



Rivista di Studi Indo-Mediterranei X (2020)

Shilan Fuad Hussain

## The Turkey's Kurdish minority art: its expression in modern time

**Contents.** Introduction. 1. The Kurdish arts before and after the “Democratic Opening” in Turkey; 2. Kurdish art in Turkey: the field of filmmaking as a form of resistance; 3. The emergence of Kurdish novel: themes, language use and political dimension. Concluding remarks; Bibliography

**Key words.** Kurds, migration, art, conflict, resistance, filmmaking, literary field, Kurdish novel

### Introduction

This article examines the Kurdish artistic production in modern day Turkey, from 2009 onwards, when Turkey's Ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) launched the Kurdish ‘Democratic Opening’. In Turkey, from 1923 until the 1990s, in particular after the creation of the Turkish state, the existence of a Kurdish population was denied; the use of Kurdish was banned, since a ‘political value was conferred to the language’<sup>1</sup>, and Kurds were prevented from expressing their culture and identity. Nonetheless, during the 1960s, the 1990s, and more specifically, the 2000s, Turkey was more liberal toward the Kurds, and in 1991 it approved the publication of books

in Kurdish. This great opportunity for the Kurds to express their identity and cultural heritage, allowed the modern Kurdish artistic expression and literary fields to prosper. In addition, the political and peace processes conducted by the AKP were also remarkable from an economic and sociological perspective. During the 2000s, radio and TV channels started broadcasting in Kurdish, while in 2009, the public channel TRT 6 began to broadcast exclusively in ‘Kurdish, to ‘solidify the unity and fraternity of the people’ and ‘strengthen [Turkish] democracy’, [as announced by] the prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’<sup>2</sup>. In 2009, a ‘Kurdish minority language’ course was introduced at Mardin Artuklu University, at Yasayan the Living Languages Institute (Diller Enstitüsü), and granted by the Turkish government, as stated by the Board of Higher Education. In 2011, ‘at Mardin Artuklu University, an undergraduate Kurdish Language and Culture Department was opened’<sup>3</sup>; some universities offered courses in Kurdish, providing the opportunity for teachers and students to commit to this field. Furthermore, academic researchers, teachers, journalists, musicians and in particular writers, were enabled to construct linguistic and literary heritages and engage across a range of artistic disciplines. In the ongoing times of peace, some independent publishing houses have emerged (which rely on external funding), such as Avesta, and Kurdish publishing houses have released up to one hundred books a year. The field of filmmaking brought international attention to the narratives and struggles of Kurds, for example the Iranian filmmaker Bahman Ghobadi's *A time for Drunken Horses* (*Zamani Barayé Masti Asbha*, 2000), winner of the prestigious *Camera d’Or* award at the Cannes Film Festival in 2000<sup>4</sup>. This paper will attempt to explore the Kurdish world of films, documentaries and novel writing produced by Kurds living in Turkey and in diaspora (in the latter case, before the Opening Initiative, Kurdish artists engaged in the fields of arts abroad, where they found cultural freedom), both in Kurdish and Turkish languages<sup>5</sup>. This paper intends to analyse the cultural impact of the ‘Kurdish opening’ in Turkey, that is, the Kurdish ‘minority’ artistic work in times of peace, which attests its importance as a channel of self-expression and its close connection to the political sphere. From 2015 onwards, the Turkish-Kurdish conflict has resurfaced due to political tensions between the Turkish government and Kurdish political faction<sup>6</sup>, which have prevented the emerging of the Kurdish arts and forms of self-expression. This paper claims that Turkey's Kurdish “minority” art expresses and consolidates the Kurdish identity and its cultural uniqueness. This same art is a tool of resistance against the ‘majority power’ and ‘majority culture’, reflecting the historical and political context of its origins, oppression and exile by the sovereign state, as well as becoming an outlet for personal and collective memories. In this article, only cinematic works, documentaries and novels of Kurdish artists from Turkey have been considered, to delimit the corpus according to national boundaries and language use. The fields of arts developed differently in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey and in diaspora, including themes, discourses, dialect forms, which are the result of the political claims, social and cultural background of the nations where Kurds reside. The Kurdish arts production is not autonomous and detached from the political system, historical events and socio-cultural context where it developed. The nations inhabited by Kurds have influenced their identity, linguistic use, shaping, in turn, their expressive medium<sup>7</sup>.

## **1. The Kurdish arts before and after the “Democratic Opening” in Turkey**

Over the last five centuries Kurdistan, the area ‘inhabited mainly by Kurds, has never enjoyed political unity’: Kurds were governed for almost five centuries by at least two empires, the

Safavid and Ottoman<sup>8</sup>. Following World War I, the Kurdish territory was divided among Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, the new nations that emerged after the fall of Ottoman Empire. In modern times, Kurds never had a defined state and a united nation in a juridical sense, and did not enjoy a common political, administrative and economic unity. The aim of Turkish, Arabic and Persian nations, was to assimilate the modern Kurdish identity, culture, and in general in every field of life. Hence, the Kurds have been subjected to different political, social and cultural systems, and their arts and culture developed without having ‘organic interrelations with each other’<sup>9</sup>. The lack of a Kurdish nationhood is one of the most visible developments of the Kurdish arts, within which the fragmented culture and the diversity of identities are reflected.

The deprecation of the Kurdish language and lack of Kurdish cultural freedom has resulted in three main consequences within the Kurdish sphere in Turkey. Firstly, the language ban brought on by the absence of a spoken and written standard language, although written in standard Kurmanci developed in Syria by 1930 and becoming widespread in Turkey from the 1990s onwards. Secondly, the Kurdish language ban brought on by monolingualism (Turkish), bilingualism (Turkish and Kurdish dialects), or diglossia<sup>10</sup> (Turkish spoken in the public domain, mainly connected to politics, and Kurdish related to cultural and leisure activities). Thirdly, Kurdish writers from Turkey have committed themselves to the Kurdish literary and artistic fields abroad, mainly in Sweden (in the 1980s–1990s), where they have been involved in the development of Kurmanci and in building a common cultural heritage. The use of Turkish became common among Kurds who ‘came from educated backgrounds’<sup>11</sup>, such as intellectuals, activists and politicians who emerged from the Turkish political spheres, in particular during the 1970s. The contribution of the *medrese* (religious schools), where Kurdish language (Kurmanci), culture and literary tradition were taught to a limited number of students, should be acknowledged; from 1924 onwards, the teaching of Kurdish was banned by the state. Nonetheless, the *medrese* continued to play an essential role in the growth of the Kurdish cultural and linguistic heritage.

Between the 1970s–1980s (specifically in the 1980s, during the military coup) and the 1990s, the artistic production in Kurdish (Sorani and Kurmanci) developed mainly in diaspora, in Europe, in particular in Sweden, as argued by van Bruinessen, where politically active intellectuals, journalists and writers have chosen the path of exile<sup>12</sup>. In Sweden, the Foundation for the Culture of the Future (*Stiftelsen Framtidens Kultur*), and National Council for Cultural Affairs (*Statens Kulturråd*) offered economic support for artists. At the time, it was dangerous for Kurds who remained in Turkey to engage in the cultural field in Kurdish, but those who chose the path of exile were given assistance and could produce films and publish works in their mother tongue. In particular, Kurdish writers from Turkey who migrated in Sweden promoted the use of the Kurdish language and developed the novel genre, such as: Mehmed Uzun (1953–2006), Mahmut Baksî (1944–2000), and Firat Cewerî (1959). These are prominent writers whose novels and anthologies have been translated, accordingly, by the scholar C. Scalbert-Yu`cel, who stated that being translated ‘into Turkish’, in particular Muhsin Kizilkaya, ‘played a crucial role in encompassing them into Turkish literature’<sup>13</sup>. As a consequence, the Kurdish language ban in Turkey resulted in the ex-territorialization of literary and artistic output, in particular in Sweden between the 70s, 80s, 90s. The state formulated ‘migration and cultural policies’, providing grants to migrants committed in cultural activities, as well as supporting Kurmanci education in schools<sup>14</sup>.

In 2009, Turkey's Ruling Justice and Development Party promoted the ‘demokratik açılım’

(‘democratic opening’), lately named ‘*Milli Birlik ve Kardeşlik Projesi*’ (National Unity and Brotherhood Project), which represented a major step forward between the Turkish authorities, Kurdish movement and the ethnic minority. The AKP’s aim was to end the conflict with Kurdish movement and to establish a dialogue for two main reasons: firstly, due to Turkey’s aspiration to become a member state of the European Union and to adopt EU legislation, the AKP intended to adhere to the rules of the Copenhagen Criteria, toward building of a peaceful coexistence with ethnic minorities in Turkey<sup>15</sup>. Secondly, the AKP used the ‘democratic opening’ clearly for political purposes, to contain the Kurdish movement’s success and to regain political control over ‘the country’s southeast’, providing greater freedom, heralding public debate and intellectual activities. Nevertheless, this represented a step forward in advancing the rights of the Kurds with respect to the former non-recognition of the existence of Kurds since the creation of the Turkish state (1923), the deprecation of Kurdish language, identity and culture, be it written or spoken. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Kurdish artistic development had begun a decade before the AKP’s Kurdish Opening initiative, as mentioned above, where limited cultural rights were recognized by AKP’s party to meet the Copenhagen Criteria.

In 2009, the Turkish nation initiated the peace process with the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê, PKK); however, the intermittent and fragile dialogue ended in July 2015 when the conflict between Turks and Kurds was rekindled and a political and peaceful dialogue with Kurds was denied. During this peaceful period, before the renewal of the conflict, the use of Kurdish and the relative freedom to talk openly about Kurdish reality had given rise to the ‘artistic and cultural production among the Kurds’. In Turkey, Kurdish art has become politicized, beyond its ‘subject matter’ and ‘stylistic choices’, because it plays a role in narrating the Kurdish struggles, memories and traumatic experiences, while being significantly affected by a conflictual social and political environment within which it developed, as well as by historical accounts. In the historical and political context outlined above, as Stephen Duncombe explains, arts ‘can be used as a means of resistance’, ‘through which to interpret reality and possibility’; more specifically, it is a cultural resistance against the Turkish state’s hegemony and its goal to exclude, ignore and absorb minority cultures<sup>16</sup>.

The recognition of the Kurdish language in Turkey played an essential role ‘in the writing process and the evolution of the Kurdish literary world’<sup>17</sup>. The common literary themes chosen by the writers are: struggle, exile, memory and conflict. These lead to a narration of Kurdish realities from different perspectives. The opening initiative has permitted the diverse religions, minority identities and cultures to express themselves. In particular, the Kurdish arts flourished at an unprecedented level and conveyed the struggles and memories of Kurds. In light of the above, the value of arts for the Kurdish minority has been extremely clear, which constitutes an essential ‘channel for self-expression and transmission of experiences and traumas unique to the Kurdish case’<sup>18</sup>. During the opening period, Sweden gradually lost its centrality, since in Turkey and, more specifically, in Istanbul the chance of publishing in Kurdish grew exponentially since the authors were no longer subjected to rigorous legal constraints; they had the chance to publish in literary institutions, such as journals and publishing houses. Without any doubt, the national policy and Kurdish policy in Turkey have played a crucial role in the emergence and development of Kurdish artistic activities. As described above, the non-recognition of the existence of the Kurdish population, the Kurdish language ban, the denigration of Kurdish identity and culture have negatively affected the Kurdish arts development from 1923 up to the 1990s; publications in Kurdish were allowed only from 1991 onwards.

## **2. Kurdish art in Turkey: the field of filmmaking as a form of resistance**

In the fields of Kurdish arts, filmmaking, documentaries, literature, music, new voices have emerged in modern times in Turkey as a means of self-expression and resistance, where the works are highly affected by the authors' Kurdish origins. Kurdish art has thrived within Turkish society, the latter constantly in conflict with Kurds: on the one hand, the ban of Kurdish language<sup>19</sup>, and the restriction on the Kurdish ethnic identity and culture, have negatively affected the art production by inhibiting its surge. On the other hand, in the aftermath of the 'democratic opening' (2009), due to the 'relative' freedom of expression, 'minority' cultural worlds were included and the Kurdish art creation developed at an unprecedented level. The Kurdish 'minority' identity, culture and language have been denied and later absorbed, by the dominant Turkey state 'majority', by imposing its identity and culture. As mentioned by Zeynep Gambetti:

'With respect to the Kurds, this aural production had taken the form of an outright ban of the Kurdish language in schools, public places, publications, street or village names, and even child names, as well as its broadcast on radio or TV, by successive laws ever since 1924 and name-change operations were executed in the 1930s, 1960s and 1980s. The official designation for Kurds is that they are 'mountain Turks' and their language is a 'border dialect' of Turkish. With the lifting of the ban on publications in Kurdish in 1991, the cultural revival that had begun in the Kurdish diaspora in Europe since the second half of the 1980s could gradually also find its way into Turkey'<sup>20</sup>.

The Turkish Republic was founded on the principle that all people living in Turkey are Turks. Hence, the state aimed at destroying all the other cultures; as Zeynep Gambetti stated: 'The material destruction of othered cultures and their *lieux de mémoire* usually takes on a violent character'<sup>21</sup>. In fact, although heralding the emergence of a new culture, the Democratic Opening (2009) was marked by acts of psychological and physical violence against Kurds.

During this time period, the Kurdish political movement was called the Peace and Democracy Party (Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi, BDP, existing from 2008 to 2014), had an effective agenda: it succeeded in strengthening and bringing the Kurdish identity in Turkey to the fore. By taking advantage of AKP government policies, which were clearly focused on 'Islamic cultural unity', the Peace and Democracy Party 'succeeded in rallying its support-base around the tenets of their ethnic identity'<sup>22</sup>. The value of language is essential in the evolution of the 'Kurdish National Identity' in Turkey, since establishing the existence of the Kurdish language and culture is a means to assert the existence of the Kurdish people. This may explain why a political statement was conceded to the Kurdish language and cultural production, because it challenges the state strategies of homogenization and assimilation of 'othered' peoples. Therefore, Kurdish politics has been using language 'as a resource' for political mobilisation and as an identity marker since 1930<sup>23</sup>. The political nature of Kurdish art, language and cultural spheres can be explained through the tense relationships within the field of Kurdish politics, since they represent the voice of Kurds within the Turkish state. The artistic expression carries memories and struggles, are a response to conflicts, to social and political inequalities within Turkish society. More specifically, the literary and cinematic

productions ‘serve as sites of resistance’: they challenge the Turkish nationalistic discourse, deal with different aspects of Kurdish reality, focusing on themes of exile, oppression, social inequalities, memories and conflict<sup>24</sup>.

In the framework displayed above, Kurdish filmmaking arose during the 2000s, following the international success gained by Bahman Ghobadi's *A time for Drunken Horses* (*Zamani Barayé Masti Asbha*, 2000), *Marooned in Iraq* (*Gogashtei Der Aragh*, 2002), *Turtles Can Fly* (*Lakposhtha Parvaz Mikonand*, 2004). The Iranian filmmaker gave voice to the Kurds struggle and represented their identity by engaging with cinematic works<sup>25</sup>. In 2001, following Bahman Ghobadi's international recognition of his film, the first Kurdish Film Festival was held in London; the attention of the wider international community on the ‘Kurdish issue’ then motivated Kurdish artists in diaspora (who are trained in filmmaking) to engage in artistic, commercial, or politically involved films. In 2009, in Diyarbakır (recognized by European parliamentarians as ‘the informal Kurdish capital’ in Turkey)<sup>26</sup>, the Metropolitan Municipality organized the First International Kurdish Cinema Festival. One year later, in 2010 the Batman Municipality supported a Kurdish film festival and the First Yılmaz Güney<sup>27</sup>, Kurdish Short-Film Competition. The festival had a considerable significance among artists, it represented a site for debate and discussion on Kurdish art and on the issue of the use of the Kurdish language within the context of the film industry, which reveals the politicization of the latter.

The filmmakers debated on the necessity to use the Kurdish language as a component of the Kurd identity and culture, which could be explained with the words of the director KazımÖz: ‘For Kurdish, which is treated as an ‘unknown language’ in courts even today, subjected to intense assimilation efforts and banned in every field of life, this is a very sensitive issue. It is a matter of proving its existence’<sup>28</sup>. The significance of the Kurdish language use in filmmaking can be explained also by historical events and legal obstacles faced by the Kurds: the recourse to Kurdish language in filmmaking represented the Kurdish artists’ opposition to the state assimilation, thus it is a form of cultural resistance against the sovereign power, which for decades has refused Kurds their recognition and banned the Kurdish language. The reappropriation of Kurdish culture, specifically cinema, has had a remarkable role in the construction of a Kurdish ethnic identity; furthermore, as stated by Can Candan ‘it can be argued that Kurdish cinema creates a platform to share a Kurdish reality with both Kurdish and non-Kurdish audiences’<sup>29</sup>. Films represent the Kurdish ‘separated’ nation, its fragmented culture, traditions, memories and have provided an important space to create a ‘common language’.

In 2009, *The Children of Diyarbakır* (*Min Dît*) a dramatic film directed by Miraz Beraz, and *On the Way to School* (*İki Dil Bir Bavul*)<sup>30</sup>, a Turkish documentary film directed by Özgür Dogan and Orhan Eşiköy were released. Both films were presented in the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, the most renowned Film Festival in Turkey. For the first time, films on Kurds and in Kurdish were screened at a national Film Festival competition in Turkey, as a consequence of the ‘Kurdish Opening in Cinema’. This has raised many questions, as stated by C. Candan, on the issue of “‘what national cinema’ means (and what it should mean) in the case of Turkey”<sup>31</sup>. In the aftermath of the success achieved in the National Film Festival, Kurdish Film Festivals were organized in the Kurdish areas in Turkey, such as: Diyarbakır, Dersim, Van, Batman and Mardin. In 2010, the prestigious Istanbul Film Festival showcased a program named the ‘Opening’, a documentary on Kurdish films, which attests the dynamic changes toward the Kurdish issue in Turkey. Kurdish films have also received academic attention (conferences, books, magazines), parliamentary and political debates have taken place, generating an extensive mediatic and public

interest, which has turned Kurdish films into 'a cinematic (and political) phenomenon in Turkey'<sup>32</sup>.

In 2010, Ferit Karahan directed *Before the Flood (Berîya Tofanê)*, an award-winning short film. The film represents the critical issue of landmines and was devoted to the memory of child victims of war and, in particular, to Ceylan Önkol, a twelve-year old Kurdish girl from Diyarbakır, who was 'killed by a mortar fired from a nearby military base in 2009'<sup>33</sup>. In 2010, Cenk Örtülü and Zeynel Koç were the directors of *Brutal Consciences (Vijdanên Kevirî)*, a documentary on Kurds presented at the Istanbul International Film Festival. This documentary delves into the history of Kurdish child victims of Turkish state violence, who 'under the Prevention of Terrorism Act... were tried and convicted as adults for supporting terrorism'<sup>34</sup>. In 2011, Aziz Capkurt directed *My Mother Wants Peace (Daye Dibe Asitî)*, a documentary featured at the Istanbul International Film Festival. The documentary represents the plight of mothers, members of the Peace Mothers Association, who lost their sons in the battle between the PKK and Turkish Army.

In 2014, Kazım Öz's film *Once Upon a Time (He Bû Tune Bû)* talks about Kurdish seasonal labours in agriculture, who work without insurance; the harsh economic conditions, the social inequalities between Kurds and Turks are portrayed. In 2016, Kudbettin Cebe's *Roza: The Country of Two Rivers (Roza Welatê Du Çeman)* is a documentary which represents the Rojava conflict. In 2015, in the aftermath of the peace process breakdown, the filmmakers interacted with cross-border Kurds (in Syria), reporting on the social and political developments of the time. The film was produced by the Rojava Film Commune (Komîna Fîlm a Rojava, RFC, 2015), which was founded in Syria, in Dirbêsiyê, and served as a platform also for Kurdish filmmakers living in Turkey. Even so, in 2017, Kazım Öz's *Zer*, a film premièred at the Istanbul film Festival, had two scenes censored by the 'Supreme Audit Board of the General Directorate of Cinema of the Ministry of Culture'. The first scene re-enacts the 1938 Dersim Massacre<sup>35</sup>, while the second involves the main character's encounter with Kurdish guerrillas.

The films and documentaries' themes and language use cannot be understood without taking into consideration the origin of their political dimension, which can justify the dramatic and conflictual world of the Kurds in Turkey. Kurdish film and documentaries have emerged and gained national success in Turkey, in a time where Kurds struggle to achieve their rights. They represent Kurdish memory and narratives: the 'unrepresented Kurdish history' that 'challenges Turkish national identity and political discourse in favour of the Kurdish people'<sup>36</sup>. The author, C. Canadian, goes on to say that, 'given the complexity and long history behind the Kurdish issue, it is nearly impossible to provide an exhaustive account' of hegemonic narratives regarding the cultural and political rights of Kurds<sup>37</sup>. In this respect, films and documentaries in Kurdish and Turkish generated tension among Turkish media and audience, accusing them of being one-sided and excluding the Turkish narrative<sup>38</sup>. For the first time in Turkey, the Kurds had the opportunity, through the making of films and documentaries, to communicate to the audience and highlight their version of past and truth 'regarding the conflict', its hidden history, challenging the national dominant narrative and the historicization of the Kurdish issue. They represent the Kurds' version of history, the violent repression they were subjected to, giving voice to their memories and struggle. The political shift toward the Kurdish issue, conducted by the state with the aim of entering in the European Union, did not produce a solution to the conflict between Turkish state and Kurdish ethnic minority. Kurdish language use in films and documentaries brought out the tensions, contradictions and unveiled the complexity of the political situation.

### 3. The emergence of Kurdish novel: themes, language use and political dimension

The first Kurdish literary works have emerged in Turkey only in the last few years: due to the harsh policies, the criminalization of the Kurdish language and culture, the opportunity to read, write and to publish in Kurdish was denied. The Kurdish literary activities appeared in Turkey in the 1960s, from the ‘polyvalent intellectuals’ (who emerged by the 1930s in diaspora in Syria)<sup>39</sup>. They were engaged in the fields of: journalism, linguistics, history, sociology, literary activities (poetry, novels, folk-tales, and so on). They were politically active intellectuals for the Kurdish cause and close to political parties. Nonetheless, they were not members of political parties, thus, their main activities centred around the dissemination and development of the Kurdish cultural field. At the time, only classical poetry had been written in the Kurdish language in Turkey. Hence, this generation of intellectuals had to build the cultural field without any available resources (Kurdish literature published abroad, mainly in the Soviet Union, was impossible to acquire). The second generation, appeared in the 80s, in the aftermath of the military coup, in particular by intellectuals, who chose the path of exile (be it voluntary or forced), mainly in Sweden. Some of them were political activists while living in Turkey (during the 60s and 70s), but later chose the path of a literary career in exile, primarily due to ‘the difficulty of engaging in politics from abroad’<sup>40</sup>. The writers who chose to remain in homeland Turkey, were obliged to write in Turkish; they were able to commit themselves to the development of the Kurdish literary field and write in Kurdish only from 1990s onwards.

Intellectuals in exile in Western countries have had the opportunity to develop the Kurdish language, novel, short story, and theatre with the aim of modernising Kurdish culture. In this way, it left aside the genre of poetry and worked on emerging genres and literary spaces, thereby playing a crucial role ‘in the recognition process to take place during the following decades’<sup>41</sup>. Their novels and literary works focus on ‘homeland – Kurdistan’, identity and nation, while their country of exile has not been included (very few refer to diaspora experiences and focus on diaspora in Europe); this does not appear as a crucial issue within the literary field. There are two fundamental changes which have occurred within this generation: firstly, the shift from Turkish to Kurdish, due to the freedom given to write in Kurdish; secondly, the commitment in Kurdish literary (and artistic) fields, while shunning political activism. The economic support to writers in exile, in particular in Sweden, by The National Council for Cultural Affairs (*Statens Kulturråd*), and the Foundation for the Culture of the Future (*Stiftelsen Framtidens Kultur*), has encouraged intellectuals to engage in the literary field and to publish their works<sup>42</sup>.

The generation of intellectuals who chose to remain in Turkey appeared in the 1990s. They were sympathetic to the Kurdish political movement, in particular to the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), to the Kurdish cause (at the time very popular), but were not militants — as opposed to their predecessors. They were committed to the Kurdish cause through intellectual activities and wrote and published works in Kurdish (Kurmanci), which is a vital form of cultural resistance and self-definition, encouraged by the Kurdish political movement as a means of legitimization. In general, the publishing houses and journals were constituted by Kurdish political parties; however, they did not influence the content of the works, but aimed at funding Kurdish publications, which was part of a political strategy to assert the Kurds existence: to be recognized. After the ‘democratic opening’



(2009), due to the greater cultural freedom to engage in Kurdish arts, Kurdish literary production made a big step forward and have grown tremendously. New 'records for Kurdish publishing were set' at the time, as well as receiving positive perceptions of Kurdish publications<sup>43</sup> among the public: the 'democratic opening' facilitated the development of Kurdish literature in modern times, while, concomitantly, giving a chance to the public (among Turks and Kurds) to read in Kurdish (as well, Kurdish works translated into Turkish), after decades of being banned, when Kurds and Kurdish cultures were invisible or criminalized. The younger generation of writers were published by Kurdish and Turkish publishing houses, both in Kurdish and Turkish languages: for Kurdish authors who were not educated in writing in Kurdish, it was not a choice to write in Turkish. Once again, the minority literature and minority politics, which are subordinated to a majority literature and politics, is emphasized through the filter of language uses in literature. In this respect, the Turkish language policies have influenced the development of Kurdish language and literature. In spite of the authors' multicultural belonging and multilingual background, the works deal with the Kurdish reality and experiences, and allow for the increase of Turkey-based Kurdish writers in the international community.

The 'democratic opening' has affected the language use, and the artistic and literary world in Turkey among Kurds: Kurdish novelists who live in different parts of Turkey and in diaspora, who are monolingual, bilingual and write in various languages, all claim to belong to Kurdistan and to being committed to the field of Kurdish literature and language. The present paper will mention some writers from Turkish Kurdistan and in diaspora, who write in different languages, contribute to various genres and improve modern Kurdish literature and language. The Kurdish diaspora has provided remarkable new opportunities (economic and social) to Kurdish intellectuals and writers to develop Kurdish language and literature, in particular, novel writing. From the 80s onwards, Kurdish writers in diaspora, especially in Sweden and Germany, have contributed to the enrichment of the Kurdish novel and language (Kurmanji), in addition to the promotion of Kurdish culture. In Turkey, due to severe the restrictions, only 20 books were published between 1925 and 1980 in Kurdish, as reported by Tayfun. In particular, in 1980 six novels were published by Mehmet Uzun and Mahmut Baksî; in the 1990s, the number of novels published in Turkey reached 13, in the 21st century a total of 49 novels have been published.

When reflecting upon the most prominent and productive Kurdish writers from Turkey, the names Mahmut Baksî (1944–2000) and Mehmed Uzun (1953–2006) come to mind. These writers lived in exile in Sweden, where they published a number of novels in Kurdish. Mahmut Baksî became the first foreigner member of the Swedish writer's union board of directors. He has published 22 books, in Kurdish, Turkish and Swedish respectively; all of Baksî's novels have been translated into Turkish, from the start of the opening period onwards, thus they have now become part of Turkish literature. Among his novels are: *Zarokên Îhsan* (1978), *Hêlîn (Helin)*, (1984), *Gundikê Dono (Dono's Village)*, (1988). In the latter, for example, the conflict between Kurdish tribes in the villages is described, the harsh life conditions of peasants and the injustices they endured on behalf of landowners. In addition to his commitment in the Kurdish literary and artistic field, he has played a role in Kurdish politics while in exile in Sweden, receiving considerable attention by critics. Baksî has raised public awareness in Europe on the Kurdish issue in Turkey, in favour of Kurds' rights, in particular from the 1970s to the 1990s, for example through the publication of *Den Kurdiska frågan (The Kurdish issue)*, (1974).

The author Mehmed Uzun, has published novels such as *Tû (You)*, 1984), *Mirina Kalekî Rind (The Death of Old Rind)*, 1987), *Siya Evînê (In the Shadow of Love)*, 1989), *Ronê mîna evînê tarî mina mirîne (Lightness like love, darkness like death)*, 1988). His last novel was *Hawara Dicleye (The shout of Tigris)*, 2005). In the novel *Lightness like love, darkness like death*, for example, he narrates a love affair between a Turkish soldier and a Kurdish woman, a recurring theme in Kurdish literature. In *Hawara Dicleye (The shout of Tigris)*, Uzun writes of the history of his people (Kurds), who have been deprived of their history. Apart from his literary career, he was a militant in the *Rizgarî* group (Liberation)<sup>44</sup>, the reason why he fled to Sweden (1977-2005), where he wrote numerous essays and articles on Kurdish literature and cultural pluralism, in Kurdish (Kurmanji) and Turkish, thus playing a direct role in the Turkish literary field. Uzun has written 13 novels in Kurdish and is a founding member of the modern Kurdish novel in Kurmanji; furthermore, through his literary commitment he has contributed to a revival of the Kurdish language. Consequently, as stated by C. Scalbert-Yücel: 'He became the most acknowledged Kurdish writer of the literature of Turkey, translated and widely mediatized. It is however as the representative of Kurdish literature, and as a multilingual and multicultural writer, that he is brought into the Turkish literary world'<sup>45</sup>. It must be noted that most of Uzun's works deal with historical figures of the Kurdish movement and are composed in epic-style: the author's aim was to transmit and to convey the history of Kurds, as stated by Mehmed Uzun in *Hawara Dicleye (The shout of Tigris)*, so as to hear 'the voice of the forgotten'. The works of Mehmed Uzun and Mahmut Baksî can be considered as part of the 'Kurdish minority literature', an important form of cultural resistance against the discourse of majority 'literature and culture' and the assimilation of Kurds in Turkey. His literary and political commitment 'marks the beginning of the renaissance of ... Kurdish literature'.

Following the Opening Initiative and its relative easing of restrictions, the attention began to shift from the Kurdish writers in diaspora to those who lived and produced works in Turkey. After the 2014 Nobel Prize in Literature nomination of the Iraqi-Kurdish renowned poet, Abdullah Pashew, by the Kurdish Writers Association of Diyarbakir, Kurdish writers in Turkey have gained more attention on behalf of academics and literary critics in Europe. A noteworthy Kurdish writer from Turkish Kurdistan is Suzan Samancı, a contemporary woman writer, novelist and short story author from Diyarbakir. She writes in Turkish, since she had not been taught Kurdish due to the ban on Kurdish children learning their mother tongue, but she nonetheless reclaimed her roots to the Kurdish literary field. It can be argued that her novels and short stories belong to the Kurdish literary field: her works deal mainly with Kurds' reality, life, injustices, deprivations and oppression endured by the Turkish state, thus, they are strongly influenced by Turkish society and policies. Furthermore, she portrays women's struggles and sufferings in a patriarchal and unequal society that denies women's right to speak and freedom of choice: she gives women a voice in most of her novels and short stories. An example is the short story collection *Rec, ine Kokuyordu Hêlîn (Hêlîn Smelled of Resin)*, 1993), the translated into Kurdish as *The City of Death*. Through these stories, the author offers an insightful description of Diyarbakir and voices her emotional attachment to the city; in addition to recounting the conflict between PKK guerrillas and Turkish army, the violence and killings, destruction of Kurdish villages and the experience of terror felt by the people is portrayed. Her works have been translated into Kurdish, are recognized in the Kurdish literary field and included in Kurdish literary anthologies; additionally, as in Mehmet Uzun's case, they have been published by renowned Turkish publishing houses and have played a major role in the process of Kurdish recognition in Turkey.

Kurdish authors living in Turkey and those who 'choose' the path of exile, belong to a

multicultural society and claim multilingual influences: Yaşar Kemal, for example, in spite of his Kurdish background, is one of the most reputed writers in Turkish literature in modern times; another example is the artist and writer Özmen, Şener, who writes in both Kurdish and Turkish. Also, the writers Suzan Samancı, Yılmaz Odabaşı and Adil Zozanî, all from Turkish Kurdistan, have been obliged to write in Turkish; however, the settings of novels and short stories are mainly in Turkish Kurdistan. The themes, as demonstrated by Ozlem Galip's research, are those of 'destruction', which 'becomes the essential backdrop of the novels set in Turkish Kurdistan'<sup>46</sup>. As well as 'homeland', 'nostalgia', 'Kurdish identity', 'forced migration', 'return to home-land' (the dream to return to the lost 'homeland)', cultural resistance against Turkish assimilation and violence, struggle due to severe repression, the promotion of Kurdish identity and language are also crucial themes that emerge through the Kurdish novelistic discourse and short stories. The Kurdish works from Turkish Kurdistan, 'can be considered as the exile at 'home' and the longing to be at 'home'<sup>47</sup>: the lack of a Kurdish state, the ban of Kurdish language and culture, confirming the fact that being "invisible" in their homeland contributes to feeling of isolation and displacement of the same.

## **Concluding remarks**

During the 80s and 90s, the Kurdish minority arts and literary production could not develop in Turkey, while Kurdish artists and writers in diaspora in Europe had the golden opportunity to publish Kurdish literary works, in particular novels, to produce films and documentaries. In 2009, during the process of the 'democratic opening', Kurdish arts developed and evolved, innovative works, films, documentaries and music were produced; it also succeed in gaining international attention for the Kurds' issue. As proven by Malmisaniş's research, 'in 2000 more than 40 Kurdish publishing houses were established in Turkey'<sup>47</sup>. The main publishing centres for Kurdish studies, literature, novels and art were in Diyarbakir and Istanbul. Numerous works of Kurds in Turkey and in diaspora were published by Lîs and Avesta publishing houses; the Kurdish writers in diaspora now preferred to have their works published in homeland. The publishing houses and journals were backed by Kurdish political parties: funding Kurdish publications was part of a political strategy and agenda, to claim the Kurds' minority existence in Turkey. Similarly, Kurdish film and documentary productions, Kurdish film festivals across Turkey, and Cinema associations increased at an unprecedented level. Kurds minority arts, be it intellectual, literary, or in the fields of film and documentary productions, have been influenced by the political developments in Turkey. The historical context and decades of conflict have conditioned artists. Indeed, Kurdish art is very often politicized beyond its intent, since it expresses Kurds' memories, struggles and portrays their narratives through the arts. The crucial importance of the Kurdish language use in literature and filmmaking can be explained by the legal obstacles faced for decades by the Kurds. The recourse to Kurdish language in artistic production and film-making represents the Kurds resistance and their strong claim of their collective existence in contrast to the cultural, identity and linguistic assimilation of the majority power and culture. In 2015, the peace between the Turkish state and Kurdish movements collapsed; the Official reason given 'by the Turkish authorities was' the assassination of two 'Turkish policemen by the PKK in the town of Ceylanpınar'<sup>48</sup>. However, the source of conflict between Kurds and Turks was based on a larger scale, at a societal and political level, mainly due to the divergence between the Turkish government and the Kurdish movement.

Striking examples are the lack of the Turkish government's support for the Kurdish town of Kobani in Syria (October 2014), besieged at the time by ISIS militants; even so, when Turkey decided to attack ISIS (2015), most of the bombarding was directed towards the PKK Kurdish militia in northern Iraq and Syria. At the time, the political issues in Turkey and conflict in Syria largely influenced the Kurds cultural production. The Kurdish artists in Turkey co-operated with Kurdish artists in Syria. One example is the establishment of Rojava Film Commune, where artists from Turkey and Syria interacted. It was founded in 2015 by filmmakers, a form of cultural resistance, to let the voice of Rojava revolution be heard, for example through the documentary *Roza Welatê Du Çeman (Roza: The Country of Two Rivers, 2016)* directed by Kudbettin Cebe. 'After the peace collapse, the situation in the Kurdish cultural world worsened significantly' in Turkey. Kurdish art is considered by the state as a tool of resistance against the political power, it challenges the Turkish nationalist discourse, and through symbolism it criticizes the oppressing power. The same could be stated by the Kurdish audience, who consider art as a tool to defend their existence, where Kurdish language and identity is consolidated and challenges the 'majority' and dominant power. Several Kurdish publishing houses have been closed, many Kurdish books have been confiscated and banned; similarly, the distribution of Kurdish products has been prohibited by state measures. In this political atmosphere and humanitarian crisis, the Kurdish minority artistic production in Turkey must face the issue of how to produce arts in an environment that does not allow the free expression and existence of Kurds.

---

<sup>1</sup>Scalbert-Yu'cel, *Emergence and equivocal autonomization of a Kurdish literary field in Turkey*, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup>Romano, *The Long Road Toward Kurdish Accommodation in Turkey*, p. 176. Erdoğan speech is accessible at: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/erdogan-kurtce-tv-baska-adimlara-da-vesile-olacak-915164/>, accessed 30 December 2018.

<sup>3</sup>Atlas, *The Role of Language in the Evolution of Kurdish National Identity in Turkey*, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup>Laachir and Saeed, *Resistance in Contemporary Middle Eastern Cultures*, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Also, we must not forget that the ban on the Kurdish language and its late recognition in Turkey.

<sup>6</sup>Atlas, *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>See Romano, *The Kurdish nationalist movement*; and, Natali, *The Kurds and the state: evolving national identity in Iraq*.

<sup>8</sup>Ahmadzadeh, *Nation and Novel*, p. 126.

<sup>9</sup>Ahmadzadeh, *In search of a Kurdish novel that tells us who the Kurds are*, p. 579.

<sup>10</sup>Diglossia refers to a situation in which two languages (two varieties of the same language or dialects) are used within the same community and society, albeit, with different values: one language is politically dominant, and one is politically dominated. See Gardy and Lafont, *La diglossie comme conflit: l'exemple occitan*, pp. 75–93.

<sup>11</sup>Scalbert-Yu'cel, *Emergence and equivocal autonomization of a Kurdish literary field in Turkey*, pp. 360–361.

<sup>12</sup>Galip, *Where is Home? Re-visioning "Kurdistan" and "Diaspora" in Kurdish novelistic discourse in Sweden*, p. 84.

<sup>13</sup>Scalbert-Yu'cel, *Emergence and equivocal autonomization of a Kurdish literary field in Turkey*, p. 364.

<sup>14</sup>See Scalbert-Yu'cel, *La diaspora kurde en Sue'de. Conservation, production et diffusion d'un savoir linguistique*.

<sup>15</sup>The Copenhagen Criteria are the necessary requirements that determine fundamental conditions for the country to be member of the European Union. In order to be able to join the European Union the country is required to have stable institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities; a functioning market economy', 'the ability to assume the obligations of membership, in particular adherence to the objectives of political, economic and monetary union.' The text is accessible on: European Commission, 'Accession Criteria', at: [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/accessioncriteria\\_](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/accessioncriteria_), accessed 1 December 2018.

<sup>16</sup>Atlas, *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, p. 5; Duncombe, *Cultural Resistance Reader*, p. 35.

<sup>17</sup>Scalbert-Yu'cel, *Emergence and equivocal autonomization of a Kurdish literary field in Turkey*, p. 369.

<sup>18</sup>Atlas, *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, p. 2.

---

<sup>19</sup>The Kurdish language is composed of two dialects: Sorani is spoken in Iran and Iraq. Kurmanci is spoken in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran. Zazaki is spoken in Turkey by Kurds, even though it is not a Kurdish dialect. In reference to Kurdish script: Sorani and in Arabic and Persian script; Kurmanci and Zazaki are written in the Latin alphabet. On the issue of Kurdish languages and Kurdish dialects, see Scalbert-Yu'cel, *Les langues des Kurdes de Turquie*, pp. 117–140. On language policies see Scalbert-Yu'cel, *The 'Liberalization' of Turkish Policy towards the Kurdish Language*, pp. 116–129.

<sup>20</sup>Gambetti, *Decolonizing Diyarbakir*, p. 115.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. p. 104.

<sup>22</sup>Atlas, *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup>Scalbert-Yu'cel, *Emergence and equivocal autonomization of a Kurdish literary field in Turkey*, p. 360.

<sup>24</sup>Atlas, *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup>Candan and Suncem, *Kurdish Documentary Cinema in Turkey*, p. 72.

<sup>26</sup>Gambetti, *Decolonizing Diyarbakir*, p. 101.

<sup>27</sup>Yılmaz Güney is the first Turkish (Kurd) filmmaker, director, scriptwriter, internationally known, award winning in Europe. He devoted films to Kurds living in Turkey, in the Turkish villages in Kurdistan, in a time when Kurds' existence was denied. The films are, nevertheless, in Turkish, for example in *The Herd (Sürü)*, 1979, co-directed by Zeki Ökten, a remarkable documentary about Kurds living in Turkey's rural areas in the 1970s. Place names are in Kurdish. Moreover, some minor characters do speak in Kurdish. Another remarkable example is the film *The Road (Yol)*, 1982 co-directed by Şerif Gören, in the aftermath of the 1980 coup, winner of *Palme d'Or Prize*. It tells the stories of five 'convicts on prison furlough', released temporarily to visit their families in Diyarbakır. 'When one of the protagonists arrives in Diyarbakır... the superimposed title Kurdistan appears'. This represents a powerful act of cultural and political resistance against the assimilation policies in Turkey, in a time when Kurds' existence, language and culture was denied. The film was banned in Turkey until 1999. However, the superimposed title 'Kurdistan' was omitted. Candan, *Kurdish Documentary Cinema in Turkey*, p. 4; The film festival website is: [https://www.kameraarkasi.org/festivaller/festival/yilmazguney\\_01.html](https://www.kameraarkasi.org/festivaller/festival/yilmazguney_01.html) Accessed 30 December 2018.

<sup>28</sup>[https://www.kameraarkasi.org/festivaller/festival/yilmazguney\\_01.html](https://www.kameraarkasi.org/festivaller/festival/yilmazguney_01.html) Accessed 30 December 2018.

<sup>29</sup>Candan and Suncem, *Kurdish Documentary Cinema in Turkey*, p. 73.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid. p. 75.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid. p. 90.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid. p. 91.

<sup>33</sup>Atlas, *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid. p. 7.

<sup>35</sup>In 1938 the Turkish genocide of Kurds took place in Dersim region, where Turks conducted the ethnic cleansing campaign against defenceless minorities who did not fit to the Turkish national identity.

<sup>36</sup>Candan and Suncem, *Kurdish Documentary Cinema in Turkey*, p. 91.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. p. 114.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid. p. 75.

<sup>39</sup>Scalbert-Yu'cel, *Emergence and equivocal autonomization of a Kurdish literary field in Turkey*, p. 362.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid. p. 362.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid. p. 362.

<sup>42</sup>Galip, *Where is Home? Re-visioning "Kurdistan" and "Diaspora" in Kurdish novelistic discourse in Sweden*, p. 84.

<sup>43</sup>Atlas, *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, p. 8.

<sup>44</sup>The *Rizgarî* group (stemming from the 'East Movement'), was a movement based in Turkey, which started publishing a magazine named *Rizgarî*. From 1975 to 1980 (up to the military coup), the magazine published on numerous social, historical and cultural issues connected to Kurds. Subsequently, soon after its creation it turned into a political and activist magazine.

<sup>45</sup>Scalbert-Yu'cel, *Emergence and equivocal autonomization of a Kurdish literary field in Turkey*, p. 367.

<sup>46</sup>Galip, *Kurdistan: A Land of Longing and Struggle*, p. 227.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid. p.124.

<sup>48</sup>See Malmisani, *The Past and the Present of Book Publishing in Kurdish Language in Turkey*, <https://www.npage.org/IMG/pdf/Turkey.pdf>, accessed 1 January 2019.

<sup>48</sup>Atlas, *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, p. 10.

## Bibliography

1. Ahmadzadeh, H. (2003), *Nation and Novel: A study of Persian and Kurdish Narrative Discourse*, Uppsala: Studia Iranica Upsaliensia 6, pp. 330.
2. Ahmadzadeh H. (2005), 'Traces of Statelessness in Kurdish Novel', in Annika Rabo and Bo Utas, *The Role of the State in West Asia*, Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.
3. Ahmadzadeh, H. (2007), *In search of a Kurdish novel that tells us who the Kurds are*, Iranian Studies 40/5, December 2007, pp. 579-92.
4. Ali Chooqee Eedo, Are novels written by Kurdish novelists in Arabic, Persian and Turkish considered Kurdish products in terms of content?, *International Journal of Kurdish Studies*, 1 (2), pp.28-34.
5. Atlas, D. (2018), *Artistic expression in times of peace and war: the case of Turkey's Kurds from 2009 to the present*, *Turkish Studies Journal*, 31 May 2018.
6. Atlas, D. (2014), 'The Role of Language in the Evolution of Kurdish National Identity in Turkey', *Kurdish Awakening: Nation Building in a Fragmented Homeland*, in Ofra Bengio (ed.), Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 155–173.
7. Candan, C. and Suncem, K. (2016), *Kurdish Documentary Cinema in Turkey: The Politics and Aesthetics of Identity and Resistance*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
8. Cewerî, Firat (2003a), *Antolojiya c, îrokên Kurdî: 1856–2003*, Istanbul: Wes,ane`n Nu`dem.
9. Cewerî, F. (2008b), *Ez ê yekî bikujim*, Istanbul: Avesta.
10. Cewerî, F. (2000c), 'Surgûnû Edebiyata Kurdî', *Nûdem*, 33, pp. 96–105.
11. Cewerî, F. (2005d), *Payiza Dereng* (Belated Autumn), Stockholm: Nûdem.
12. Çiçek, Ö. (2011), 'The Fictive Archive: Kurdish Filmmaking in Turkey', *Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media*, 1, pp. 1–18.
13. Davis, L. (1987), *Resisting novels: ideology and fiction*, London: Methuen.
14. Duncombe, S. (2002), *Cultural Resistance Reader*, London: Verso.
15. Ferguson, C. (1959), 'Diglossia', *Words* 15, pp. 325–340.
16. Galip, Ö. B. (2012), *Kurdistan: A Land of Longing and Struggle Analysis of 'Home-land' and 'Identity' in the Kurdish Novelistic Discourse from Turkish Kurdistan to its Diaspora (1984-2010)*, Ph.D. diss., Exeter: Exeter University.
17. Galip, Ö. B. (2015), *Imagining Kurdistan: Identity, Culture and Society*, London: I.B.Tauris.
18. Gardy, P. and Lafont, R. (1981), 'La diglossie comme conflit: l'exemple occitan', *Langages*, 61, 75–93.
19. Khayati, K. (2011), 'Kurdish diaspora in Europe: from victim diaspora to the practice of long distance nationalism and transborder citizenship', *Paper presented at World Kurdish Congress*, Netherlands: The Hague.
20. Kreyenbroek, PG. and Allison, C. (1996), *Kurdish culture and identity*, London: Zed Books.
21. Kemal, Yas,ar (2007), 'Zimanekî gelekî (netewekî) diafirîne', *W* 13: 91.
22. Koçer, S. (2014), 'Kurdish Cinema as a Transnational Discourse Genre: Cinematic Visibility, Cultural Resilience, and Political Agency', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 46, pp. 473–488.

- 
23. Laachir, Karima. and Saeed Talajooy (2013), *Resistance in Contemporary Middle Eastern Cultures: Literature, Cinema and Music*, New York: Routledge.
  24. Malmîsanij, M. (2006), 'The Past and the Present of Book Publishing in Kurdish Language in Turkey', see <https://www.npage.org/IMG/pdf/Turkey.pdf>, accessed 31 December 2018.
  25. Natali, D. (2005), *The Kurds and the state: evolving national identity in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran*, Syracuse, NJ: Syracuse University Press.
  26. Romano, D. (2006), *The Kurdish nationalist movement: opportunity, mobilization, and identity*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
  27. Romano, D. (2014), 'The Long Road Toward Kurdish Accommodation in Turkey: The Role of Elections and International Pressures', *Democratization and Ethnic Minorities*, edited by Jacques Bertrand, and Oded Haklai, London: Routledge, pp. 164–180.
  28. Scalbert-Yu'cel, Cl  mence (2011a), 'The Blurred Borders of Kurdish Literature in Turkey', *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 14:2, pp. 171–184.
  29. Scalbert-Yu'cel, C. (2005b), *Conflit linguistique et champ litte'raire kurde en Turquie*, Ph.D. diss., U Paris 4: Sorbonne.
  30. Scalbert-Yu'cel, C. (2006c), 'La diaspora kurde en Sue`de. Conservation, production et diffusion d'un savoir linguistique', *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 5, 24 May 2010.
  31. Scalbert-Yu'cel, C. (2012d), 'Emergence and equivocal autonomization of a Kurdish literary field in Turkey', *Nationalities Papers*, vol 40, 3, 23 May 2012, pp. 357–372.
  32. Scalbert-Yu'cel, C. (2006e), 'Les langues des Kurdes de Turquie: la ne'cessite' de repenser l'expression langue kurde', *Langage et Socie'te'*, 117, pp. 117–140.
  33. Scalbert-Yu'cel, C. (2010f), 'The 'Liberalization' of Turkish Policy towards the Kurdish Language: The Influence of External Actors', *The Kurdish Policy Imperative*, in Robert Lowe and Gareth Stansfield (ed.), London: Chattam House, pp. 116–129.
  34. Samancı, S. (2002a), *Rezine Kokuyordu Hel  n*, Istanbul: I'letis'im.
  35. Samancı, S. (2004b), *Korkunun Irmag'ında*, Istanbul: Metis.
  36. Samancı, S. (2008), *Halepc,e'den Gelen Sevgili*. Istanbul: Sel.
  37. Smets, K. (2015c), 'Cinemas of Conflict: A Framework of Cinematic Engagement with Violent Conflict, Illustrated with Kurdish Cinema', *International Journal of Communication* 9, pp. 796–817.
  38. Smets, K. and Akkaya A. H. (2016), 'Media and Violent Conflict: Halil Dağ, Kurdish Insurgency, and Hybridity of Vernacular Cinema of Conflict', *Media, War & Conflict*, 9: 1, pp. 76–92.
  39. Uzun, M. (1992a), *Destp   ka Edebiyata Kurd  *, L  kol  n. Ankara: Beyb  n.
  40. Uzun, M. (2001b), *Hawara Dicley  *, Istanbul: Avesta.
  41. Uzun, M. (1984c), *T  *, Spa'nga: Deng   Komal.