2017), *Turkey's Failed process with the Kurds: A different explanation*. Crown Center for Middle East Studies. June 2017, No.111
- Harle, Vilho. (2000), "*The enemy of a thousand faces: the tradition of the other in western political thought and history*". Library of Congress Catalog Card Number. Praeger Publisher, Westport Connecticut, London.
- Hoffman, B. (2006), *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia Press.
- Holmbäck, G. and Wallenstein, Sven-Olov (2014), *Michael Foucault: Biopolitikens födelse*. Collège de France 1978-1979. Tankekraft förlag.
- Human Rights Watch. (2017), *World report, 2017. Turkey, events of 2016*. January 2017. pp. 1-8
- Human Rights Watch. (2019), *World report 2019. Turkey, events of 2018*. January 2019. pp, 1-8.
- Karlsson, I. (2017), *Inga vänner utom bergen*, Scandbook, Falun AB.
- Keen, Sam (1987), *Faces of the enemy*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Kelman, Herbert C. (2004), *Reconciliation as Identity Change: A Social-Psychological Perspective*. In *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*. Yaacov Bar-SimanTov (editor). Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004. (pp. 111-124).
- Klein, Galit., Shtudiner, Zeev., Kantor, Jeffrey., Mollov, Ben and Laive, Chaim. (2018), *Contact theory in the workplace: The case of Jewish-Arab contact in Israel*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, (pp. 146-164).

- Koschut, Simon. (2018), *No sympathy for the devil: Emotions and the social construction of the democratic peace*. Sage. Vol. 53 (3). pp. 320-338.
- Law, R. (2009), *Terrorism: A History*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Lederach, John Paul. (1997), "Building Peace. Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies". Washington DC. United states institute of peace press. First published 1997, printed 2013.
- Leavy, Patricia (2011), *Oral history: Understanding Qualitative Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lippmann, Walter. (1922), *Public opinion*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lynch, J. and McGoldrick, A. (2005), *Peace Journalism*. Hawthorn Press, Hawthorn House. UK.
- Mania, Eric.W & Gaertner, Samuel I. & Riek, Blake M. & Dovidio, John F. & Lamoreaux, Marika J. & Direso, Stacy A. (2009). "*Intergroup contact: Implications for peace Education*" Handbook on peace education. Psychology Press, Hoboken. (pp.87-102)
- Morris, M.W., Leung, K., Ames, D., and Lickel, B. (1999), Views from inside and outside: Integrating Emic and Etic insights about culture justice judgment. *Academy of Management Review*. Vol, 24. No, 4, pp.781-796).
- Newman, Leonard. S. (2009), *Was Walter Lippmann interested in Stereotyping?: Public opinion and Cognitive Social Psychology*. American Psychological Association. Vol. 12, No. 1. (pp. 7-18).
- Petterson, Bo (2009), "*hot conflict and everyday banality: Enemy images, scapegoats and stereotypes*". Society for international development. (pp. 460-565)
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006), *A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory*. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Vol, 90, No, 5. (pp.751–781).
- Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., and Christ, O. (2011), *Recent advances in intergroup contact theory*. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Vol, 35(3), (pp. 271–280).
- Rubin B., and Rubin, J. (2008), *Chronologies of Modern Terrorism*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Said, Edward W. (1997), *Orientalism*, London: Penguin books.
- Sarigil, Zeki. (2018), *Ethnic and Religious Prejudice in the Turkish Social Landscape*. Department of Political Science, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Sarigil, Zeki and Karakoc, Ekrem. (2017), *Inter-ethnic (In)tolerance between Turks and Kurds: Implications for Turkish Democratisation*. *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 22, no.2, (pp. 197-216). Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

- Saracoglu, C. (2009), *Exclusive recognition. The new dimensions of the question of ethnicity and nationalism in Turkey*. Ethnic and Racial studies. Vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 640-658.
- Steiner, Kristian. (2010), *Vem är min nästa? Bilden av islam och muslimer i den kristna nyhetstidningen Världen idag*. Swedish Science Press: Uppsala
- Steiner, Kristian (2012), “*The Image of Islam and Muslims in Swedish Radical Christian Press*”. Department of global political studies. Journal of Religion in Europe 5. (pp. 192-222).
- Oppenheimer, Louise (2006), “*The Development of Enemy Images: A Theoretical Contribution*”. Department of Psychology, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. pp. 269-292.
- OHCHR, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2018), *Report on the impact of the state of emergency on Human rights in Turkey, including an update in the South-East*. January – December 2017. Published: March 2018. pp. 1-29
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. (1986), *The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour*. In Worchel, S and Austin, W.G (editors), *Psychology of intergroup relations*. 2nd edition. (pp 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Turner, J. C, Brown, R. J., and Tajfel, H. (1979). Social comparison and group interest in in-group favouritism. *European Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol 9. (pp.187-204).
- Taspinar, Omer (2005), *Kurdish Nationalism and Political Islam in Turkey. Kemalist identity in Transition*. Middle east studies. History, Politics and Law. New York and London: Routledge.
- Toksabay, Ece and Tuvan Gumrukcu, (2018) *Former head of Turkey pro-Kurdish party sentenced to 4 years in prison or terrorist propaganda: CNN Turk*. Reuters, sep, 2018.
- U.S. Department of State (2019), “*State Department Maintains Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) Designation of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)*”. March 1. Washington DC
- Vezzali, L., Hewstone, M., Capozza, D., Trifiletti, E., & Bernardo, G. A. D. (2017), *Improving intergroup relations with extended contact among young children: Mediation by intergroup empathy and moderation by direct intergroup contact*. Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology. Vol, 27. No.1.
- Yegen, M. (2009), *Prospective-Turks ‘or’ pseudo-citizens: Kurds in Turkey*. The Middle East Journal, Vol. 63, no. 4, pp. 597-615.
- Zur, Offer. (1991), *The love of Hating: The Psychology of Enmity*. History of European Ideas. Vol. 13. No. 4 (pp. 345-369). Printed in Great Britain.

9. Appendices

9.1 Interview Questions

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?
2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?
3. Why does it make you feel that way?
4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?
5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?
6. How did you learn?
7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?
8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?
9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?
10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?
11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?
12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?
13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?
14. Is there any difference between Kurds in difference cities of Turkey?
15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?
16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?
18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?
19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?
20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?
21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?
22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?
23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?
24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?
25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?
26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?
27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?
28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?
29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?
30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?
31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?
32. Do you witness any difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?
33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thoughts about it?

9.2

Interviewees

(1). Interview, David

My name is ... and I am 60 years old. I am born and raised in the city Konya. I don't have a hobby, I'm a farmer. I am a Kurd.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

Me as an individual feel oppressed.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

The reason that I feel oppressed is because the Turkish state has never done anything that makes me feel belonged in this society.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

According to me, to be a Kurd means that you are as any other human being. But this Turkish regime has never accepted me as a worthy citizen.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I speak both Kurdish and Turkish.

6. How did you learn?

Kurdish is my mother tongue and I learned Turkish with force in school.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

Of course it is important to learn Kurdish because it is my mother tongue, I learned from my mother, from my village and from the surroundings. Kurdish is the language of my life.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

For many years we didn't dare to show our Kurdish identity. Because we were much oppressed by the state.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

Of course, like any other language and culture, we also have the rights to keep and develop our language and culture. Our language and culture is not less worth than all the other languages and cultures.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

If one denies their Kurdish identity and says that they are Turk, one could actually come somewhere. You don't have the opportunity to come somewhere with your Kurdish identity. If you want to keep your Kurdish identity then everything comes to an end.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

This is a broad question. The Kurdish living standards are much lower, much under the Turkish average standards. Especially the unemployment is much higher among the Kurdish population. No investments are made in the Kurdish areas. This state, it notices the Kurds as second class citizens.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

Unfortunately, I want to say no. There is no Kurdish in this country. Neither in the education system or in the culture. Nothing that is Kurdish is granted. As I explained, if one denies their Kurdish identity and considers themselves as a Turk, maybe that person has a chance, but as a Kurd, all the roads are closed. The Kurds are not represented anywhere. There is a parliament where we have some representatives.

In today's turkey, if one says they are Kurdish, either they end up in prison or you get tortured or harassed.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

The old generation, especially our parents, they escaped from the Kurdish even though they didn't speak Turkish. They used to say to us that we are Turks, but we were not Turks. We didn't even know Turkish. But the young generation wants to assert their rights and keep their identity.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles has changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

As like all other ethnic groups, the younger generation is interested of new things. The old generation is a little conservative, and wants to keep the old values. The new generation is in transformation.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

Of course, I feel and see myself as a Kurd.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

This question is a little problematic in Turkey. When the name PKK is brought up,, the Turkish people are seeing them as a ghost. Our older generation sympathize deep down, but because of the state's atrocities, they want us to take distance from them. One can give their support but not show it openly.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

The communication and IT has developed a lot. The young generation is using it effectively. The old generation cannot make use of it. The young generation are more engaged In today's development.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

I think that it is very positive. Not only Turks and Kurds, even other ethnicities can live side by side in peace. That gives safety and prosperity in the Turkish society.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

Of course, we are raised in Turkey, that is why we have some Turkish friends. But we avoid talking about political questions. We have a difficulty in understanding each other regarding political questions.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

Of course, as all other ethnicities, I like Turks also. We don't have anything against the Turkish people. We have lived with the Turkish people in peace and we want to continue to live with them.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labour market etc.?

There is discrimination among different ethnic groups. The Turks are the first class citizens. The Kurds are the second class citizens. There is no school's in Kurdish. Kurdish is only spoken in limited areas. The Turkish language and the literature is well developed, but Kurdish is under a hard pressure and has problems to survive.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

A Kurd cannot defend themselves by talking Kurdish in courts. Turkish is obligatory. If someone can't speak Turkish, then an interpreter is hired and one get interrogated. Then, the Kurdish language is not mentioned, instead an unknown language is being said. That is how much the Kurdish language is oppressed.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

Turkish and Kurdish people are not fighting each other. The Kurds has problems with the Turkish system. The system is oppressing the Kurdish people not the Turkish people.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

No, I don't see any differences. Nationalist exists, but we don't have contact with them. Otherwise, other's respect Kurds.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

There is a government. This government is always dividing the population in two groups and use them against each other. The ones that is supporting the system together with the government is oppressing other groups. They have the police and military support behind them and are oppressing the people.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

30. What would you have though if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

I have no problems with them. My children do their own choices.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

It happens. It depends on the system. Some, they feel close to the system, get support from it and uses it to oppress others.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

As I mentioned earlier also. The state is denying Kurds. The Kurdish population feels the oppression. We all are experiencing it on the streets, at the market and so on.

33. Can you explain from your own perspective why people go to the mountains to fight?

(2). Interview, Malin

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I'm a women and I'm 35 years old and comes from Konya, and I also have education from university.

2. How do you feel about being a Kurd in Turkey?

I feel good as a Kurd in Turkey. But I experience certain problems because of my Kurdish identity.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

I can't use my mother tongue freely. In state and municipal authorities, I may not use my language. I don't have a big opportunity to exert my culture, It is limited within the family. And because of that I have difficulties.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

To be Kurdish according to me is to live with all my Kurdish values, my mother tongue, for example to go to Kurdish schools and to get education there. All of this matters, to be Kurdish. But we don't have those opportunities now in turkey.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can both Kurdish and Turkish

6. How did you learn?

Kurdish is my mother tongue. I learned home, from my parents. When I started school at the age of seven, I learned Turkish.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

According to me it is important to learn Kurdish, to be able to communicate with my relatives and my surrounding. The language is important.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

When I present myself with my Kurdish identity, I am treated with much prejudice and stereotypes. People ask with surprise, are you Kurdish? Why are you not Turkish?

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

I think it is very important to keep and develop the Kurdish culture, in turn transfer it to the next generation. Up until now, the older generation has succeeded in transferring the Kurdish values to the young generation. But we are having it hard in transferring it to the next generation.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

Due to the conflict between the Turkish state, Kurds hasn't had it easy to live with their ethnic identity. We are experiencing a lot of problems. Both in the system and in the society. Kurds have a hard time economically and culturally.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

According to me, we Kurdish people want to live in Turkey with our Kurdish values. They are trying to do that as much as possible. Kurds are continuing with their studies, they exist in the labor market. I can say in particular that women together with the new Kurdish generation are working intensively in the new life and in the labor market.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

At the moment there is no parliament or authority that represent Kurds in Turkey. There is only one party that we think represents Kurds. There is HDP that has received huge difficulties from the state. People wants to be gathered around this party.

Other than that, Kurds doesn't have anything that represents Kurds.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

According to me, it exists. Especially the Kurdish language, our mother tongue. It is important to be able to express yourself, to be part of our culture and values that we have

grown up with. We also want to live with our language and culture like all other ethnic groups. We are not worth lesser than Turks in Turkey.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

There are surely differences. The older generation haven't had possibilities to educate themselves. They don't use IT as well, therefore there is important differences between the older and the younger generations. There is differences both socially, politically and lifestyle.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

Yes, it exists huge differences in living standards. IT has arrived in the young generations lives. There are vast differences in their mind-set. The older generation has old values. They have some feudal values. They have got them from their ancestors, and do not want to change that and live with it.

The young generation are more curious and searching. They have brought IT into their lives. There are differences in lifestyle and way of thinking between the generations.

I am much happy about getting Kurdish values from my parents. There are valuable values that we have received from them. But if you ask me, if you accept all of that? No, there is some that I don't accept, and think is wrong.

The Kurds has spread all over Turkey. It is not given opportunity to keep the Kurdish culture and to exercise it. Assimilation is underway and has become reality.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I identify myself as Kurdish and have never doubt that.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

I am 35 years old. In 30 years, we have felt that there is a conflict and collisions between Kurds and the Turkish state. Our older generation wanted to protect us from this conflict. They don't want to confront with the Turkish state. Us Kurds that lives in Konya, our parents wanted us to stay away from this conflict. They warned us that we should not openly say that we are Kurdish, to not start any problems for ourselves. They wanted to save us from the police and the authorities, otherwise one could get in trouble and also be killed.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

The young generation has more thoughts and opinions. I can say that the older generation has a softer political views towards Turks than the younger generation, that has a more radical political view to solve the Kurdish question with the Turkish state. They are more active in political questions.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

We study at the same schools. There in not really a serious conflict between the Kurdish people and the Turkish people. Both can live in peace, side by side. In Turkey, the biggest problem is between Kurds and the State. This leads to a slow fragmentation in the society between Kurds and Turks.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

Yes, I have. During my university studies, I had plenty good Turkish friends. We share everything about life. We don't have different opinions about racism or discrimination of ethnic groups.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

I like Turkish people and we live together and share everything. If you ask me, if I like the Turkish state? I say no.

23. What is you experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

Yes, there are differences.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

I don't see any differences as humans or in lifestyles. But in Turkey, differences are created between Turks and Kurds in the labor market. This leads to Kurds having more difficult living conditions in the society. There are class-differences and injustice. For example, I have university education, but because of my Kurdish identity I do not get any employment in state agency. We Kurds are constantly experiencing such treatments, in government agencies, justice-system, police, hospital, schools, etc. When you say, I am Kurd or where you live, when your Kurdish identity become known, you are treated unfairly. You are being questioned, you are treated as a second class citizens. As I mentioned earlier, Kurds have no problems with the Turkish people. The problem is with the system and the Turkish state. They still don't accept the existence of Kurds, even though there is 30 million Kurds in Turkey.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

Yes, I experience problems because of my Kurdish identity. I am highly educated, even though I pass the necessary entrance tests, I do not get any employment in any authority. I experienced it in the education and in other authorities.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

This affects us negatively. It makes our lives difficult because we are Kurds and born as Kurds, we are treated badly as second-class citizens. This complicates our lives with the system and the state.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

I think that where I live in Konya, Ankara and in Istanbul, or in other Turkish cities, there is no big difference between Turks, because they have it better.

But when it comes to Kurds, there exists big differences, depending on where you live in Konya, Diyarbakir or Hakkari, regarding lifestyle, quality of life, education and health etc.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

Today, the relationship between Kurds and Turks are intense. The current policy is resulting in ethnicities fighting each other and comes in conflict with each other, as the people become more politicized, especially Kurds. Their life area and mobility is limited. Nowadays, the Kurds find it very difficult in Turkey.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

There have been tensions between Kurds and Turks for 30 years. You don't have so much patience with each other anymore. Recently, the tensions have become more apparent. This makes it difficult for Kurds.

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

I don't have any problems with that. The importance is to be a good human. I was raised this way. For me it's no problem to belong with a Kurd, Turk or another ethnic group, but exactly this is a serious problem in Turkey.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

There is discrimination against Kurds in Turkey. When they are told that you are Kurdish, you will be treated as if you were from another world.

There is a lot of prejudice. Without getting to know us, just because we are Kurds, they judge us. You know in school and in all other social environments.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

We are two different ethnic groups and have different cultural values. My private opinion is that we have similarities but are different ethnic groups. There are differences in the way of life, cultures and traditions. This enriches the community according to me. Kurds in Turkey are struggling to preserve and practice their cultural values.

(3). Interview, Zara

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I am a 20 years old women. I like to play guitar and party. I study and I am born and raised in the city Konya and I am Kurdish.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

To me, to be Kurdish is to be human. There is no difference. I just feel that way.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

In the end, I'm also a human being. I was born Kurdish. This is not a privilege or the opposite.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

For me, to be a Kurd is to speak Kurdish, to have a language, origin and ethnicity.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can speak both Kurdish and Turkish

6. How did you learn?

My mother tongue is Kurdish. I spoke only Kurdish until I was 5 years old. I learned Turkish in school and through television.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

It is absolutely important to know Kurdish, it is my mother tongue, and it is an important step of my Kurdish identity.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

The ones who know me are being very surprised when I present myself with my Kurdish identity, especially in the city of Konya.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It is absolutely important to keep and develop the Kurdish culture. As well as, all other ethnic groups, it is important to be able to take part in one's background, culture and history and also maintain one's history work.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

According to me, the Kurdish people are not liked. There is a lot of people among Turks that doesn't like Kurds. There is a lot of Turks that are racist. But I cannot say this for all Turks. There is good and bad Turks. But Kurds are not liked, I think.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

We have become assimilated in Turkey. According to me, everyone should live in peace. In this country, to be Kurdish, is considered less worthy.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

As I know, there is one political party in the parliament. Other than that, there is nothing that represent Kurds. They don't want us to speak Kurdish.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

According to me, to know the Kurdish language is important in order to know one's family, know one's origin and history. It is important criteria's.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in difference cities of Turkey?

There is absolutely differences, I think. I grew up in a village in Konya. If I were to grew up in for example the big city in Konya, were the majority is Turks, then I would be assimilated, received poor self-esteem and escaped from my origin. But if one were to live in the city of Diyarbakir, were the majority are Kurds and have the same origin, then it's no problem.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

The old generation in general, in my home town, has fled from Kurdish, by the fear of the state. They have avoided to learn their children Kurdish. They wanted to sympathize with Turks.

For the young generation, it is different. They do not see the privilege nor that its bad to speak Kurdish. That is why they don't hesitate to speak and express themselves in Kurdish.

The older generation has a fear of being harassed etc. that why they think so.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles has changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

I think that it has changed, the younger generation, unlike the old generation, dear to speak Kurdish and says that they are Kurdish. To talk Kurdish has caused major problems for the older generation before. Now the Kurds are considering themselves as an ethnic group like all other groups do.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I am Kurdish, and I feel like a Kurd, if someone asks me I say it without hesitating.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

Kurds don't have enough rights. The one's that can't speak Turkish doesn't have the opportunity to be questioned in Kurdish in the courts of the police. One hires a Kurdish interpreter. The authorities are angry because they cannot Turkish. In the media, all Kurds are regarded as terrorists. But that is absolutely not true. All Kurds are not terrorists or separatists.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

I am also young and I am a Kurd, I don't agree with that all kurds are terrorist and wants to separate Turkey. Some friends sees all Kurdish people as terrorists, then I break the contact with them.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

The school's that was reading in, was mixed with Turks and Kurds. I think that it's most natural that people with different backgrounds live together. But it should be on equal terms.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

I have plenty of Turkish friends in my class and in school. As long as one respects the other there is no problem, but some of them, when they learn that I am a Kurd, they start to take distance from me.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

Yes, I like them all, in the end everyone are humans.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labour market etc.?

Yes, I see differences absolutely, for example when you search for jobs, one gets questioned because of one's ethnic background. When they learn that you are Kurdish one doesn't get a job. Mostly, Turkish people are getting employed. There is unemployment among Kurds. In the west of Turkey, Kurdish people are prevented from being employed.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the juridical system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

I haven't experienced it, but I have heard about those that have experienced difficulties in the court of law. Because of the fact that they couldn't speak Turkish, they were not questioned. Were treated badly. They said to them, why can't you speak Turkish? Go and learn Turkish first, and then come back.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

I am especially afraid of not getting any jobs because I'm a Kurd. This is used as an obstruction against me. When I go to a job interview I try to avoid stating my Kurdish background. Then they do not regard me as a worthy human. There are racists among them. I am worried and careful. There are also Turkish nationalists in the school who can treat me unfairly. One of my friends, just because of his Kurdish identity, he was not approved by nationalist teachers.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

I don't think that it matters to live in different cities. The importance is to be a good human and not a nationalist. They can live in different cities.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

Politics is the absolute worst, but in the daily life, I don't have any problems with my Turkish friends. Politically, all Kurds are considered terrorists.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

Yes, there is, absolutely. I feel the tensions. When I declare my Kurdish identity sometimes among my friends, they start to talk politics, propagate and denounce Kurds as terrorists.

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

It's totally fine for me. I do not see any problems with that. It is rich if their children can learn two languages.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

It often occurs. There are prejudices against Kurds. Turks will always come first; the Kurds at second place. One can easily be denounced as a terrorist.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

I have humanistic views. There is no difference between people, we are all humans and there are no differences.

(4). Interview, Ronja

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

My name is ... and I'm from Konya and I'm Kurdish, and I study at university. I listen to music and go to the theatre.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

I feel happy right now. The reason why I feel that way...I don't think that one should make a difference between people because of their ethnic belonging, religion or language. All people deserve to be loved.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

I am not ashamed of my Kurdish identity, I love my people and I am proud over it.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

Kurds are also an ethnic group, all people are equally worthy, that's why I'm proud over to be Kurdish. Because of that, I'm happy.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can speak both speak Kurdish and Turkish.

6. How did you learn?

Kurdish is my mother tongue. I learned when...Turkish I learned when I was in school and in my surroundings. It is a language that I learned later.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

It is important for me to know the Kurdish language, Kurdish is my ethnic groups language, that's why it is important to know it.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

Mostly, they get surprised when i speak about my Kurdish identity. I feel that it is perceived negatively by the surrounding. But I don't want to discuss it further and make politics out of it.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

As long as one is developing the culture, it is important to keep and exercise it.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

It varies from one individual to another. But I experience that Kurds often are downgraded and discriminated.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

They have a normal life. They are used to live here. But they don't feel like they belong here, I think.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

It's just their language and their family, nothing else.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

The Kurdish language.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

There is differences, different dialects. I have sometimes a hard time understanding a Kurd that is from Diyarbakir when they speak Kurdish.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

There is a difference between the old and the young generation. The old generation have a weak self-esteem, according to me. I don't know if it's because of fear or something else. But the young generation stands up for themselves and fights for their rights.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles has changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

Yes, they want to protect and develop their rights. They have strong self-esteem and can represent themselves better.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I feel like a Kurd.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

The old generation always wanted their own state. I have heard their thoughts. Because they felt discriminated and they missed their rights, and also were treated badly.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

I think it's very positive to live side by side and love each other without making any differences between ethnicities, because of ethnicities or religion. According to me, the one that can manage this, is a mature human.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

I have Turkish friends. We speak Turkish and share everything with each other.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

I like Turks.

23. What is you experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

Yes, there is. Like I said earlier, the old generation hasn't had the opportunity to develop oneself. The young generation is developing, and has more self-esteem and self-confidence.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

Yes, there is. Despite, that one denies that it exists differences, one feels them. Especially, when one goes to the hospital and doesn't get enough help because they can't speak Turkish. If I couldn't speak Turkish, then I would have experienced it.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

No, I haven't experienced it, it can depend on that I can speak Turkish. If I couldn't Turkish, I could have experienced it.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

I am affected in a bad way. Because no one chooses their ethnicity. One gets it from God, that people make differences between groups, I don't like.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

I do not think you should compare. Every person has their own opinions.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

I think it's better now, because they have accepted the existence of the Kurds.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

It sometimes occurs between Turkish and Kurdish extremists. Therefore, they do not accept to live in the same country.

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

It is possible... we all are people why not? When you are happy.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

Yes, I experience it. When I first came here, to Ankara from the village, and lived in a student home, one of my friends said that in our home areas all Kurds are considered terrorists. I told them that all Kurds are not terrorists and all terrorists are not Kurds.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

There are differences. We have different language and cultures; this comes from our ancestors.

(5). Interview, Helin

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I am 26-year-old women, have university degree, born and raised in Diyarbakir. I work in the public sector. I am Kurdish.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

As a Kurd, I feel like a second class citizens. It has given me a low self-esteem, especially when I express myself.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

Because the ones that rule the country has a bad view on Kurds.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

To be Kurdish, according to me is the fact that I speak my mother tongue Kurdish. My parents and my ancestors are Kurdish and speaks Kurdish, and belongs to this country.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can speak Kurdish and Turkish.

6. How did you learn?

I learned Kurdish from my parents, I think, and Turkish I learned in school.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

I think, to know Kurdish is important because it is our mother tongue.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

Due to the fact that I live in Diyarbakir, I do not experience problems because the majority here are Kurdish. But when I present myself with my Kurdish identity in the West of Turkey I experience that some people react prejudice.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It is of course important to keep and develop the Kurdish culture. It doesn't just apply for Kurds, even for other ethnic groups. All ethnic groups language should be kept.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

According to me, Kurds are treated as second class citizens. Like they don't belong to this country. That you live in someone's else's country. I feel that way.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

They are not free, I think.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

There is one political party that represents Kurds and Turks. Other than that, there is nothing.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

Their language, culture and traditions.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

Yes, there is. Because, the one's that live in Diyarbakir, where Kurds are in majority, and the one's that live in West of Turkey, are treated differently. The one's that live in the West of Turkey has difficulties and are discriminated.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

There is absolutely differences between the old and the young generation. The young is started to become assimilated. The older generation still speaks Kurdish, but the younger generation unfortunately, rarely speak Kurdish.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles has changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

Of course it has changed. The world is IT world now. Everything has changed. With the change has everything become easier. When the reality looks like this and you live in a country that you feel is not yours. You realize that you are being assimilated.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I feel like both Kurdish and Turkish. I'm Kurdish because I speak Kurdish and my parents speak Kurdish. I feel like a Turk also, because I speak Turkish, unfortunately I express myself better in Turkish. I work as a Turkish living as a Turkish. I'm both.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

Several years ago, when the Kurdish conflict was huge, our parents experienced lots of difficulties. They had huge problems with the state. But we didn't experience so much.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

Unlike the old generation, the young generation is more assimilated. I will not answer this question, I will come back later.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

The only thing we want is to live together in peace, to go to the same schools without being discriminated. To be friends and continue the friendship.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

I have Turkish friends, but we avoid talking about current issues. We do not agree because Turks have definite opinions about the Kurdish question.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

I like the ones that doesn't discriminate us. The ones that discriminate, I don't like them.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

Honestly, I don't see any difference between the old and the young generations of Turks. Because the older is raising the younger ones. If they hadn't raised them like that, the young generation wouldn't have such determined and preconceived opinions about Kurds.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

I of course see it, first and foremost, we are not being accepted. Our ethnic affiliation, our language and from where our ancestors come from is not accepted in this country. We experience lots of problems, discrimination, class differences etc.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

I haven't experienced it myself. Because I live in a country where Kurds are in majority. The authority that I work in, everybody there are Kurds. Therefore, I haven't experienced any problems. I therefore feel very happy.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

Because of this conflict, we are worried for the future even for our children.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

Yes I think, the Kurds are in majority in Diyarbakir. I'm sure that every Turk has more Kurdish friends here, that's why they are different here than Turks in other Turkish cities.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

I don't see that it is worse now. I think that it is better now, with the exception of nationalists.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

Yes, of course, I experience it sometimes. We cannot ourselves do something about it, even if we want to. If Turks has soft attitudes and listens to us, then we can solve it.

30. What would you have though if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

I'm not against. Absolutely not. If I were against, I would be the same as them. I see it as something normal, that different ethnicities are marrying each other, and it should be that way. Then perhaps, we would solve all the problems.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

Yes, of course I feel it. Not Kurds against Turks, but the other way around, Turks against Kurds, there is discrimination. For example, when a Turk is coming as a guest to us in Diyarbakir, we give everything, so that they will be satisfied, but when we go to Turkish cities, we experience discrimination. Through how they look at us, and different behaviors.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

Yes, I experience it. There is a lot of differences, for example how one is being raised, and we have different cultural backgrounds. I feel it.

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thoughts about it?

The reason behind it, is that Kurds want to use their language, they want to live in their own country, with their Kurdish identity. The one that goes to the mountain to fight, wants their identity, their language. I understand that question is about the Kurdish identity, I think.

(6). Interview, Alan

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I am 32 years old. I like to sport and travel...and I like to read books. I am from Diyarbakir and I live in Diyarbakir, and I also like my city.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

I don't feel safe as a Kurd in Turkey. I don't think that I have the rights to say what I think.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

I have experienced it, that's why I say it.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

To be a Kurd, according to me is to speak Kurdish with their closest and their loved ones, and to live in their geography.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can speak both Kurdish and Turkish.

6. How did you learn?

Kurdish, I learned from my family, first and foremost from my mother. Turkish I learned in school and from the surroundings.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

For me it is important to speak Kurdish because it is my mother tongue.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

When I present myself with my Kurdish identity, people back two steps away from me, like I would eat them, hurt them.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It is important for me to maintain the Kurdish culture. Because I've got it from my parents. I want to pass it on to my children. If I and others do not do this, Kurds disappear from the map.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

According to me, it doesn't look good for Kurds in Turkey. They have no rights. They must not bring forward and express themselves, and fight for it.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

According to me, Kurds have much difficulties, if you compare with others, because they do not have any security. You may get in trouble, just because you have a Kurdish identity. A few years ago, we could celebrate the Kurdish national day, Newroz. Many people came from different Kurdish cities, even from Europe and other countries. But because of threats and attacks from security forces, people don't dare to celebrate together anymore.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

Our language, culture and traditions.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in difference cities of Turkey?

Of course, there is differences between Kurds. The ones that live here in majority can exercise our culture and traditions and talk our language, but the ones that live in the West of Turkey are in minority, and can't exercise their culture and traditions. They easily get assimilated. That's why one sees clear differences.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

According to me, there are clear differences between the old and the young generation. The old generation had respect and love and managed to stay together.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

The young generation are missing respect and love. They have departed from the Kurdish values. Due to the repression of the Kurdish language and culture, the young generation cannot speak Kurdish well. This affects their language learning in a negative way. The Kurdish language culture is disappearing.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

When I did my military service, my mother called, because she couldn't speak Turkish I spoke Kurdish with her, but they didn't allow. They said I must speak Turkish, then I said she can't Turkish, talk to your dad instead they said! When I said he also can't Turkish, they said I can talk to my uncle instead, but he can't even talk either, then talk to your aunt. Finally, they said that I should not speak Kurdish.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

We have not made any difference between Kurds and Turks. We will not do it either. We have always wanted to live together as a family. For us, it has not been a problem to go to the same school and university. We have always agreed.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

Of course I have Turkish friends and I share a lot with them. We have no problems with that. But there are people who do not think like us, both Kurds and Turks. We want them to change their perceptions in the future.

...

The Turks who live here in Diyarbakir are starting to get to know our culture and traditions, they are positively affected and leaves the prejudices they had against us Kurds.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

I do not see any differences. Both in the media and the ones that doesn't know us, they continue with their prejudice.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

I do not see it as a problem. If they themselves decide and get along, it's all right. Discrimination occurs from us because of ethnicity and religion.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

They still have prejudice against us Kurds, but as I said earlier, when they start to get to know us, their prejudice disappears.

(7). Interview, Robin

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I am 35 years old, and I am from Diyarbakir and live in Diyarbakir. I am married and have a son that is named ..., I play tennis, paint and likes all sports, and like to travel. I like life. And I like myself also. I have education from University. I worked for 8 years in the city of Izmir. I worked in Istanbul at a Hospital. I did my military service in Anchor. I worked in different cities in Turkey. Now I have returned to Diyarbakir.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

Me, as a Kurd, do not feel quite fortunate enough really. I think we are treated unfairly. The reason for this is that I studied high school in the city of Izmir. I went there from Diyarbakir. There were cultural differences between me and Turkish students. They had a lot of prejudice against me. Therefore, I experience a lot of difficulties until I proved myself. I had a different dialect, and have different cultural background. They humiliated me because of my Kurdish identity. They were not honest and they behaved degradingly.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

During this time, I experienced a lot of discrimination. It was turbulent in Turkey then. There were clashes between Kurds and the Turkish forces. Each time, when something happened, I was accused of both teachers and students. For example, when a police or military was killed or wounded, they used to come the following day and tell me that it was because of us Kurds it happens. Though, I had nothing to do with it. It hurt. It is not good to play with peoples pride.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

For me to be Kurd, is someone very nice. I'm an ethnic Kurd. My mother, Dad are Kurds. My surroundings as well. It's nice. It is very natural that people belong to different ethnic groups. It is a fine mosaic. Having different cultures is very nice. God has created people with different ethnicities.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can both Kurdish and Turkish.

6. How did you learn?

Kurdish is my mother tongue. I learned home through my parents. Turkish I learn when I started school. In the beginning it was hard to learn Turkish. It almost took the whole elementary school to learn. It wasn't our mother tongue.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

It is important to know Kurdish, especially if you are Kurd. Because I am Kurd, my parents are Kurds. Therefore, it becomes natural to know Kurdish. I think that it is very important too. One usually says that a language is equal a human being. I want my children and people in my surroundings to also learn Kurdish. That's why I give my son Kurdish lessons. He already talks Kurdish, it is important, and I want him to talk Kurdish in the future.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

Here in Diyarbakir I do not encounter any negative reaction, because of my Kurdish identity. Because the majority of my surroundings are Kurds and have Kurdish identity as I have.

But when you are in western Turkey and you state your Kurdish identity, for example saying that I am Kurd from Diyarbakir, people are starting to study you closely, look at you from the top and start saying "although we like Kurds but...". This of course does not sound good, if we live in the same country, we should have the same conditions and live on equal terms. We should not feel like second-class citizens. Despite this treatment, we should not give up so easily and fight for what we are entitled to.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It is important that we do not give up at lose our language. We must continue to speak Kurdish and exercise our culture. We were born as a Kurd. We must preserve our language. Everyone must work and fight for it. We should not allow it to be forgotten.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

We Kurds have been treated unfairly in Turkey. We don't dare to get our rights, we must first filter what we must say, for not being treated badly or being persecuted. You are afraid therefore you don't dare to demand what you are entitled to. It has been like this for a long time.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

There are usually elections. The Kurds elect their representatives to the parliament. They are chosen by millions of people to bring their case. When they express the rights of the Kurds, they are being persecuted and imprisoned as the situation is now. Even Municipal elected representatives are also imprisoned. The state has appointed non-elected persons instead.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

Our celebrations, Newroz, our national clothing, our traditional dance, our culture and our traditions.

We are struggling to preserve and maintain them.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in difference cities of Turkey?

There are differences between Kurds. For example, one who lives in Diyarbakir where the Kurds are in Majority, and one who lives in the west of Turkey in Izmir. They may have the same views but those who live in west of Turkey do not dare to express themselves openly because of fear of persecution. You dare not to speak Kurdish openly there. People are looking intimately at you. You are feared of getting hurt. For example, your mother can't speak Turkish, and you have to speak Kurdish, people are looking at you and you get worried. There are differences, like I said, the ones who live here can express themselves a little freer.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

There are differences. The young generation have better education. They have clearer opinions and sees things better. They are opened for changes. They know the world, to live in peace and they fight for it.

But the older generation have poor education, and are not opened for change. It is difficult to change them. They believe in something and it's difficult to change them. They do not give up. Our older generation is more religious and are not opened for changes. This together with ignorance can lead to dangerous consequences. When one from the younger generation is doing theatre or art, the older generation has difficulties in accepting it. They react and say that the younger generation is doing worthless things. The world is changing; we must also adapt. It's what the younger generation does.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

The world is changing. The younger generation wants to keep up with this change.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I am Kurd.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

People in my neighborhood are Kurds. The state threats us Kurds very unfairly. They want to resist the oppression and fight for their rights. We have nowhere to turn. We have no opportunities to solve our problems. Whatever we do, we go and vote, choose our representatives, but they are being imprisoned after they express our rights. We only live within ourselves.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

As I said, there is no problem between groups. We go to the same schools and live in the same neighborhoods. But there is prejudice when it comes to Turks. Kurds are honest people, what they say comes from their heart. This is a truth. We don't mind living and going to the same school.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

I have Turkish friends but I can't say they are many of them. As I told you above. When I lived in Izmir, I had my Turkish friends. When something happened between the Kurds and the Turkish state, and when they learned about the media, they start to remind me and become suspicious. I was subjected to ill treatment. They point you as guilty. They are not honest. Because of their attitudes, it ended our friendship.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

When you go to a court, you don't go like a Kurd, because you can't talk Kurdish, you go as a Turk, because you have to speak Turkish. Therefore, I have not experienced any problem. But if I wanted to talk in Kurdish, then I would experience difficulties.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

For example, my brother is married to a Turkish who comes from Konya. They experienced difficulties in the beginning. Because my brother is Kurd and comes from Diyarbakir, the girl's parents did not want to and were against the marriage. Although they loved each other and had decided, the parents did not want them to marry. They said we didn't have a girl to give to a Kurd from Diyarbakir. Me myself, was a witness to this.

They have had difficulties today. My parents can't Turkish. They cannot communicate with each other. An interpreter is needed. Her relatives are ultra-Turkish nationalists. They have a bad view on Kurds.

I'd rather my son marry an English...Ha-ha... They can get along better.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

There are many prejudices among Turks against Kurds. They usually say it themselves. When a Turk comes to Diyarbakir and starts to get to know us, they say that before they came here they had a lot of prejudice against us. They experience a good response from Kurds. They feel happy and it really is like that. They experience our hospitality and honesty. I can say that we have no prejudice against Turks but on the other hand they have it.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thought about it?

There are problems in this region. It has been around for hundred years back. The people experienced much injustice and oppression. Of course, people react in different ways. Some are rebelling, some go to the mountains and fight against the state, as well as some gathers on the streets to show their dissatisfaction and wants to stop the unfair treatment and oppression. It is not something new. If the state facilitates and gives the Kurds, the necessary rights then it can be prevented.

...

One has to live on equal terms, no one wants to leave his warm house and live in the mountains. There is a reason why people go to the mountains.

By being honest and keeping his promise and giving the necessary rights, we can solve our problems and live side by side in peace and freedom.

(8). Interview, Havin

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

My name is ... I'm a teacher in English and I work. I like cultures and language. I live and are raised in Diyarbakir. I'm a Kurd.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

I don't feel good. It is not because I am Kurd. I wouldn't feel good if I were Turk either.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

I think that way because in Turkey, everything is going bad politically, education etc. Turkey doesn't see their future, that's why I don't feel well.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

For me to be Kurdish, is not just to be born from a Kurdish mother. The ones that feels and experience the oppression in my town is Kurd.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can both Kurdish and Turkish

6. How did you learn?

Turkish I learned from school and through television. Kurdish I learned at home from my parents.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

For me to know Kurdish is very important. Because I'm Kurd. In order for us to survive and be able to pass on the Kurdish language, is very important. If our language dies, we also die.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

When I show my Kurdish identity outside the Kurdish cities, people look at me as if they see a foreign animal. They pull face moody. They don't tolerate.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

I'm Kurd, that's why I want my language and my culture to live on. Everyone wants to survive with their ethnic identity. I want that to.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

The future does not look good not just for Kurds, even for Turks. The state does not value people and oppress the people. The future does not look bright.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

According to me, the Kurds do not have good life in Turkey.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

Our party, HDP, are representing Kurds. Besides that, we represent ourselves.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

There are no criteria for becoming Kurd. If you are born Kurd then you are Kurd. For that you must preserve and use your language. Otherwise, if you say, I'm Turkish, you will be Turkish. If you say I am Kurd, then you will be Kurd. You become what you feel like.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

Yes, there are differences. A Kurd in Diyarbakir, can easily express himself, but a Kurd in some other place may not be able to express himself easily because of fear.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

There are differences between the older and the younger generations. The elderly have experienced much oppression. They want you to keep low profile and keep quiet. Because they are scared. The younger generation wants to stand up and fight for their rights.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

Yes, it has changed, I think. The younger, are more dynamic and react on a different way.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I feel like Kurd.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

Our parents have suffered a lot. They talk about that conflict. They don't feel safe.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

When the younger ones experience such problems, they lose the desire to live. They do not like the Turkish state. They lose, do not want to educate themselves. They do nothing and withdraw from everything. They become depressed and stressed. I experience also.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

They can go to the same school and become friends. It's natural.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

I have Turkish friends. We talk to each other.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

I both like and do not like. It does not depend on their ethnicity. It's about being human. If it is a good person I like it. If it is a bad person I do not like. If they are racist, I do not like.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Kurds?

There are differences.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

There are differences. Turks are better placed for education and to succeed. Kurds have poorer opportunities to educate themselves and to move on. They have to leave school. This is the state's policy.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

When we went to school, we experienced a lot of bullying and discrimination. Our Turkish teachers were angry and just beat us because we were Kurds.

26. How do you feel about Kurds and Turks fighting, due to the war?

When Kurds and Turks are fighting we feel insecure. Our people suffer and are in pain. People are dying. We lose our joy and become stressed.

27. Do you believe that Kurds are different here than in other cities?

Kurds living in Turkish areas are silent, not saying their opinions. The cities that Kurds are in the majority, treat us badly and oppressively.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

It has become worse. They do not tolerate each other anymore. The politics has caused people to distance themselves from each other. When Kurds and Turks meet, there are direct thoughts about politics and terror.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

There are tensions. When someone speaks, one thinks: is that a Kurd or Turk?

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

I don't see that it is something good if one of my relatives or my daughter, son marries a Turk. Because they also have families and relatives, when the families don't get along, even if they are silent about the oppression of Kurds, you don't want them to marry each other.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

This in Turkey... Turks and Kurds are experiencing discrimination. If you do not feel discrimination against Kurds in Turkey, you are either blind or deaf.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

Will say.. I'm Kurd. But if I would have been a Turk in Turkey, my life would still be difficult. In Turkey, not only Kurds sometimes Turks also become unfairly treated in the court of law. In today's Turkey, those who choose to be close to the ruling government have great opportunities. The others are worthless to the government.

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thought about it?

The Turks have their soldiers. When our young people go to the mountains and fight, they say we are Kurdish soldiers too free the Kurds from the oppression. Young people are under oppression. They have no other options either they end up in prison or in the mountains.

(9). Interview, Roni

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I am 27 years old. I am interested in riding and swimming. I have university education. But because of the Turkish employment system, I am unemployed now. I am from Diyarbakir and I grew up here and live here. I left Diyarbakir for my studies.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

To be honest, I feel more comfortable, unlike the older generation. They experienced a lot of difficulties. They ended up in prison, tortured and suffered much from it.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

Because the older generation has suffered and I know it, I feel bad. Otherwise, we have it better.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

For me, it is not just being born from Kurdish parents. The Kurdish language, Kurdish culture, to express itself freely, is very important to me. Those who carry it are all Kurds for me.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can both Kurdish and Turkish very good.

6. How did you learn?

As I remember I spoke both languages.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

For me, to know the Kurdish language is very important. Because the Turkish official language is Turkish and one denies our language. To be able to carry on to our children, it is important. This applies to all Kurds.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

It depends on who is asking. Which ethnic affiliation that person is. If a Turk asks and the answer is, "I am Kurd", he or she can be surprised and even not believe it. But if a Kurd asks, I will be glad to meet them. I can say that I get different reactions from Turks.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

I have to react to that question. If one had not preserved the Kurdish culture, how could we grow up with it otherwise? It will be our task to move on to the next generation. That's why I think it's important.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

One can understand better the situation of the Kurds in Turkey by looking at the largest party representing the Kurds, HDP. For two years, the party chairman Selahattin Demirtas has been imprisoned. He has not committed any crime. He is in prison without trial. This reflects the reality of the Kurds in Turkey.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

If one denies their Kurdish identity, lives like a Turkish citizen, I can say that it is good. You can see the difference between being Kurd and to not being Kurd.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

The only thing that represent Kurds in Turkey is the party HDP, according to me.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

Of course there are. Class and social differences between Kurds and Turks is a crucial factor, I think. To defend the Kurdish rights, so that it becomes equal to all other individuals in the country.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

Of course there is. A Kurd who lives in Istanbul and a Kurd who lives in Diyarbakir have differences in everyday life.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

Yes of course. The younger generation has better conditions than the older ones.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

The older generation are more bound to their traditions. They are traditional and more respectful. The younger generation is more open to social change.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I define myself as Kurd, and Turkish citizens. When I say, I get reactions from Turks that; If you are a Turkish citizen then you are Turkish. But I feel as Kurd, and live like a Kurd.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

Our older generation lived under oppression and under this oppression they raised us. During their time there is no current IT. They lacked social media, like the internet, twitter etc. They couldn't make themselves heard. The state knocked down all their rebellions without the outside world being told. When they have experienced so much pressure from the state, what vision do they expect from them. If a person becomes oppressed and tortured by the state, what will that person have for view of the oppressors in the continuing?

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

According to me (ha-ha) the younger generation does not intend to become a part of this conflict, and leave the country. The younger generations common opinion is so. This also applies to me. We are tired of this conflict.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

We are in the same boat and we have gone away. We will create peace together. Because we go to the same school does not mean that everything is peace and joy. Because we live together with Turks, we experience difficulties. Because we are different, not like them, we are treated badly. We become friends, but it is not our free choice. We are forced to do so. If I had lived in England I would have English friends. I'd rather prefer it.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

I have Turkish friends, but I don't get the warmth I get from a Kurdish friend. We share what is necessary with each other. It's just that.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

I like humans, I don't look at their ethnicities.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

I do not see any difference between the generations. Because their head is full of racism.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

Yes of course. Kurds work in the heavier sector. 90 % of those working in the construction industry are Kurds. To support their families, they have moved to Western Turkey and are working under difficult conditions. When Kurds and Turks are brought to justice, Kurds are treated unfairly and discriminated against, I think.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

Thankfully, I have not come to court. I hope it doesn't happen in the future either. When I was at university, I was discriminated of both my teachers and of students because of my

Kurdish identity. I went to the engineer program. I was not approved on a subject for three years because the teacher had a Kurd' phobia.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

This question is the burning issue you have asked so far. When I, as a Kurd, turns 20, as all other Turkish citizens, I have to do military service. For example, my colonel orders me to go against the Kurds and the PKK. If I refuse it, I end up in prison for all my life or I will be executed directly with a bullet in my head. Then they inform my family, as if it was an accident. Should I do military service or not? I have no answer to that.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

Of course, those who live in the Kurdish areas know our culture, our traditions, and have more tolerance and understanding. Those who live in Turkish cities still see us as ghosts, terrorists. Therefore, there are differences.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

According to me, it has never been good. Only during world war I, in 1920, they fooled our elderly with a false promise, to war against Greece and other allies. When the war was over, they began to deny and assimilate us. As long as the state brings that politic, the relationship between Kurds and Turks will never be good. On the contrary, it gets worse.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

I just want to give an example, just three days ago, in the city of Kocaeli, a father was murdered with his son, just because they were Kurds and talked Kurdish to each other. This is a clear answer to this questions.

30. What would you have though if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

For me, it is important how they look at the Kurdish question. I don't think it's good if they defend the state's policy towards the Kurds. If they have human values, I will be happy about it. It doesn't matter if it's Turkish, Vietnam, etc.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

I experience it every day. As you walk with my cities football team to Turkish cities, 30 000 people scream together “PKK, out of this country”. I experience this discrimination.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thought about it?

I'm going to tell you a story about my best friend.. (...), was studying to become a doctor. He had a sister that had a PHD diploma in political science, and a brother that had joined the mountains. After the failed coup attempt his sister was arrested and put to prison for being active in politics. And every end of the week the police used to come to his home and interrogate him and ask about his brother that had joined the mountains. Every time he said he did not know anything, were his brother was I mean...they tortured him...They did so for months... every week...At last, he didn't see a point in becoming a doctor anymore...he could not take it anymore and he went to the streets and warred. After 7 mounts, I watched the Turkish news, on television. And they said; The police have captured 7 terrorists and they are dead. And then a threatening picture of my best friend came up...

Turks have always used the Kurds. That's the basis of everything. We have set up for them in all situations. They come back to us as torture, oppression and assimilation. Therefore, as a Kurd, it is difficult to accept. When you oppose, you become accused, under current laws as terrorists. You are being persecuted, convicted and in prisoned. An individual who gets into such a situation, what more is there to expect from? How can one fight against the state that has all the power? You have to go to the mountains and make war.

(10). Interview, Haydar

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I'm 27 years, I don't have a hobby. I am from Diyarbakir and raised here. At the moment I am studying at the university I the city Hatay.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

I feel like a guest, like an unwelcomed guest. Like a football team that plays away-match, oppressed audience.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

I feel so because we have become a refugee in our own country. We do not decide over our own country.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

I am happy and proud to be Kurd. Seeing the oppression and organizing against it, to be able to see the discrimination of Kurds, through this been able to see the discrimination all over the world and fight against it.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can speak both Kurdish and Turkish. I can speak Turkish better then Turks.

6. How did you learn?

Kurdish is my mother tongue, I learn from my mother, who can't speak Turkish. I learned Turkish during my school time.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

It is really important for me to know Kurdish. It is from my parents and my ancestors, and it represents my ethnicity. I want it to exist so that my people will survive.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

When I say my Kurdish identity, I meet ignorant, mentally deficient people's negative reactions.

Through judging, they violate us, in fact. "Yes, it doesn't matter, we all are siblings", when they say that all are siblings, actually they humiliate and discriminate us.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It's not only important to retain and keep the Kurdish culture. It's a must, a task, it's an inheriting from our parents. It's mother, its father, it's country. It's a reality.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

The reality is that the assimilation has not succeeded yet, put its going on. The Kurds' attempts for their rights were struck down by violence and oppression. It seems that this situation will continue. That Kurds are discriminated against, and this will continue.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

I can say this; Those who have succeeded in educating themselves, they somewhat have it better, they don't bend to the oppression. And defend their people. It is good. Those have not been given the opportunity to educate themselves have much worse and life is like hell. Because in all demanding and heavy sectors, Kurds are working. Under difficult conditions.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

Yes, there is a Kurdish TV channel that propagates Turks...Ha-ha...

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

There are criteria's that really irritates me. Kurds like songs, wants others to feel sorry for them. The history of the Kurds is full of sorrow; they want to listen to songs about their sad history. But Kurds must believe in themselves longer. They have become big and have to stand on the ground.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

There are differences between Kurds in Kurdish cities and Kurds in western Turkey. The Assimilation is greater among Kurds in western Turkey. One can say that there are cultural differences. The cultural difference between Kurds and Turks are alike.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

According to me there is no difference between the old and the young generation, in terms of ideology. The old generation defends its culture and traditions. The younger generation also defends theirs as well.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

It has changed due to influence from the West, Europe. When it comes to maintaining Kurdish culture, it is difficult in Turkey. Because the state destroys the Kurdish heritage.

What is Kurdish and represents Kurds is deliberately destroyed. It is difficult to resist and prevent it.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I don't feel like Kurd. I'm Kurd. I can say this: I'm really in opposition. For example, I feel like a Jew under the Nazi hands, and like a Palestinian in the hands of the Jews. I'm a Kurd in Turkey. I feel like a black among the whites.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

To understand it, one has to read books and listen to our older generations experiences. They have experienced a lot of difficulties. We are also experiencing it now. When they talk about the 80's, 90's atrocities against us, we can tell the 21 centuries atrocities, that we have experienced. The Turkish state's atrocities against the Kurds continue. We share older generations views. Assimilation and repression continue in the same way. No change.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

According to me, the younger generation has unclear views. Their theory and practise are not related. They are not positively affected by the media. They do not get the right news from the bad media.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

I have already answered this question. We know who is a guest in this country. Likewise, we feel like a guest in the school as well. We go to the same school and pretend that we have been integrated but in fact we are still guests. Going to the same school is good, when the assimilation is ended we have equal conditions for living side by side.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

I have Turkish friends as well as Kurdish friends. But for me it is important if they are socialists or not. I have socialist friends that I share everything with, like I share with my Kurdish friends. I choose friends who do not make class differences.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

Sometimes, I like Turks more than Kurds. Because a Kurd who has become a Turk, is more dangerous than an ethnic Turk.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Kurds?

There are big differences between them. They flee from their traditions. Older generation of Kurds are respected by the younger generation. But among Turks it is different. Older and younger generation have been emotionally distracted. One can see this in retirement homes.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

It is said that there are no differences in the public sector. Kurds can become minister, governor, judge, lawyer, prosecutor and more. It is possible. They must first accept that the Turkish race is superior and feel that themselves are Turk. Then it goes well. But, with your Kurdish identity you go nowhere.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

I did not experience it with authorities, because I have not had any contact with authorities so far. Therefore, I cannot answer this question.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

We grew up with it. It has become like a normal phenomenon in our lives. When this war ends, we may feel it.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

Turks who live here have taken part of our hospitality, our culture and our feelings, and have changed.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

This depends on how the state wants it to be. For some years ago, we thought that everything went well. But then, the Turkish state lost all respect to the Kurds and began with its oppression and denial policy. Conditions are worse now than long ago.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

Yes, there are always tensions. We are experiencing it. Turks have a fear of becoming a minority in the country.

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

I don't see any negative about it.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

Yes, there is.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

Yes, I feel it. It's very widespread. It occurs in all areas. My private opinion is that all languages and cultures live side by side in a democratic country.

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thought about it?

There is a reason that people go to the mountains and fight.

(11). Interview, Alan

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I am 26 years, live in Diyarbakir. I grew up in the country side until I was 12 years old. I have university degree and are doing my master, I'm a psychologist. I have music as a hobby. I like to learn new things and to develop myself.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

As a Kurd in Turkey, we expect justice from the state, to recognize our human, political and social rights. Our rights are very limited. We do not feel safe and are worrying about the future.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

The reason I feel so depends on the regime and its politics. In Turkey, the right parties have a mentality that; when they come to power, they create their own state within the state apparatus. They organize themselves and form their parallel forces. This leads to the state's authorities loses their functions. As a result, people, instead of turning to authorities, turn to the governing party to get their case done. Reality looks like that. It is an undemocratic regime. Therefore, I do not feel quite good I can say.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

I do not assume from human physiology, or how you look. This is due to the geographical environment. I do not think that people are born with race. It is cultural values. The Kurdish language, according to me, is important to know. I express myself better with Kurdish. For example: My mom can a little Turkish, she lives with the Kurdish language. Therefore, she is Kurd. Which language you experience your grief and joy with, then you belong to that.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can both Kurdish and Turkish.

6. How did you learn?

I only talked Kurdish until I was 12 years old, it is my mother tongue. When I moved from my village to Diyarbakir, I learned Turkish in school.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

For me it's of course important to know Kurdish. After a while I realized the awareness and importance of mother tongue. We were socialized with our mother tongue as all other groups. We want to preserve our language like everyone else.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

It is very natural in Kurdish cities. The majority have the same identity. I worked in the city Maras, where the majority are regime friendly. When I say that I am from Diyarbakir, they ask directly: "Are you PKK? Are you a terrorist?" For example: Once, I was on the mail to send a package to Diyarbakir. As soon as the official saw the address he raised his head and asked me: "How will it go for the country?" When I answered that it will go against a civil war, but I hope that it won't, he answered like this: "It may get to it, then we throw down bombs and wipe you out".

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It is of course important to maintain and preserve the Kurdish culture. You do not create cultures in the negotiating table. It is an inheritance you get from their ancestors. For example, our culture dance may not mean anything, but it is important to us. It gives us something. It shapes my feelings and thoughts. If we do not keep and preserve our culture then I shall live like a Turk. I do not want this.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

At the beginning of the 21s century, Kurds sought to get their rights. They were from the beginning and helped build and form the Turkish republic in hopes of gaining their rights. They had received promises from the Turkish leaders. But after the formation of the Turkish republic, Turks began to turn their backs on Kurds. All attempts by the Kurds to obtain their rights were defeated by the Turkish state. You began to deny the existence of the Kurds, and

start an assimilation policy. This image still exists today for Kurds in today's Turkey. Elected parliamentarians sit in prison, municipal elected politicians as well. Instead, municipalities are controlled by the state's appointed officials.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

See the answer above.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

I think of the political and municipal representation. Our elected politicians are in prison. Kurdish municipalities are governed directly by the state. The Turkish state does not allow a Kurdish representation.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

Language, culture and traditions.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

As a consequence of the Turkish state's assimilation policy, thousands of Kurdish villages were destroyed and emptied. People moved to different cities in Turkey and were assimilated there. In this way, differences between Kurds living in Turkish cities in western Turkey and Kurds living in the Kurdish areas were created. Otherwise, there are no major differences between Kurds in Kurdish cities.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

Unfortunately, the younger generation loses their language over time. This is a fact. Because the Kurdish language has been banned in Turkey. Even in the Kurdish cities. As a consequence, the people had to speak Turkish. It's no wonder that the young generation has switched to Turkish language. Nowadays, the media and social media also affects. Before, the children learned Kurdish from their parents, nowadays the parents learn Turkish from their children.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

Lifestyles are of course degraded. It is a consequence of globalism. Previously, our parents were wearing their national costumes. But now, no one no longer sees it among the younger ones. We talk Kurdish with our elderly people but speak Turkish among us. There are also differences in mind-set. The elderly is more traditional compared to the younger ones. When it comes to preserving the Kurdish culture alive, there are differences too. The elderly think of Kurdish, live with it, goes and vote. Nothing else. The younger generation is more aware of the assimilation policy. Therefore, they react consciously and work politically. I speak Kurdish consciously with my surroundings.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I define myself as a Kurd. My mother tongue is Kurdish.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

The older generation has been subjected to heavy oppression by the state. They are cautious, restrained and fearful. But the younger generation is braver. This is the difference.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

See above!

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

I don't see any problem. If we are not exposed to discrimination and racism. I went to university in the town of Mersin. I had Turkish friends. Contacts with them are limited. You don't get the same feeling from them as you get from the Kurdish friends. One needs to think as they do. Otherwise, they take distance from you, and you get discriminated. Sometimes you think like they do, but you get discriminated anyhow. If the person is a racist, I take distance, otherwise the respect is mutual.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

See above

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

See above

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

There are certainly differences in lifestyle and way of life. But I assume from their political perspective. There are left elderly people who have tolerance. But among the conservatives, regardless of generation, they have negative attitudes towards Kurds. For example: When I worked in the town of Maras, I asked an eleven year-old-boy about what he would be when he grew up, he answered this on my question: I will become a soldier and kill Kurds.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labour market etc.?

There are remarkable differences. As Kurd, you get discriminated when you search for job. Especially in the west of Turkey, you always start with minus 10 if you are Kurd. Therefore, we do not have the equal conditions. There are cultural differences, differences in viewpoints.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

I experienced it, when I was working in Maras, my grandfather died in Diyarbakir, I went there to be part of his funeral. When I came back, I was questioned, even though I had notified my boss in advance. They brought charges against me. Even though I had my grandfather's death certificates with me. They just search for one little thing to get me fired. My Turkish colleague friend's would never be treated this way. I have been treated as a second class citizens. My colleague asked me what I thought of the terror in turkey. When I said that the terror could even come from the state, he broke the contact with me. He sent all the patients to me, he himself sat in his room and played games. I had no where to turn. Nobody would believe me.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

They are passive here and they usually have a distance from us. I had a Turkish colleague here in Diyarbakir, we had reasonably contact. But when he moved, he broke contact with me right away. When they are here, they do not show their real face. When they get the opportunity, they strangle you.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

If you sympathize with the government, it doesn't matter if you are Kurd or Turk. If you do not sympathize with the government, you will be ill-treated and labelled a terrorist, regardless of whether you are Kurd or Turk. There are many journalists, academics, artists who are accused of being terrorists just because they do not share the regime's policy against Kurds. It either or. There is no in between.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

Yes, there are tensions. A few years ago, there was a ceasefire between Kurds and the Turkish state. There was hope, and the people started to come closer. But after the failed coup attempt, the regime started to get food from terror, and started to accuse ordinary people as terrorists. That is why we experience the tensions.

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

It is no problem. It's their choices. But I can give an example: One of my friends had a girlfriend. She belonged to the national Turkish party. Their relationship didn't last so long.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

There is, I mentioned above.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

As I told before, there is discrimination and prejudice Towards Kurds. As I said earlier, when I worked in the city, Maras, and they got to know that I am from Diyarbakir, they started a question if I was PKK. My private opinion is that whatever we do, we never get accepted by them. It depends on the regime's politics. The HDP chairman, Selahattin Demirtas also got

votes from nationalists. This means that something can be done about it. But it is not allowed by the rulers.

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thought about it?

If you close all the democratic channels to fight for their rights, then you don't have no alternative then to head to the mountains, take to arms and war.

(12). Interview, Sinem

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

My name is ... 39 years old. I like reading, going to the world cinema. I read law, and I'm a lawyer. My parents come from Elbistan, in the town of Maras. But I was born in Ankara and raised in Istanbul. I identify myself as Kurd, and Alevit. I have two identities, that are not liked in Turkey.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

As a Kurd, you have difficulties in Turkey. Like you start a match with 0-1 in under position. But this varies between different cities. For example, in Ankara, the majority of the population is Turkish nationalists and they are more intolerant of Kurds compared to Istanbul. It is easier to live in Istanbul as a Kurd because there is a large Kurdish population.

Having a Kurdish identity, Alevite identity, female identity, in this country means that you have three identities that are not liked. According to the rulers being normal citizen, being Turkish, obedient, not criticizing, not reacting and being a Sunni Muslim. According to the criteria, I belong to the group you do not want in this country.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

Being a Kurd in Turkey means that you have a hard time living, and that you have to be away from your language and culture. As a woman even though I do not state my identity, I already experience difficulties. When I say that I come from Maras, people do not react negatively, because there are mixed ethnic groups there. I'm worried about my children. Since my husband comes from Diyarbakir, my children are registered there according to current Turkish laws. Without mentioning their Kurdish identity, you will be labelled as a terrorist if you come from Diyarbakir, Batman or another Kurdish city. This treatment of Kurds can also cause difficulties for my children in school. They can be discriminated against, treated

unfairly. For example, if there is a fascist teacher, my children can get worse grades. My children will have more difficulty than me, I think.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I speak Turkish

6. How did you learn?

I could not learn Kurdish until I was 17 years old. Then when I started to take an interest in politics and made friends from Batman, I began to learn from my own efforts. Through books, by participating in cultural activities within the Centre For Mesopotamia's Culture.

Unfortunately, I could not develop my Kurdish because where my parents come from, the Kurdish population is more assimilated.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

Knowing Kurdish is important as all other people's groups, speak their own language. If you are Kurd, you should know Kurdish. But I myself have shortcomings regarding Kurdish.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

You do not choose your ethnicity; you are born with it. Frankly, I have not experienced noticeable difficulties. This may be because I live in a large metropolis or that I have not been in such environments that one is discriminated against, because of their identity.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It is important.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

Have explained above.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

The Kurds lack the conditions and opportunities for a normal life. According to me, Kurds who live in Europe or in America, they control their culture better than Kurds living in Turkey.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

Yes, there are, cultural centers and a political party. As we all know, there are many obstacles for them. There are Kurdish writers, artists, film producers.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

According to me, to be Kurd, is to express it.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

There are big differences. Kurds in different cities have differences both in lifestyle and culture. Being an Alevi Kurd and Sunni Kurd created differences and divides. Kurdish identity is a roof for all Kurds, but there are cultural and ritual differences among us Kurds. We Kurds have different dialects, for example my father knows Kurdish but may have difficulties when talking to your dad.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

I think that over the last 40 years the differences between generations have decreased. Among those who are aware of their Kurdish identity, there are no differences, on the contrary, they embrace each other.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles has changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

According to me, the younger generation is more aware of their culture than the older generation. The older generation was ashamed to be Kurd and talk Kurdish or their dialect. But we, the younger generation are not ashamed of being Kurd, or talking Kurdish. I think we have learned the older generation to dare to be a Kurd. Because the elderly has experienced much oppression.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I feel Kurd even my kids do too. My children are more unpolitical and grow up without Kurdish. I cannot teach them Kurdish, because I cannot Kurdish myself. My children are little right now, maybe they will learn in the future, I hope. But growing up without the Kurdish language is a handicap. This makes it harder to give them a Kurdish identity. After all, I and my children feel as Kurds.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

This is a difficult question for me. I haven't looked into it. The elderly are more cautious, the younger ones are radical.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

I see the younger generation clearer, more radical and braver. As I said above, I do not have enough knowledge about it to answer the question.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

It is natural that you go to the same schools and associate. It's about the individual's knowledge and education. According to me, this conflict has affected people's view of the Kurdish question. People, especially the intellectuals, have begun to understand Kurds better. The conflict is between Kurds and the rulers not with the Turkish people. The 40-year war has led the Turkish people to get to know and understand Kurds better. The wise Turks have begun to understand Kurds and are self-critical and say that Kurds are entitled to their rights. Common Turkish people have begun to say that "we have Kurdish neighbors, they have never done anything bad to us". There is division between the Kurds and the rulers, not between the Kurdish and the Turkish people.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

Yes, I have Turkish friends. We talk about politics and about art.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

Of course! I like Turks. I do not do any difference between Kurds and Turks. I'm not a chauvinist human nor a racist. I like Turks better than Germans or Englishmen because we have a history together. When I say I like Turks, I don't mean those who kill Kurds or those who provokes the war. I like all people, I like people that define themselves as world citizens.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

Yes, I can say the same thing again. During these 40 years the rulers have pumped fascism in the Turkish society. But youth who reads and are educated are not affected of the propaganda much.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

Yes, I think. Turks in Istanbul are different, more tolerant. Many Kurds have moved to Istanbul and it is a multicultural city. That's the case in all multicultural cities in the world. People become more international and tolerant. That is why the Turks differ here from Turks who live in Anatolia or who lives in the middle east. Those who live in Istanbul have a more democratic view.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

When I was 15 – 16 years old, 20 years ago, the relationship between Kurds and Turks were more stiff and intolerant than today. But now, for example, a Turkish friend can listen to a Kurdish song and send it to me.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

Yes, one experience it. The tensions are made systematically by the state. When the mass media reports of dead or wounded soldiers, police in the war against Kurds, the tensions become more noticeable. But it usually goes over with time.

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

I see it as something absolutely normal. I am Alevi, my man is Sunni Muslim. My dad was against our marriage. My husband's father is from Diyarbakir, and his mother from Bolu. My dad is from Elbistan and my mother from Sivas. My children can marry Christians and Jews.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

I feel it sometimes, as I said, this depends on the persons social, economic and cultural background. There are ignorant and low education present highly, prejudice and discrimination. Among the high educated, good well financed, they usually have understanding for the Kurdish question. Sometimes one hear that they sympathize with Kurds. I have two kids; their names are not Kurdish. Their names are Can and Ela. They have international names. I want my children to be world citizens, that's why they have these names. If I would have given them Kurdish names, they would have met difficulties in school and in the society.

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

Yes, I do. Geographical and cultural differences. For example, a Kurd that comes from Maras and one from Batman have differences. This applies for Turks also.

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thoughts about it?

This question depends on who rules the country and what view they have on the question. I understand much why they go to the mountains and war. They have great reason, and want to change some things. If that is right or wrong is another question.

(13). Interview, Heval

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

I have education from university. I work as a psychologist at a hospital in Istanbul. I like to read, watch sports. During my studies at university I was also interested in politics. As a Kurd, one cannot lay off the politics.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

As a Kurd in Turkey, I feel discriminated. This one feels more when one comes from a Kurdish town to a Turkish city. When one comes to a Turkish city and present themselves as a Kurd, you experience prejudice from the Turkish population. These prejudices leads to that one's feels uncomfortable. In the eyes of the people you come in second place because you are Kurd.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

I feel so because I lived in many cities, where the majority of the population were Turks. In those cities, I always felt that I came second. For example, when you finish your education you are looking for a job. During the interview they ask questions about where you come from. When you say that you are Kurd, come from a Kurdish city, you cannot get the service, or you'll be the last option.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

According to me, it means being brave, and being an adult at an early age. Because at an early age, you experience difficulties, killing, captivating or relatives who go to the mountains and war. We experience all this when we are 13-14 years old and grow up with it. You end up in politics in your youth. You cannot live your youth as you live in other cities. You see the people suffering so you feel like fighting for justice.

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can both Kurdish and Turkish

6. How did you learn?

Kurdish is my native language and I learned in the family. I learned Turkish when I started school. Turkish is the only teaching language. Therefore, I can better Turkish than Kurdish.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

For me, it is very important to know Kurdish. Language is necessary to preserve our culture and ethnicity. When you do not speak your language, you lose the culture and then you also disappear as a Kurd. Language is the basis of everything.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

As I said earlier, when I present myself with my Kurdish identity, I deal with prejudice. I have a memory when I started at the university: The first day when I introduced myself to the class and said my name is ..., comes from Diyarbakir Lice, and is Kurd. Then I heard Turkish fascists in the class, they talked among themselves, that they had a lot to do with me. With time, when one shows that one is humanist, peaceful and a good person, then the prejudice can reduce a bit.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

Without culture, one does not exist as an ethnic group.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

Kurds are in minority in Turkey. They are under assimilation oppression. Some become assimilated but some fights against and never gives up.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

Kurds living in their geographical area must adhere to the will of the state. You have to live within the framework that the state determines as a circle. If you cross that border, you can get out of work and get rid of your job, your life and your freedom.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

According to me, typical Kurdish is to be brave and have a fighting spirit. Many people's groups in the middle east, could not fight, they lost their language and became assimilated. Despite its shortcomings, Kurds managed to resist and retain their language and culture. Fighting is absolutely typical of Kurdish according to me.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

There may be differences between Kurds in different cities. The Kurds who live in Western Turkey are assimilated, can forget their language, can become foreigners to their culture and identity. E.g. When I am in Diyarbakir you hear Kurdish music everywhere but when I am in western Turkey I do not have that opportunity. This is a difference here. I talked about circle a short time ago, that circle is a bit wider in Kurdish areas, but it is the opposite for Kurds in western Turkey. The pressure for assimilation becomes harder and Kurdish becomes harder and Kurdish youth becomes assimilated.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

There is a noticeable difference. The older generation experienced a lot of oppression and ill-treatment. The younger generation has experienced perhaps a little less from killing and repression. When we talk to the elderly, we understand that they have struggled a lot and they have paid a lot for the oppression, capturing and killing.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

I can't say much about this. Of course, lifestyles change. It is changing all over the world. But the mind-set can last for over 100-200 years. I do not distinguish opinions and thoughts from age. Because there are people who hold their opinions and vice versa. You can have opinions everywhere.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

Of course I define myself as Kurd. I am Kurd, the answer is so easy.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

Obviously, all people are very worried. Every day we experience the state's policy towards the Kurds, and of what the state wants to achieve with this policy. We always hear from our elderly and family that we must fight to preserve our language and our culture. As for the media, they lie and do not report reality. They are not for Kurds, on the contrary, the media is against the Kurds.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

I do not want to make a difference between Kurdish generations, because right now the Kurdish people with their elderly, younger, women and men are fighting against the state's oppression and ill-treatment of Kurds. Because everyone is very dissatisfied with the state's policy regarding the Kurds' freedom and rights.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

It should be so. It is not just for Kurds and Turks; it should apply for all ethnic groups to live side by side. Realizing this is fine. It is important that people live their own cultures and values, that there is no bullying, discrimination and prejudice due to ethnicity.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

Yes, I have. Those who are receptive and have free opinions, I can even talk politics with. Some of them can understand me, I think. In the end we live in the same country, we can have the same interest, E.g. Sports, football etc.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

I like the human. You should do that. I don't like fascists, those who discriminate against me and don't respect me. But those who are good, respect me and my opinions, I like them.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

Yes, I do. The elderly find it difficult to change. They do not change. They have definite opinions, do not want to change them. The younger ones have changed. IT and the opportunity to travel and go to the same university with Kurdish youth have influenced their views. They have more understanding when it comes to the Kurdish question, I think. Therefore, the younger ones are a little better than the older Turks.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

Yes, of course I do. As I said above, when going to a job interview, one can be denied to the job because of one's identity. I can say so, for example. In Istanbul, in all difficult jobs, construction industry, service work, Kurds are working. They work in poor conditions and get poorly paid. The Turks are building, the Kurds are painting all houses, cleaning to make Turks happy. The Kurdish people are treated as second class people. A few days ago, a father with his son was murdered because they were talking Kurdish to each other. You see discrimination everywhere.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

I have not experienced any problem with the judicial system. That's why I haven't been there. But I did an entrance test, even though I got good results I did not get the job because of oral interviews. According to me, I didn't get the job because I was Kurd. Later, I got a job where no oral interview was required.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

The war greatly affects our lives. When we thought everything went well, suddenly we ended up in the war and killing. This affects our lives. When we were 18, we should live our lives but instead we used to hear the killing and gun sounds. This affected our lives in all areas. But maybe we got mature earlier. It's positive. But the war steals a lot from our lives. To Experience this in the early age, all this affects us throughout our lives. Instead of thinking of ourselves, one thinks about the lives of others. Perhaps that is why one does not develop.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

I live in Istanbul. There is a large Kurdish population living in Istanbul. But they are in minority. There may be differences compare to other cities. Here in Istanbul we live away from our culture. There are many areas here that we cannot live with our Kurdish identity. When I live in Diyarbakir, I live with my culture, language, music and among my people.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

Actually, there is good communication among Kurdish and Turkish youth. This is because Kurdish young people begin to study and go to university. Then many Kurdish young people came to western Turkey. They meet and lived together. Right now I can say that the relationship between Kurdish and Turkish youth is better than before. But I can only say that for the young people. The older Turks have definite opinions and it is difficult to change them.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

Tensions are experienced. It looks like it will never run out. There is a group of Turks who call themselves Turkish nationalists, usually creates problems when it comes to Kurds. With violence, they want to change the Kurdish language and life. It is not so everywhere, but often occurring in many places.

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

There was a similar question above. I said like this: I like humans. Those who have tolerance, respect for opinions, do not oppress you and do not limit your freedom, then Turkish origin does not matter to me. I don't get stuck on ethnicity. If my child chooses a Turk, based on their criteria's, I don't mind.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

There are big differences. I told you above about class differences. Those who work in heavy jobs are Kurds. When you tell where you come from, they become suspicious at first and have a lot of prejudice. It takes time to get to know each other.

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thoughts about it?

I see it absolutely. Because Kurds experience much oppression. They went through great difficulties. They became mature at an early age. When we come here, we feel more mature than the ones in our age. I went to western Turkey from Diyarbakir to study at the university, at the age of 18-19, it felt like the people in my age were much younger than me. This is because we experience a lot at an early age. We had to grow up because of the conflict. We have experienced a lot, that's why we are different than Turkish peers. I understand them because I come from there. My classroom friend who sat next to me was imprisoned just because she attended a demonstration. When she was free, she could not adjust, and she went to the mountains and warred. She could not accept the unfair treatment. After three years we were told she was killed. If you live in Kurdistan and experience this, it is impossible not to understand them. That Turks do not understand this is because they have a lot of prejudice. Some have closed the door to their brain. It doesn't matter how much you tell. You cannot defeat the definite opinions they have. You talk for three hours, but still don't understand each other.

(14). Interview, Narin

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

Hello, I'm 30 years old. Eh.. And I have a master degree in sociology. At the moment I work with gender equality and human rights violations. I am interested in camping and other outdoor sports. I am born and raised in Diyarbakir. I studied university in Ankara and at the moment I live in Istanbul, since seven years back.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

First of all, I don't feel safe as a Kurd in Turkey. Eh.. I don't feel safe. There is always a risk of being discriminated. When I went to Ankara for the first time to university, my roommate didn't talk to me because I was from Diyarbakir. When I worked, I was being accused with a lot of stuff from my co-workers. Because I was Kurdish, I was accused of things. I was sent to other places for work. Just because I had Kurdish identity.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

I don't feel comfortable. But, with my presence I make myself visible. Despite the fact that Kurdish is not my first identity, it will turn that way. Like the author, Milan Kundera says, "where power hurts you, it creates your identity". Why I feel like this is because I am facing discrimination and experience difficulties. You don't feel this when you are living in Diyarbakir or when you are studying there. But when you leave Diyarbakir and comes to the West of Turkey, to the Turkish areas, then I experience this, and are treated that way. When you are experiencing this, then you start to protect your Kurdish identity. When you are going to university, when you go to work or when you go out on the streets you experience this. That is why I'm not comfortable, the discrimination and stereotyping and the hatred against you, makes you feel that you are not belonging anywhere.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

It is part of my identity. It is part of me, but an important part of me. Because being a Kurd in Turkey, is not just about belonging to an ethnicity, it brings with it much else also, in fact, it is the reason that I exist. It is about the struggle to exist, the struggle to be recognized and to survive. And on the other hand, bring cultural values that are irreplaceable. For me, to be Kurd is not only belonging to an ethnicity, it is to bear this identity, pass it on, becomes more important. I can say this from my heart...

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can speak both Kurdish and Turkish.

6. How did you learn?

I learned Kurdish through my family. My mother talked Kurdish with us. Turkish I learned when I started school and in the social environment. I don't think that my Kurdish is enough when it comes to reading and writing. I am aware that I have serious deficiencies. There are no courses in Kurdish to participate and improve. When I studied at the university, there were courses in Kurdish that I attended. But after the repression of the authorities, they were closed. I'm talking about ten years back in 2008.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

For me it is important to know Kurdish. If I have children, I want them to speak Kurdish. I speak Kurdish in different contexts, when I talk on the phone, when I talk to my friends, so much as possible. Why do I do that? Because the language is important, both pedagogically and phrenological, it is important. It's my mother tongue. That something belongs to me. If such a valuable language disappears, it will hurt me. The attempts from the political ways to assimilate a language is something I don't like. Being able to speak Kurdish and making sure to pass it on is another way to resist. Therefore, it becomes even more important to know and speak Kurdish. I speak very good Turkish. My Turkish friends are a bit surprised about my varied use of Turkish. I appreciate and value all languages. I also want the Kurdish language to have the same value as Turkish here in this country. Because we often speak Turkish every day, our Kurdish stops, unfortunately. This makes me sad. It is important to know Kurdish, but it is equally important to have continuity.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

Actually, my first identity is not Kurdish, but when they get to know that I am from Diyarbakir, strange enough, I meet them with their prejudice. Most of what we are treated from, is that they say “it doesn’t matter, we are all humans”. This is the softest, but it is very offensive. They look from the top, from the perspective of power, “it doesn’t matter, you are also a human being”.

When I started at university, not directly, but afterword’s, I got to know from them that “we thought you were like others”, in fact, while they try to lift me, and make me innocent, at the same time smear and violate an entire people group (the Kurdish people). This shows their true mentality. One experiences this all the time. Sometimes I encounter harder treatments. In the end it will be me who tries to make the atmosphere softer. Hahahah (she laughs ironically, thinks its comical). You do not see any softer attitude from the counterpart. We have to explain ourselves, “we do not belong to the Kurds that you think of”. The problem starts here. I usually always exercise and defend my Kurdish identity so that I create a strong self-esteem, so that I do not have to explain myself to others.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It is very important for me to maintain and preserve the Kurdish culture. Culture is a very important heritage. Therefore, efforts must be preserved. As I said above, being a Kurd does not only mean belonging to an ethnic group or speaking the language, the culture being passed from generations is an important legacy. Through planned efforts to develop the Kurdish culture and surrender to future generations is very, very important. We live in a globalization world, therefore, it is even more important to maintain ethnic identities. We talk a lot about the value of multiculturalism and retain the unique values. For example, in my profession and work area there is a principle that one should help from the perspective of the help-seeking person. It means that you should give service in the language that the applicant speaks. If you can’t do that, it’s a serious shortcoming. A Kurdish necessitous doesn’t get that help when they turn to us.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

It is problematic right now. A few years ago, the peace process began. We did not have much hope that the peace process would succeed and no man would die anymore. We hoped we would be wrong. But it became as you thought, the peace process did not last long. All elected local politicians in Kurdish cities were dismissed, instead the state appointed its faithful officials. There were fierce battles between the parties. It is still going on today. No normalization in sight. From the state's side, nothing was done to normalize, instead it became even harder, you imprisoned elected Kurdish politicians and intensified battles against Kurdish cities. Therefore, we do not feel safe. After the failed FETO coup attempt on July 15, 2016, the climate became harder, one fired and imprisoned thousands of people who were politically opposed to the government. Thousands of Kurds were affected even though they did not have anything to do with the coup attempt. Myself as a Kurdish woman, does not feel confident, can get rid of the job at any time. If you vote for and support the governing party then it is no problem. For example, in the Kurdish town of Lice, the capital letters are "one country". It is a great psychological oppression. They force all business to hang the Turkish flag in Kurdish areas. I have travelled all over in Turkey because of my job, I have never seen anything like that in any other place. In the recent battles, the state used

inhuman practices against Kurds. Despite being told through the media; the Turkish people did not react. 1200 Kurdish and Turkish academics signed an appeal to stop the war against Kurds. Those academics got rid of their job and most were imprisoned for showing solidarity with the Kurdish people. The Kurdish HDP party chairman is in jail and risks long-term punishment. Right now, the justice system in Turkey is not working. Although the European Court of Justice decided that Selahattin Demirtas would be released, he still sits inside. Turkey did not respect the decision of the European Court of Justice, although it is binding on Turkey as well.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

The Kurds' lives in Turkey are fragmented. Life goes on for the people in the Kurdish cities. There are a lot of Kurds who have moved to Western Turkey. I think Kurds have always been for peace, democracy and freedom. How do Kurds live in Turkey now? Those who lived in the country were forced to leave and move to different cities in Turkey. Due to battles between the Kurds and the Turkish state, the number of people living in rural areas has decreased drastically. There is much oppression in the countryside. Where the state has no control over, the people are forced to move to Western Turkey, because of the harsh war, the people have

no opportunity to stay in their homes. I did a mission trip to the Kurdish city of Sirnak a year ago. Due to the battles, only three quarters of twelve remained. The market and the city's business were totally destroyed. As an official I talked to people. It turned out that the three quarters that were left belonged to the militias that support the state. The state and the militia were hand in hand. They oppressed the rest of the people. Everyone was forced to flee from there. If they want to come back, they have nowhere to stay. There are also major problems in the areas where there are no battles, as well as unemployment, health, and education. This entails lots of problems for the population. How do those living in Western Turkey live? They find it difficult to support themselves, struggling against unemployment living in the ghetto area. The Kurds who have reasonably good financially, have problems with identity and belonging. "Am I from here or am I from there?". "How much do I belong here and how much do I belong there?" How much one is a democrat and affable, it doesn't matter. You are Kurd, you are stamped, so so so. Because of that, we are not objectively treated.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

When I get that question I think of political party. There are HDP right now. But because of persecution, courts, interrogation and prosecution and imprisonment, they cannot perform their political duties. Selehatin Demirtas is still in prison, also Sirri Surya, Abdullah Zeydan and others. The party pursues a peaceful and legal policy, but the state does everything to prevent this. Another thing can be the flag or quota, that can represent, but that is not current.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

According to me, there is nothing typical Kurdish if one starts from the politics.

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in difference cities of Turkey?

There are absolutely differences between Kurds living in different cities. Despite similarities in cultural and genetic codes, there are differences in everyday life and lifestyle. What I often encounter is that I do not resemble Kurds, hahah, (she laughs ironically), then I ask, how is Kurds? The answer is that I can be a good Kurd. Based on our economic conditions, there are differences as to what we see.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

There are noticeable sociological and psychological differences. Generation differences are normal but among Kurds, I think it's more. Feudalism and the feudal way of life means that there is a conservative older generation. But there is a more open, more contactable younger generation that lives a little freer and manages to move on in life. If I start from me. I'm 30 years old. In a certain context, I think, me and my father and grandfather think the same. I'm still thinking a little conservatively. We become more developable because of the opportunities we have. Therefore, I can say that we have clear differences. The older generation, I talk about, 30-40 years ago, lived in the country, had not met with politics, they lived a normal life. The younger generation has grown with politics, is associated with the organization, the PKK party to fight for its existence. Therefore, they read, write and draw. They develop faster than the elderly.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mind-set? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

Of course, the younger generation's lifestyle has changed a lot. It is a little difficult to analyse whether it depends on the loss of one's own culture or the consequence of globalization and capitalism. There is a part of the younger generation who is tired and withdraws from their culture. But I see another part of the younger generation who is more aware and reading, writing, struggling for their existence and culture. One cannot say clearly why it is so because there is no academic work either.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

I feel kurd. It is my identity that I want to defend. I identify with this. It should exist. I am proud of it. I fit in it, I think. Sometimes I think I may not fit in. I am aware of the value and responsibility of my identity.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

The conflict between Kurds and Turks seems to remain unresolved because the state does not want to solve it. Through this conflict, the authorities have gained economic and political benefits. The rulers do not think about the Kurds' prosperity. Media has great responsibility in it, because the media has become an instrument of the governing power. They are smear and

writes badly about Kurds. They are biased and look from the same window as the power. Generally everyone is tired and the Kurdish question seems to remain unsolved.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

Young people, about this question, I have friends who are hopeful. But how to do or act, there is no road map. From the Kurdish side I do not see any discrimination or fascist thoughts, honesty. We are more embraced, peaceful and have a lot of love. Therefore, the state or government must take the step. Young people are also affected by this unresolved conflict. But we live in an IT world, the information is very accessible, therefore Kurdish youth do not follow state controlled media. They use alternative social media to get the right information.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

When I was in Diyarbakir, there was no discrimination. I had many Turkish friends. That I speak good Turkish is because I had Turkish friends. Then it was common, not ethnic conflicts. I am 30 years old, with the age, by working in different work areas you understand and become more aware of things and that is something good. It is good to live together, but Kurds must also have access to their language and their culture. Being able to get the opportunity to read in their mother tongue. I look at this issue in a universal perspective. The people we socialize with, which we work with, their ethnic affiliation do not matter so much, I think. Therefore, it is still valuable to me that Kurds and Turks live side by side.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

I have many Turkish friends. I have many friends from other countries as well. We share a lot with each other. We talk about different things. But when I choose Turkish friend I need to have some criteria's. I cannot be friends with every Turk. With my Turkish friends, I can share a lot, and talk about the Kurdish question. We even fight side by side in solidarity.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

I do not want to use the same fascist language, the same sublime and reactionary language. Therefore, I do not want to say whether I like Turks or not. If you have good qualities as a

person, then of course I like. I look in a human perspective way. I do not assume their ethnic background. I am much irritated over what you hear from the oppressor's side. I do not want to end up in the same situation.

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

As I said, there are also generational differences among Turks. It is natural. But they live less intensively based on their environment compared to us. We have many factors such as politics, ideology etc. Because of the oppression, we have problematic differences. Among the Turks, the differences are milder. They are lucky and a little happier compared to Kurds in Turkey.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

There are significant differences between Kurds and Turks. If an employer has fascist views, we don't get jobs, it's that simple. If you still hear people being beaten up and killed on the street for talking Kurdish, it's a big problem. The discrimination has become part of the Kurds' everyday life. We can have different ideological views and thoughts. But such violent acts come into our everyday life, unfortunately, it's very serious according to me. We live in a dangerous situation. I work in a state institution. Among the group I work with, I sometimes hear voices saying that: "she is Kurd, I can't work with her". It is very serious. When developments go in this direction, we can never talk about work ethic, universal human values. We cannot connect human and natural contacts. Of course there are obvious differences. As I said, Kurds are more peaceful, tolerant. But the last two years, battles have led to Kurds starting to rethink and go their way.

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

I have not experienced any problems with the Turkish authorities. I am an official in the state. As I gave examples above, because I speak correctly Turkish and by look, I don't fit into any ethnic group. But in my ID it says that I am from Diyarbakir, they look at me twice and ask if I am from Diyarbakir. I have experienced such treatments. Yes, oh and, I wanted to work as a lecturer at the university that I went to and applied for the employment. But because that I

was from Diyarbakir, I did not get the employment, even though I had very high qualifications. I was told afterwards that I didn't get the job because I was from Diyarbakir. This, I heard from a university officer. I was sad about it. After that, I thought, to have a Kurdish identity always creates problems for you.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

This question is very deep for me. After the fighting in Diyarbakir two years ago, I felt bad and received psychological help. Because my family and my best friends were in Diyarbakir. I had to call often and follow the developments in the social media. I felt bad. I think no one has the right to do so against Kurds in this time. Now I feel better, but all this makes you feel mentally ill.

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

I think you mean Sweden when you say here. I do not think there are big differences. Those who have been around for a long time I do not know. But when it comes to racism and Kurds, they have the same mentality. I don't want to generalize, it's not my way. Therefore, I avoid using sharp words. I want to start from the facts. Sweden is a well-developed country, welfare, the legal system is very developed. It can work on Turks who live there reasonably positively. But I don't think their mentality has changed much. Because racism is like a disease.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

You do not notice much in Western Turkey. For those of us who live in Western Turkey do not usually state our Kurdish identity. Those who live in Kurdish areas are still optimistic and peaceful. If it's good or bad, I can't say for sure. If you have a Turkish neighbor in Kurdish areas, you keep in touch. You are not affected by current politics. You keep the human individual contact. But when it comes to ethnic groups and emotions then it will be different. When it gets individual, they can say my neighbor is Kurd, and it doesn't matter. But when they see it as ethnic groups, they begin to unite and become threatening. If it has not been so, and Turks defended justice as Kurds do, the state could not have performed that policy. The clear example: When the state and the military destroyed the Kurdish cities of Cizre, Sirnak,

Nusaybin and Sur, with inhuman and barbaric methods, the Turkish people did not react. If they had done so, the state would not have dared to use barbaric methods.

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

Not tensions, but I do not see any good relationship between Kurds and Turks. This is due to Turks, I think. After the recent battles against Kurdish cities, Kurds have begun to go to themselves.

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

My children or my relatives can marry Turks. I can also marry myself. I do not have such criteria. As I said above, there are good people, there is bad people. Ethnic background does not make people good or bad. Of course, one who is close to my culture, knows my ethnic background and respects me as I am. This is important to me.

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

I do not feel this when it comes to Kurds. When I say this, I do not want to accuse anyone and accuse any other group. I think Kurds have acted humanly in all processes. Our Turkish friends when they go to the Kurdish areas and when they come back usually they say “ooo it wasn’t like we expected, what hospitable and honest people they are”. But one who comes from there to here (Istanbul) cannot say the same thing. Of course there are differences between Kurds and Turks. There are cultural differences and differences in the way of life. For me it is about human rights in Turkey. Anyone is entitled to receive their rights. It is about an ethnic group giving itself the right to decide on another ethnic group and legalize that right. The state does this in all areas. Violation of human rights is done by the state and through the media it reaches to the people. Violation of human rights is normalized through laws.

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thoughts about it?

Of course I understand the reason why you go to the mountains. When they are 14-15 years old, their friends go to the mountains. When peers in Western Turkey have dreams and idols, while Kurdish youths in that age end up in the middle of politics, have gained their identity in the early age and have said goodbye to friends who committed to the mountains. It is very sad. This happens at the university, as well. That students have their studies, families and join the mountains and wars, there is much we can talk about, I'm sure. I can understand them. They have no choice anymore. I know many people who have said goodbye to me and joined the guerrilla. All this depends on the discrimination because of your Kurdish identity. I want to add one thing I did not mention above about the representation, there were various associations and different civil organizations to preserve and develop the Kurdish language, and culture. But over the past year, all these organizations have been banned and closed. I hope that bright times for Kurds will also be that they have their rights and, me and my children can go to school to learn the language and exercise one's culture.

(15). Interview, Zacharias

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

Im going to talk about myself. I am 30 years old. Im born in Diyarbakir. Eh.. I have university degree, I am talking Zazaki. I couldn't speak Turkish until I was 7 years old, I was living in the village. I can say now that I have university degree. When I was 7 years old I couldn't speak Turkish. When I was 7 years old I started school, and until 3rd class I couldn't speak Turkish. I was talking Zazaki, and was fighting with the teacher, he said that we should talk Turkish with each other. In 4th class I started to talk speech a bit Turkish. Because I was living in the village nobody spook Turkish with each other. Because everybody there was speaking Zaza it was hard to learn Turkish. It was hard to study because we studied in a language that we didn't know. We couldn't understand the teachers completely. It was hard to understand Mathematics. Mathematics is in fact a hard topic, and to learn it in a foreign language is even harder. When school was over, I don't know... We were shooting animals, and we were counting on Zazaki and then we tried to count them in Turkish. Even the multiplication and addition system we learn in this way. Eh...After elementary school...Eh...we moved to the city, to study high school. The ones that didn't move to the city they also went to school anyway. There was no school service. Very rarely there was service to school. With the new laws the villages became suburb of the city. We were walking to school, and we had to food in school. We went home to eat food. Everybody experienced this difficulties, Kurdish and Turkish people, both from the west and east and the people around the black see. Like I said before, most of the people in school where Zaza speaking people. It was also Kurmanji speaking people in my class. The education was in Turkish, so everybody had to learn Turkish. When we started to learn Turkish, we started to speak our mother language lesser. When class was over, we talked Zazaki with the older, because they couldn't speak Turkish. My mother don't know Turkish, my father can speak because he learned it when he went to elementary school. I can still not talk good Turkish, I can say openly to you. When we do this interview, my father maybe cannot understand my Turkish, because my Turkish is not good, if only I could talk Zazaki instead.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

I cannot express myself properly, I have much in my mind that I cannot say. Because I am thinking in Zazaki and try to say it in Turkish and it doesn't go well. This reality makes me unable to express myself, and I experience that the people I talk to doesn't understand me.

At the end, I cannot fully understand, and the people cannot understand me.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

I can speak good Zazaki, and a little bit Kurmanji and Turkish also. But of course I can speak Zazaki better since it is my mother language. If only I could do this interview in Zazaki, it would have been better for me.

6. How did you learn?

I learned this because of my mother, it is my mother tongue. Turkish I learned when I was in school. Kurmanji I learned when I went to high school, in elementary school everybody was talking Zazaki, but in high school when I moved to the city to study, the majority was

Kurmanji speaking people, and so I learned Kurmanji from them. It is not a bad thing, it is a wonderful thing. It is good to also know Kurmanji. When you learn a language, then you start to think differently or universally.

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

Of course, it is important. Like I said, to understand different languages gives one a different feeling and to experience those feelings are also good.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

I can answer this question like this, if I go to a Turkish speaking city, for example when I went to university in a Turkish city, that is why I can answer this question clearly. When I was meeting a Kurdish speaking person there, the feeling I got was different than when I was talking to a Turkish speaking person. When I am meeting a Zazaki or Kurmanji speaking

person, it gives me joy. When I am talking to a Turkish speaking person, i don't get the same feeling of joy. The reason behind the feeling is because, i can't express myself that good and the Turkish speaking person does not understand me entirely.

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

It is important to know and to develop the Kurdish culture. For me, all cultures are a smile. Like a friend of mine said, when you are listening to music here or around the black sea it gives you different kinds of feelings. When someone is putting their traditional clothes on it gives me joy. When we are taking our traditional clothes on, it gives them joy.

When the different cultures are getting closer it is even more great. To maintain and to transfer it to the next generation is our responsibility. What I know, people are changing, and cultures are also changing. Cultures can disappear. It is our responsibility to maintain our culture.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

When you are seeing it from a sociological perspective it is different and when you are seeing it from a linguistic perspective then it is different in another way. If we are talking about the linguistic perspective, they are bullying, they are not accepting different lifestyles or different viewpoints.

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

Turkish people have a softer life, but the Kurdish people in the Kurdish regions they are having a much harder life.

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

There are Kurdish elected parliamentarians, but like you know, at the moment, all of them are in prison. This is something that is very wrong, because, they are representing the people, they are our idols, to take them from us is very bad. Not only them, if someone takes my father or my mother, to punish them, and put them in prison, they are also punishing me. It doesn't matter if it is a relative or not, you experience the pain anyways. When something like that happens, it is an action of injustice. This affects my feelings and I cannot live normally. I feel alive but at the same time dead because I am powerless.

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in different cities of Turkey?

Yes, it exists, not only for the Kurds but also for the Turks. Yes it exists because when you are living with Turks in a Turkish city, you experience the difference. Both emotionally and culturally and linguistically. One goes away from their real self. It doesn't matter which ethnic group you are belonging to, but the Kurds are a bit better, they are not forcing the Turks to be like them when Turks are coming to Kurdish dominated regions. When a Kurdish person is going to a Turkish city, they are not caring or speaking to us, they are just going home. But this doesn't apply for the Kurds. Kurdish people have a feeling of oppression, they are not dividing people, they treat everybody as their own people. Because they have a feeling of oppression. Meanwhile, when Kurdish people are lonely and going to Turkish cities, because of the oppression against us, we always try to explain to people about us, that we are not bad. Because when you live under oppression, you try to always explain yourself to them.

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

Yes it exists differences. The time that we live in right now, the differences are clear. For example, my father and my mother have traditional clothes on, but because I don't have the same traditional clothes on it doesn't mean that I am killing that culture, but eventually the culture will die.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles have changed compare to the old generations? Mindset? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

It exists differences when it comes to mindset. The old generation are more religious. Actually, the religion is not limiting our lifestyles, but the religion is limiting our mindset. According to the old generation, if you are talking about religion with them, it is forbidden. But we in the young generation, talk sometimes about religion. When it comes to the language, there is also a difference. The old generation does not understand the importance of language, they are just taking from what they have learned from their parents and it is limited. But the young generation are more aware that the language can die, that why they intentionally try to keep the language alive.

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

Yes of course, I see myself as a Kurd. The importance is that the language I speak is Kurdish.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

The current government and earlier rulers have developed their politics through religion. Our older people, they are more religious and therefore they feel more close to the government. The old ones, they don't support the left-movements or the socialist movements, because they take away standpoint from religion. When the young ones are supporting the left, they are accused of being a communist. To be a communist, according to them, is to go away from religion. For them, life is about religion. When you live in religion, it means that you are living. Actually, that is not true for me. Because I believe that You only live once, then Religion is not important for me. For me conscience and values are important and respect. If I lose respect and values, then I lose the religion as well. If I lose my values then I lose Mohammed as well. Religion is feelings, if you are not approaching the religion with feelings then you will not get closer to God.

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

Media is absolutely an important aspect. And the media is controlled by the state. You are nodding and smiling it means that you are agreeing with me. Because of the reason that media is controlled by the state, thus, they are not telling the truth. Because they are not

telling the truth, then the people, regardless of them being Turkish or Kurdish they didn't get the real picture of the reality. When they don't get the real picture, then people start to react prejudice. For instance, when I studied at university, I had a friend from Ankara and another from Konya, and we talked to each other. And I wanted to know their experience and opinions about Kurds. I told them that I was from a Turkish city called Denizli. We talked, and they started to speak about their opinions about Kurdish people. It annoyed me really much, for example they talked about the Kurdish people and said that they are the people that are fighting in the night. I was wondering if they said it consciously or unconsciously. The discussion became harsher, their opinions about the Kurds got harsher. It annoyed me. At last, I couldn't take it anymore, and I told them that I was from Diyarbakir and you are talking

bullshit and it hurts. It's not the truth that hurts me, it's the fact that we have to know who is the Kurds and who is the Turks. We have to first listen to each other and know each other. That is why I asked them the question, have you ever had a Kurdish friend? You are saying that "no, we haven't", then I said, "despite the fact that you have never had a Kurdish friend you are talking prejudice about Kurds. If I would talk about Turkish people like you do, you would also react like this. When I said this, their answer, and the thing that made me happy was, "what we have been reading from the media, heard from our family and from our friends is like this". When we started to get to know each other, they said to me like this, "you cannot be a Kurd and from Diyarbakir". What they said, and what they had heard from media, and their family and from friends, was really different. Their picture of Kurds was that they were fighters, thief's and plunders. They have never known a Kurd before, I was the first Kurd they got to know. I have to understand them, and they have to understand, and then we will come closer. In reality, we are separated and we hate each other. Thus, If we listen and understand each other then we can live as brothers.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

Family is important, why family is important I will tell you... When our parents grew up, the Turkish and the Kurdish people didn't grew up together.. The Turks went to high school in their region, and they worked there. And the Kurds they went to school in their region and worked there also. They couldn't meet each other, but at our times, we can meet each other. If we can meet each other under the same roof, then we have to get to know each other. Talk about that I am Kurdish, I'm talking Zazaki, you are Turkish and talking Turkish and that it all doesn't matter. This is important, that we have to come closer in this sense. I'm not looking for someone responsible, I am looking for a solution of the problem.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

Yes I have. Like I told you before, I have some Turkish friends. They have prejudice thoughts, but I respected them. A person that are being stereotyped will try to convince them that they are not like that. Because this is my pain, and they don't have that. That's why I need to explain this to them. That's why I have Turkish friends from university and have friends from Diyarbakir as well. Of course we have things we can't agree on, some friends only see the question from a political viewpoint and not from a humanistic perspective.

When you are seeing it from a humanistic point of view, then political problems will be solved, justice and coexistence will be achieved. The problem is not about if we talk Turkish or Kurdish, if we are Turk or Kurd, it's about humanity.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

Like I said before, yes I see difference. The youth of my generation are meeting each other. For example, when I was at university, I had a girlfriend ...Eh...She hurt me, because of an action that she made. We were sitting at a café. She wanted me to show her my ID. When she saw that I was from Diyarbakir, she put down my ID on the table and said: "If only you weren't from Diyarbakir". I was shocked, why not Diyarbakir? She said, for me it doesn't matter, but my mother will think that you are a terrorist. This is what I mean, the old generation have not lived under the same roof, they have not been in the same school and they have not been sitting on the same busses etc. The young ones are not like that, they have a different point of view. The old ones have not changed their perceptions and opinions against Kurds.

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

Yes, the biggest difference is that they are not speaking the same language. Eh.. Discrimination, is something that is really different. You are being discriminated because you are talking your mother tongue. They are getting much more and we are getting lesser. It is unfair. Eh.. When we are sitting on a Café in the west of Turkey, and talk our own language then people look at you and start to treat you differently in a negative way. For example, the table beside us spoke Turkish, then the waiter were more nice to them when they were ordering. But if the persons on the table are speaking Kurdish then the staff are brutally hard on them. You don't deserve that treatment. But when Turks are coming to Diyarbakir, and are experiencing the hospitality, they are ashamed. For example, I got to know two teachers, one from Kastamono and the other from Trabzon, for the first time they came to Diyarbakir. They were places to work in Diyarbakir, and they don't know anyone in Diyarbakir. Their mothers and fathers didn't want them to go to Diyarbakir. The living conditions for Turkish people

from the black sea are not so good, like the Kurds. The first week of their arrival they stayed with a Kurdish family. They were shocked because of the families hostility. They said that they took care of us really good as individuals, and later they found us an apartment. “we were really shocked” they said. Later when they started to work, and met families, children and other people, they understood that media and the state are not telling the truth of the reality. And also that their families are not telling the truth. When they were telling their parents, their parents didn’t believe them. But they invited their parents to Diyarbakir, and then they understood much better. Like I said before about the restaurant, people are acting prejudiced,

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

Yes, I have experienced it. How? for example, you are working in an institution, where the Kurds are in a majority. You have to speak Turkish, when the older generation of Kurdish people are coming for help, they can’t speak Turkish well, we still have to talk Turkish with them. They cannot express their needs, and everything takes more time. The right thing in this situation, is to help them and listen to them in their language.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

30. What would you have thought if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thoughts about it?

Now.. The problem about the Kurds and Turks.. The biggest cause is the ones that rule the state. It's not about nationalism, and language. It's about how long the person is in power and that they don't want to leave their chair.

We have people that don't see any other way, that's why they go to the mountains. And there are also another part. People that consciously go there because they want to protect their identity. Either way, we have to respect them and support them.

(16). Interview, Klara

1. Tell a little about yourself? Year of birth, origin, hobby, work, education, family and where in Turkey where you born?

Ehm...Okey. I am ... and I'm an human Rights defender and also an activist living in Diyarbakir, but in the last six years I begin to write as an columnist in the newspaper so now a lot of people know me as journalist. I'm 43, and in the last 20 years after I graduate from political science faculty I returned to Diyarbakir because I am from this city and then..I begin to work for (UNDP) and I worked for UNDP like 10 years and then I...But during that time also I established some association...I...All my life, passed with voluntary work, and then...after UNDP I began, continue to work within the NGO:s and especially I work on the villages that was forced to migrate who were evacuated during the 90:s. And I also work on villages guards, paramilitary villages for many years and I also work on education mother tongue, disarmament, and different aspects of Kurdish issues. And...I grew up in Diyarbakir, just for education and for university I went to Ankara then after five years I returned.

2. How do you feel about being Kurd in Turkey?

It is not easy to be a Kurd in Turkey. Ah...To feel as a...The feeling is mostly it changed when I was a child, mostly in many Kurdish people like me, Kurdish children who grew up like me in the city center they are different then the Kurdish children who grew up in the villages. Because in the city center there were more...Eh...arms police and there were more pressure, when I grew up...but in the rural areas it was hard for the Turkish state sometimes to go to the rural areas and to aa..i mean like...At the beginning of 80:s...and Eh...And most of the Kurdish children who grew up in the rural areas they know Kurdish because they feel as less as the state...but the Kurdish who grew up in the city centers like me, we didn't know...Eh...must of us, don't know today Kurdish. And when I grew up, I remember it was hard...it was...eh...forbidden to speak. Kurdish was forbidden. And also...because we were going to Turkish schools, still the same thing today, we just have Turkish state schools, we were thinking that Kurdish is something bad, to be Kurdish Is also something bad, because Eh...the main thing giving to at...School.. to us.

3. Why does it make you feel that way?

I remember that, for example my teacher telling us that, Kurdish is bad. And people who speak Kurdish is bad also. I when...I returned home, I remembered, but my mother speaks Kurdish, maybe she can be bad you know...So a lot of children at that time...You know that grew up in my generation they had the same feelings. I had the same feelings in a long time, and you know I didn't want to be Kurdish. I was trying to speak the best Turkish. And all these things...just you know...try to...not to, I want people to think that I am Turkish and not Kurdish. But then I grew up, you know in the city center I have no idea about the villages, but in the city centers we grew up with this pressure. And I remember for example, it was in the 80:s, when we went to hospitals, there were signs on the wall...it says: no Turkish no service. You know, if you don't speak Turkish, there no also no service. You know, it was like that in the city center. And then I went to high school, it was the beginning of 90: s and we begin to understand what happened to us because there were some protest begun in the

schools, I was going to Diyarbakir high school, very A..how can I say...elite school...but I was going there with scholarship. I grew up in a poor district but we were a few people who went to that school. In that school there where protests...Eh..they were burning the history books...They where older than us...They where telling us that these school books don't contain Kurdish people, we don't have this in the history books and these things. And these protest begun in my school. And at that time, also we begin hearing about PKK and about other things. And from my school, my friends, a lot of people begin to go to the mountains. And we understand, we begin to understand what happened to us, and we begin to question why we are not in these books. So for me, maybe it was a late time, I was at high school I begin to understand. Because my family wasn't a politician family. So I didn't understand before that. It was like a shame to be Kurdish. We don't want to be Kurdish, we were thinking that Kurdish people are some people that are from the village. But after a while we understand what happened. And as I said, I don't know Kurdish...Eh...After near end of the 90th I returned to Diyarbakır. After university education. I tried to learn Kurdish, it was so hard, I found a Kurdish teacher coming to my home. But at that time it was still so hard finding Kurdish books, Kurdish teaching books and all these things. And...so...it continued, I continued like 1 year, then again it was in the mid 2000 - 2005 something like that, some Kurdish teaching courses began in Diyarbakır, like, Kurdi. Etc. but again they had only one course, there were no teachers etc. I went a few times, but I couldn't learn. When I learned I begin to understand but still I can't speak Kurdish, And, still I understand simple things. Another reason is that, in the city center in Diyarbakır, Kurdish is not the main language, we

are mainly speaking Turkish. And if you don't have courses, you know, if you don't have the TV, if you don't have teachers, if you don't use this in your daily life, in schools ..it is hard, to continue in your own language.

4. What does it mean to be Kurdish according to you? Why?

5. Do you speak both Kurdish and Turkish?

6. How did you learn?

7. Is it important to learn the Kurdish language? Why?

To learn Kurdish is important for me, I tried a lot, but then I said, Okey it is hard, I can't, because without teacher, without courses and most important thing, you are not using it. But still I'm trying, it's important for me. It is my language, I want to learn it, but it's not easy, without school, without mother tongue education, I know it is so hard. But again, sure I am Kurd. I know I am Kurd, they can't assimilate, they assimilated us maybe in language, but not in other ways. So in all my life I struggled for the rights of Kurdish people. Even though I don't know Kurdish Languages I established institution who work on education in mother tongue. So you know.. they couldn't achieve you know.. we are not assimilated.

8. Do you feel that people are treating you differently (in a certain way) because of your Kurdish identity?

When I tell people that I am Kurdish, which kind of reaction, in fact first they were chocked, because I don't know what they have in their mind as Kurdish, they think that oh... you don't seem like Kurd... Things like that. But What does it mean I say...this makes me angry. But you know in the last years, because of my journalistic work, those people mainly know me, so I don't need to introduce me as Kurdish. Because they think, they know that I am Kurdish. And mostly,

also they, a lot of people think that I am, a terrorist. So you know...I don't need to tell me self to anyone in the West now..

9. Is it important to keep the Kurdish culture alive?

To protect the Kurdish culture, I think is really important. In the institution like Diyarbakir social and political science institute I am one of the founders, we work a lot to collect the Kurdish stories and songs and all these things, and also I like these English culture. But it is voluntary work, it is hard again it is hard. We need policies, you know about this.

Also it should be one of the...Eh...one of the policies of the Kurdish struggle also, unfortunately, when we had the municipalities, then the Kurdish movements manage the municipalities, eh...when they were in power, even they didn't give so much importance, to...you know...to make this culture to live more...they didn't give so much importance...the Kurdish artists, singers, they didn't support buy the Kurdish movement a lot, it is what I am thinking, today it is hard for the Kurdish people, it is more hard for people who work on these issues, because now today it is totally silence. As Kurdish people we are, we have statesmen instead of our own mayors, our old mayors are in prison or they are forced to leave the country. So 96 Kurdish municipalities now governed by the state appointed people, so it's not ours anymore. So when they came they first closed the cultural centers, and they changed Kurdish names to Turkish names. And... They destroyed the Kurdish monuments. Totally Kurdish you know... Kurdishness was criminalized...in the last three years...if you came here four years ago, probably you would see the Kurdish signs in the streets... And the Kurdish municipalities did a lot of these... It was... We lost... Multiculturalism. These last three years.. and state appointers came... So today it is so hard, because they destroyed the Kurdish cultural places, we had...eh.. academies, with Kurdish singers, Kurdish youth who go there for Kurdish culture. They were all totally closed these past three years. Today kurdishness is totally criminalized, even some wedding singers who sang in Kurdish, they were also put in prison. So today is I think the worst days for Kurdish people in all the history of turkey. This is wha I am thinking. I don't know, the beginning of the century sure, but I know the 90:s, and today is worst then the 90:s. I think. Because, nearly all NGO: s where closed, all municipalities are taken from the Kurds, and we have destroyed cities, a lot of Kurdish cities they are destroyed, and thousands of people's homes are taken away. Especially, in Sirnak. And all the people who represent the Kurdish people, they are mainly in prison or outside the country, and so...I think today we are passing from very bad days.

10. How do you think the picture of Kurdish people are perceived in Turkey?

11. How do you think Kurds are living in Turkey?

12. Is there something that represent Kurds in turkey?

13. What do you think is typical Kurdish?

14. Is there any difference between Kurds in difference cities of Turkey?

And.. You ask about the criteria's.. Who are representing the Kurdish.. the Kurdish people are not homogenous group.. You know. In turkey also.. People think that we are homogenous... but no, we are not homogenous. And we are different from each other. Yes, there are some. Most, of us, we want our language, not most of us, maybe you know, but more than 50 percent, erh..struggling for

our rights.. but there are different Kurdish people, coming from political views, and have different ideas, and unfortunately one bad thing is that, I'm not sure how we are respectful to each other, and im not sure also how, if Kurdish movement also respectful to these differences. So this is one bad point, because of this, it is hard to come together in many times. But again there are some red things that we all think the same and one is the Kurdish language. Nearly most of us, more than 95 % of the Kurdish people demand education in mother tongue. Mainly the language is the main thing, that are commonly supported by the Kurdish people, but in other criteria's we have differences. And the state use these differences very well. And yes there are differences between the Kurdish people in the rural areas and the cities, but especially, after the 90: s, when the villages where evacuated, during the war between PKK and the state, a lot of villages where evacuated and more then 3000 villages where burned by the state. A lot of people from the villages they forced to migrate to the city centers, so after they migrate this differences become more less... you know... So today there is not so much differences I think today, because a lot of people who live now in the city center, they came now with this forced migration, so you know...it is nearly the same people now...

15. How is the difference between the old generation of Kurds towards the young?

And between the old and the young generation, yes of course there are differences. People who see the 90: s.. eh.. Like me, or older than me... We are more supported of peace, put it is hard for the young generation, they are angrier, and sometimes they are angrier and sometimes they don't want to listen anything about being kurdishness. It is two different sides like... As for the Kurdish people who are more old... Because they experience the 90s and

before... And they saw something that, they are more... Still struggling for, peace... But a lot of young people, they don't want to hear the word peace... So I think this is one of the big differences, so it is hard sometimes for the young people... They don't want to understand the old ones, I think for these generation who has seen the 90s..i think when we die, it will be hard to find people who still struggle for peace.

16. Do you think that the young generations lifestyles has changed compare to the old generations? Mindset? The importance of keeping the Kurdish culture alive?

Eh.. About question 16, protect Kurdish culture, to develop it, I cannot say that young people are thinking like this, and old people are thinking like that, because you know there are both. In young people, in young generation, there are group of, very politicized, and they are so, they do so importance to the protection of Kurdish culture which is very good. But there is another group of young generation, really they don't want to hear about this, because they are so tired, they want to laugh with people, to have a beer with girlfriend, you know, these things, so we have both you know...

17. How do you define yourself? Kurd or Turk?

Yes I define myself as Kurd.

18. Can you tell about the old generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through friends, family, and media?

19. Can you tell about young generations mind-set about the conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state through your own perspective? Through, friends, family and media?

A lot of people are so tired, Eh..Today, a lot of people are so angry against the state, because of the last three years of what we experience, because of the bombing of the mountains, because of the city centers, because of we lost a lot of people, and also because of our cities, for example the heart of Diyarbakir, over 7000 years old, half of it are totally destroyed. But also, there are Kurdish movements, which is hard to speak. People they don't want to speak of it, they are just speaking in side themselves, they are also angry of Kurdish movements, and they are angry also of the PKK. You know there is a horrible state, and they think that, they think that this is a horrible state, and think, why you launch the war in the city centers. That is

another discussion. Usually people are not discussing openly. It is hard to criticize your own movement.

As I said, I cannot say that there is a homogenous Kurdish generation, but there is a group which is so harsh, and they think that the only thing is to fight, to take the Kalashnikov, and to fight against the state...you know...they say, why you are in contact with the State... duh duh...duh... But they all, go to state schools, you know... There is another group, and they are young and they are so tired. But today, I think a lot of people are in deep silence, it is hard today, really to understand what people are thinking, because they saw in the last three years, they experience very bad things, you know there where dead bodies on the streets, and people don't want to speak, because to speak is dangerous. And also they think that, even the Kurds, they are not hearing each other. They have loss to many things, I think they have lost their believes, also to movements. So they don't want to speak, they prefer not to speak. They try to pass these days like that, silence at home, not speak to people... you know.

20. How do you feel about the fact that Kurds and Turks live side by side? Go to school together, associate?

And to go to the same school, Turkish and Kurdish people together and to live in peace, I'm not sure, it can be maybe. When Kurdish people have rights, but today... Kurdish people don't have the main human rights, like the education in mother tongue, even not just to use their own songs. And to criticize, to speak, to govern, you know... Many things. So, yes Kurdish and Turkish people are now are going to the same school, yes I have a lot of Turkish friends also, but these Turkish people are more aware of what is happening. It's not easy to be friend with a Turkish who is not thinking that Kurdish people also have rights. There are Turkish people also that protect Kurdish people, there are maybe not a lot, but we have.

21. Do you have Turkish friends? What do you talk about?

Eh...I have, yes sure, I have a lot of Turkish friends, We are sharing a lot of things, yeah I like Turkish people... I don't like nationalist people; I don't like fascist people. And unfortunately many Turkish people, because of the education system, and all these things, there are a lot of nationalist

Turkish people, a lot of racist Turkish people. But we have also good Turkish people, so you know. None of the groups are homogenous, it is something like that. Sometimes we have

Turkish people who are struggling for Kurdish rights, it is not homogenous, we are not talking about homogenous groups.

22. What is your experience of Turks? Do you like them?

23. What is your experience of the young generation of Turks towards the old generations of Turks?

24. Do you experience that there are any differences between Kurds and Turks? Class-differences, injustice, discrimination on the labor market etc.?

I'm sure there are differences between Turkish and Kurdish people, class-differences, discrimination, but there are also class-differences inside the Kurdish people. There are a lot of discrimination, like the base of the Turkish state, depends on this discrimination I think. So it is in the selves of this country, this state. You know...

25. Have you got into any problems from Turks, the Turkish authorities, the police, the judicial system etc. because of your Kurdish identity?

Yes I have a lot of problems because I am Kurdish... always I face with discrimination, I face with racist behaviors, I have court trials because of my social media shares and because of my articles. Last year I was in prison for three days, you know like a lot of Kurds I also face with these things, and I really don't know with tomorrow if I will be retained or not. I have my court cases continue, I took another ten months prison sentence from another court case, because I wrote the war crimes in Cizre. But always you know... I have on social media, they humiliate me, discriminate me, discredit, they always attack. From Turks and sometimes from Kurds. Yeah.. From Turkish people they think that I am terrorist, or Kurdish people they think that why I am thinking human rights violations, why I am not writing the wholly struggle, it is like that.. I am under attack from both sides usually, not just from the Turks.

26. How do you feel about Turks and Kurds fighting, due to the war?

27. Do you believe that Turks are different here than in other cities?

And the Turkish people in Diyarbakir, yes they are different from the other Turks because they see what is happening here. They are mostly thinking like that, but sure we have also

Turkish police, and Turkish arms and their families and they are more you know racist and they are more nationalist, so we usually don't have contact with them.

28. How do you think the relationship is between Kurds and Turks today? Is it better, worse, in regard to the political circumstances?

29. Do you feel that there are some tensions between Kurds and Turks?

About the relationship between Turks and Kurds, yeah it is worse I think. Especially after the peace process collapse, it is really worse because, the language the politicians use every day they do hate crimes against the Kurdish people and this affect you know a lot of people, a lot of Turkish people, for example for just a few days ago, a father was killed in Sakarya because he said that he was Kurdish. So we have these kind of things, especially in these last three years we have these a lot. This is especially opened by the politicians, because every time they say that you know, Kurdish people are terrorist, Kurdish people are like this, lets enter Afrin, let's do this and this.. Then ordinary Turkish people, beginning to think that they are terrorist. As I said before, we are passing from bad days. And today the relationship are really bad, really bad. It is hard to say I am Kurd in the west. I am saying, but as I said, because, you know. I'm am saying it, but I am struggling before it, for ordinary Kurdish people, it is hard to say, I think. There is always tension. Even I know, a lot of my friends, they don't say that they are Kurdish in the cars, and in many places in the west. I have my sisters, even they don't say, they are living in the west of turkey, they are not saying that they are Kurdish. And yeah, sure, my children can marry to anyone they want. I am not that kind of Kurdish nationalist.

30. What would you have though if your daughter/son/relative married a Turk?

31. Do you witness stereotypes and discriminations between Kurds and Turks?

32. Do you witness a difference between Kurds and Turks in Turkey? Do you personally think there is a difference? Why? Which?

33. Do you understand why people go to the mountains to fight? Can you explain your thought about it?

Mm...yeah There are a lot of differences, between Kurdish people and Turkish people. But as I said, non of these groups are homogenous, there are a lot of differences between the Kurdish

people also, there are a lot of differences between the Turkish people, so nothing is white and black you know... There is nothing white and black. So yes there are differences, but Inside the Kurdish people also there are a lot of differences. There are some Kurdish people that never say that they are Kurd, they want to forget that they are Kurd. There are Kurdish people who vote for AKP, there are Kurdish people that are part of Hezbollah, there are Kurdish who struggle for the right of Kurdish people. So for Kurdish people, it is not a homogenous group. So, you know. Eh... I don't think that ordinary Turkish people understand why Kurdish people go to the mountains, I don't think that they understand. It is not easy, It is a process to understand. I think very little of them understand, that, why there is PKK, that the PKK is the result of some policies of the Turkish state, it is hard to understand. Just two weeks ago, I was in Dublin. I had a speech there, and there was a Turkish colleague, she asks me a question. Because I told in my speech, I told about the war crimes, and human rights abuse of the Turkish state. And then she said something like, this fight will go on until the last terrorist will be killed. Ok, something like that. And I told her, I ask her, who is the last terrorist. Maybe not born, maybe the last terrorist will be someone that, the Turkish state, burned alive in the Cizre basement, maybe this last terrorist will be Kurdish kid, who you forbid eh...his language, you know... So I said, who is the last terrorist. Where? Maybe not born yet. So if all of this atrocities continue, all this terror will not be the last terrorist. Because all of this things are a result of something, if all of this atrocities continue, if you prohibit the language of someone. If you destroy the cities, if you don't give them permission to select their own municipalities. If their representatives are in prison, ok... if we can't open to speak, if we are being killed because we are saying that we are Kurdish. If you are making our children ashamed in school, so which one of you will be the last terrorist. You know, it is something like that... It will all continue, if you do all this things, these things will continue. It will always be someone that will go to the mountains. It is like a circle, if the state doesn't have democratic policies against a group of citizens, these things will then always occur. But I don't have a real... In the near future I really don't have hope for close future, but I don't know, I don't think that I will see peace. But I am not sure about the next generation. But today, when I move to turkey, I think turkey is passing from really bad times, just now, one man...one flag, one language, it is that time. and Kurdish people are

totally under pressure, and in silence, and Kurdish movements is not very big, and cannot answer the problems of Kurdish people in turkey.