

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**“THE IDEOLOGY OF STONES”: THE EMPOWERMENT OF KURDISH
CHILDREN AS POLITICAL ACTORS IN TURKEY**

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**“TAŞLARIN İDEOLOJİSİ”: KÜRT ÇOCUKLARININ TÜRKİYE’DE
POLİTİK BİR AKTÖR OLARAK GÜÇLENMESİ**

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FOREWORD

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“THE IDEOLOGY OF STONES”: THE EMPOWERMENT OF KURDISH CHILDREN AS POLITICAL ACTORS IN TURKEY

SUMMARY

In this thesis, I examine the issue of stone throwing Kurdish children in Turkey. My argument is based on the interviews that I made with children in the city of Batman. The experienced violence in Kurdish area in the past is reached to the children by the narrations of their family members and other elders. I argue that today, these narrations connect with continuing violence; the reverse effect of Turkist Education at schools on children; the discriminatory language of Turkish media; and the propagandist language of Kurdish media and creates a new memory for children. Both that effect and the sociological structure of childhood in the Kurdish area, form a new form of “childhood”. Those children, with their experiences, see themselves not as “child” but as “youth”. Thus, they get a feeling like “I can do it” and they start to “do it” (act) in streets with their own initiative against the wrongs what they see. These acts, step by step make them as a political actor in cities. These children were affected by what state powers did, state’s “denying Kurds” discourse, the Kurdish Movement, and their families and now they affect these powers as an actor. Moreover, I argue that they are semi-autonomous groups, have no direct relations with Kurdish Movement actors such as PKK or BDP but they do stone throwing acts autonomously on behalf of Kurdish Movement. These acts, as a child said, form an ideology, the ideology of stones. And this ideology makes these children as a new active political opposing group in the streets and creates a new period in Kurdish Question, and thus affects the whole politics in Turkey.

“TAŞLARIN İDEOLOJİSİ”: TÜRKİYE’DE KÜRT ÇOCUKLARININ POLİTİK BİR AKTÖR OLARAK GÜÇLENMESİ

ÖZET

Bu tezde Türkiye’de taş atan Kürt çocukları meselesini inceliyorum. Tezim, Batman şehrinde çocuklarla yaptığım görüşmelere dayanmaktadır. Kürt bölgesinde özellikle geçmişte yaşanan şiddet, çocuklara aile üyelerinin ve diğer büyüklerin anlatılarıyla ulaşılıyor. Bu anlatıların, bugün devam etmekte olan şiddet; okullardaki Türkçü eğitimin çocuklarda yarattığı ters etki; Türk medyasının ayrımcı dili; ve Kürt medyasının propagandacı dili ile birleşerek çocuklarda yeni bir bellek oluşumuna neden olduğunu tartışıyorum. Hem bu etki hem de Kürt bölgesindeki çocukluğun sosyal yapısı yeni bir “çocukluk” algısı yaratıyor. Bu çocuklar yaşadıklarından hareketle, kendilerini “çocuk” değil “genç” olarak görüyorlar. Böylece, kendilerinde “yapabilirim” duygusu gelişiyor ve bu duyguyla yanlış gördüklerine karşı sokaklarda kendi inisiyatifleriyle “yapmaya” (eylemde bulunmaya) başlıyorlar. Bu eylemlilikleri ise onları şehirlerde adım adım politik bir aktör haline getiriyor. Bu çocuklar, devlet güçlerinin yaptıklarından, devletin “Kürtleri inkar” söyleminden, Kürt Hareketinden ve ailelerinden etkilenip şimdi bir aktör olarak bu güçleri etkiliyorlar. Ayrıca bu çocukların PKK veya BDP gibi Kürt Hareketinin aktörleriyle direk ilişkisinin olmadığını fakat eylemlerini Kürt Hareketi adına yapan yarı-otonom gruplar olduklarını söylüyorum. Bu eylemler, bir çocuğun söylediği gibi bir ideoloji oluşturuyor, taşların ideolojisini. Ve bu ideoloji, bu çocukları sokakta, yeni aktif politik muhalif bir grup haline getirip Kürt Sorunu ekseninde yeni bir süreci başlatıyor ve böylece Türkiye’de bütün siyaseti etkiliyor.

1. INTRODUCTION

Stone throwing Kurdish children issue creates a new process in Kurdish Question in Turkey. In Kurdish cities and in cities where Kurds were migrated especially in 1990s, Kurdish movement developed. After 2000, especially starting with 26 March-03 April 2006 acts, Kurdish Children Street acts became everyday acts, which resembles Palestinian children's acts in streets. In a short time, these acts created a new political actor group, Kurdish children, in the streets and affected Turkish policy and Kurdish Movement policy. Turkish state powers tried to suppress these acts by taking children into the prisons and sentence them even to 10 years. For example, Diyarbakır High Criminal Court punished M.B as joining acts in Urfa in 2008 with 10 years 8 months on 22 June 2010.¹ On the other hand, Kurdish policy determines some strategies by observing these acts especially after the acts on 26 March-03 April 2006.

What I said in this thesis is that Kurdish children are different and see themselves different from what is said for "child" in the west. What I am going to focus on at below childhood generally is accepted as parallel to "illogical" and "uncompleted organisms" until 1960s (Heywood 2009, p.9). Seeing and searching the children as they have a role in society started after 1960s but that time they were seen as the organisms that should be disciplined. However, According to Ariés, the perception of childhood changes in terms of cultural, religious, class and sex differences (Corsaro 1997, pp.50-66). Moreover, Jean Piaget says that children use the information from their environment and thus construct their physical and social worlds (Corsaro 1997, pp.11-12). From these thoughts, we can say that childhood in England is not same as childhood in Latin America. Childhood in Kurdish area resembles the childhood in Latin America and Africa, as there are economic difficulties and fights there too. Kurdish children use information from their environment and construct their lives, which cannot be accepted as "innocent" and "illogical" child. The sociology of childhood in Kurdish area creates a different childhood from the west. Because of the

¹ Polise Taş Atan Çocuğa 10 Yıl 8 Ay Hapis. <http://www.sondakika.com/haber-polise-tas-atan-cocuga-10-yil-8-ay-hapis-2119019/>. 23.06.2010.

examined violence and bad economic conditions, neither Kurdish children nor their families and state powers see them as “child” what is seen in the west. Thus as they are not “child” but “youth” even if they are below 18 years old, they want to be listened by adults and also state and they want to have a power in politics. When they are not listened they start to act against the powers that do not listen to them and use violence in their acts. Resist and challenge adult rules and authority are essential ways for children in order to gain the control over their lives (Corsaro 1997, 140). Kurdish children also want to gain the control over their lives. According to them, the cause of their bad, difficult life is state and the saver is Kurdish movement. Therefore, they do acts on the streets against state and supporters of state and by those acts become an actor in Turkish politics. I claim that they act semi-autonomously but on behalf of Kurdish Movement. They have link with Kurdish movement theoretically but not practically. They do their acts with their own initiatives. That makes them a new big political power for Kurdish Movement against Turkish State Power. As a result, I argue that there is a new period in Kurdish Question in Turkey that state power cannot success in suppressing street acts while it could before.

The main actor of Kurdish Movement, PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) is a youth origin movement. Its leader staff consists of university students. It was formed as a youth movement with leftist (Marxist) ideology and Maoist practice in 1978. According to them, Kurds were feudal rural people. Therefore, they started to organize in villages especially. However, starting 1990s Turkish Army noticed that Kurdish villagers help PKK guerrillas and in order to prevent this, it started to use violence against villagers to force them to be local state guardians against PKK guerrillas. The villagers who did not accept to be guardians were forced to migrate from their villages to the cities. The numbers that are given about vacated villages and displaced people are different. For instance, according to the report of Turkish Grand National Assembly, 939 villages and 2.019 mezras (smaller than villages) were vacated and 355.803 people were displaced. On the other hand, NGOs numbers are between 1 and 3-4 million.² According to Göç-Der (Social Support and Culture Association of Migrants), totally 3438 villages were burned and vacated and about 4-4.5 million Kurdish villagers were migrated to cities such as Diyarbakır, Batman,

² Report of TESEVin 2005. Türkiye’de Ülke İçinde Yerinden Edilme Sorunu: Tespitler ve Çözüm Önerileri. http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD_OBJS/PDF/DEMP/TESEV_UYE_Grubu_Raporu.pdf.

Van, Hakkari, Şırnak, Mardin, Mersin, Adana, and Istanbul.³ As it can be seen there is no a definite number. However, it is clear that displaced people did not have anything economically where they migrated and that caused the loss of their productivity quality.

City of Batman was one of big cities that forcefully displaced people migrated to. The population of the city rose from 256.000 after the forced migration of 1990s (Halis 2001, p.19). These migrated people had a bad post-memory about what they have faced in their villages. When the war between Turkish Army and PKK guerrillas became violent, state formed a new strategy. It started to revive the guardian system in 1985 (Tapan 2007, p.96) and formed the local guardian's army which villagers were forced to take in. State gave guns to these people and vested them with authority. They had to fight against guerrillas. However, the majority of villagers did not want to be guardian against guerrillas. At that stage, state started to force villagers. Army's authorities (gendarmeries) went to villages and gave an ultimatum to the villagers to vacate the village in a short time (from a few hours to a few days). The reason of ultimatums was the refusal of villagers to being guard or the accusation that they added and abetted PKK militants (Ayata and Yüksek 2005). In those ultimatums authorities said to the villagers, that they have to vacate villagers otherwise even they do not know what will happen. The message was clear. After a short period, the bad news about the villagers spread to everywhere. The villages, which did not accept to be guardians, were burned; villagers were tortured and were forced to vacate the village. 115 villages and 49 hamlets were vacated in Batman region.⁴ Thus, those villagers went to cities. Such events happened especially in 1990s. These events seem have affected many of these forcefully displaced people to be supporter of PKK movement after what they faced in the villages from Turkish army.

Therefore, the forcefully displaced people who had a big difficulty both economically and socially in the cities brought their pain with them there. TESEV's report about forcefully displaced people in 2006 declared: "*children who throw*

³ Report of Göç-Der. 5233 Sayılı Yasanın İstanbul Ölçeğinde Başvuru Oranının Araştırılması: Göç Edenlerin Sosyo-Ekonomik, Kültürel ve Psikolojik Durumları. 2009. p.21. 5233 Law was enacted in 2004 and consists the paying for migrants who incurred losses because of terror.

⁴ Report of Batman Göç-Der. Batman Göç-Der İstatistik Bilgiler. in 2006. Göç-Der (Social Support and Culture Association of Migrants) is an association that collects the datum about the displaced villagers and tries to help them both economically and psychologically.

Molotov cocktails on the streets are a traumatic reflection of violence that happened in the period of vacating villages in the early 1990s.”⁵ However, the issue in some cities, especially in Batman creates a new big violence atmosphere with Hizbullah-PKK violent street fights. PKK movement became bigger in the cities after these people were migrated to the cities. Especially in 1990 and 1991, in Şırnak, Mardin, Diyarbakır, and Batman, there were big protest acts against state. Hizbullah acts especially started in these cities where National Kurdish Movement raises in those years (Çiftçi 2001). May be state has seen that situation and tried to set a new organization (Hizbullah) against PKK. Alternatively, may be Hizbullah was an active organization beforehand and state had relation with it then. Arif Doğan who is now at prison from illegal state organization (Ergenekon) said that he had set Hizbullah against PKK to defend state. According to Doğan, they charged Hüseyin Veliöğlü (leader of Hizbullah) with the duty of propaganda against PKK propaganda in the Batman area. He said that they chose Veliöğlü as he was a very smart, religious, informed, nationalist person (Doğan 2011, p.156). Again, “2000’e Doğru” Magazine⁶ in 1992 (16 February) wrote that Hizbullah was trained in Çevik Kuvvet (Mobile Force of state) building in Diyarbakır. Magazine also stated that in Mardin-Kızıltepe Hizbullah’s training building was guarded by members of Özel Tim (Special Forces in army) (Çelik 2000, pp. 55-59). Hizbullah was seen as a religious organization and it started to kill PKK sympathizers in the cities. PKK then started to kill Hizbullah militants and thus a big fight had started in cities. According to an official report between 1991 and 1995 years, 700 people were killed in that street fight. 500 people were killed by Hizbullah and 200 were by PKK (Çakır 2001, p58). Batman was the center of that fight. In Batman, just in one year (1992) 170 people were killed by Hizbullah (Çiçek 2000, p. 72). Even the deputy of pro-Kurdish DEP (Democracy Party), Mehmet Sincar was killed in street in Batman. That organization, Hizbullah or illegal state organizations such as JITEM killed many Kurdish businessperson, journalists, intellectuals and ordinary people. The Report about Susurluk by TBMM Susurluk Komisyonu (Turkish Grand National Assembly Susurluk Commission) is talking about that illegal organization, JITEM and it is said that Kurdish businesspersons and intellectuals were killed by such illegal

⁵ Report of TESEV. Zorunlu Göç ile Yüzleşmek: Türkiye’de Yerinden Edilme Sonrası Vatandaşlığın İnşası. 2006. İn Şark Meselesinden Demokratik Açılıma / Türkiye’nin Kürt Sorunu Hafızası (written by Hüseyin Yayman).

⁶ It was a leftist magazine. It was banned after such news.

organizations JITEM or “special office” of Tansu Çiller and Mehmet Ağar.⁷ Mehmet Ağar, on TV program Siyaset Meydanı accepted that not him but some other state authorities “*maybe helped Hizbullah militants.*”(Çakır 2001, p76). Belma Akçura explains that the governor of Batman, Salih Şarman accepts the relation between JITEM and Hizbullah (2009a, pp.218-223). It seems in Batman the violence of such organizations was bigger and thus the forcefully migrated people now faced a new violence after the violence they experienced in the villages. For examples, journalist Aydın Engin as went to city in 1995 to examine those killings, talks about an event that he heard that one person was killed and when he went there, he saw that nobody could come to take that dead person. There were just children around him. Moreover, there was nobody outside after sun setting.⁸

When we look at the age of stone throwing children, we can say that those children were born at that violent atmosphere. The age of children is between 10 and 20 but the majority of them are 14-18 years old. From the conversations that I did with children, I saw that they were influenced by those events so much. Their families had faced those events and some of family members were killed, some were put into the prison and tortured there, and some were disappeared. Therefore, the children grow while they hear those events apart from they see today. As a result, those children get a hate against Turkish State and now some of them go to the mountains to join PKK guerrillas⁹ and some others act against the state in the streets. Birand (a columnist and TV programmer) wrote about those children as the biggest danger in Kurdish Question from now. He said that as result of their and their families past life now they are “*young-strong-workless-hopeless-angry and nervous*” and thus they do not listen to anybody and accept any agreements.¹⁰ However, it cannot be said that they are “hopeless.” What Birand says is possibly hopeless for a life in the system but what I saw is that they have cut the links with state in their mind and they are “hopeful” for a new life in the future not in that system but in a new country or in a changed system that will accept their rights.

⁷ Report of TBMM Susurluk Commission. TBMM Susurluk Komisyonu Raporu. 1997.

⁸ Aydın Engin. Batman-Habizbin-Hizbullah. <http://www.t24.com.tr/content/authors.aspx?author=13&article=3097>. 13.01.2011.

⁹ Kurtuluş Tayız. Dağa çıkma yaşı 14’ inmiş. <http://www.taraf.com.tr/kurtulus-tayiz/makale-daga-cikma-yasi-14e-inmis.htm>. 09.03.2010. Tayız, in his writing mentions that in a few months, just from Yüksekova, about 120 children went to the mountains and some of them are 13-14 years old.

¹⁰ Mehmet Ali Birand. “Artık PKK’dan çok, genç Kürtler korkutuyor.” in <http://www.mehmetalibirand.com.tr/yazidetay.asp?id=438>. 14.10.2010.

In this thesis, in the second chapter, I am going to give information about my methodology. In this chapter, I will state the techniques of interviews, the entry of the field, and the way of reaching the children for conversation.

In the third chapter, I am going to give a short history of the Kurdish Question in Turkey. At the first look, it can be seen as an unconnected chapter but the stone throwing children issue is the point that Kurdish Question reaches now. Therefore, without having information about the history of Question, stone throwing issue cannot be understood well. Moreover, the last actor of Kurdish Movement, PKK has a big influence on those children and because of that, PKK should be understood well. Children are influenced by PKK theoretically but practically PKK does not say them to act on the streets. May be it can be said that these children grow up with PKK ideology but organize autonomously and have their autonomous organization houses and associations. Therefore, I am going to argue that the experienced events in the region empowered these children and thus they became a semi-autonomous actor in Turkey politics.

In the fourth chapter, I am going to focus on city of Batman where I did my field research. Batman is so an interesting city that I think it is like a laboratory for sociological researches. First, the city was formed in 1950s and now it shelters 313.000 amount of population. It has a cosmopolite aspect in terms of having different ethnicities, religions and a sharp differentiation of social classes and men-women. Because of that, the politics in Batman all the time includes violence both the violence between different social and ideological groups and between these groups and state powers. And what I saw on my field research, now there is a struggle of Kurdish Movement actors and state powers over stone throwing children to take children to their sides whereas the children has a fight with police and groups who support state.

The fifth chapter is going to be about a general sociology of childhood theoretically and then the sociological structure of Kurdish children. The theory about the children in modernity that they are an actor in society is seen clearly in situation of Kurdish children. However, Kurdish children have not a childhood as it is known in the theories of western modernity. Actually, I had shocked many times when I talked to them. They are not thinking about playing and having fun in the streets. They have a

mature profile. First, they are so politicized that they think about their community, world problems, and about their future and “children’s future.”

In the sixth chapter, I am going to focus on children’s street acts in a large perspective. I will try to get idea from children’s talking about especially what sets them into acts, how they organize and start, who helps them, what they do in the acts, what they use, how they feel, how police acts against them, and what people think about them. At that point, I think there is clear similarity between those acts and acts of Palestinian children. Therefore, I will point out in which terms they are resemble.

And, in the chapter seven, I am going to mention the semi-autonomy feature of Kurdish children in their acts. As semi-autonomous groups, Kurdish children became an actor in Turkey with 2006 street acts and thus they are being seen as a new opposing group against state and a new powerful struggle group for Kurdish Movement. Thus, it affected whole politics in Turkey, became a current issue, and was started to be talked by many foundations and people. As a result, state authorities started to say that Kurdish Question is in a new dangerous sphere and it is needed a new perspective to deal with.

In the eighth chapter, I am going to analyze two studies, which were done about stone throwing issue. One is the study of Darıcı in city of Adana and the other is study of Akıner in city of Mersin. I find these two studies important as these two cities are close to each other and got Kurdish migration after 1990s. Even though, these two cities resemble each other, they reached very different results. In the chapter, I am going to explain these results and I am going to compare my thesis with them.

2. METHODOLOGY

The stone throwing children issue took place on the media especially after street acts on 26 March-03 April 2006. The first acts were in city of Diyarbakır as a protest against killing of PKK militants by state powers. In a few days, those acts spread to other Kurdish cities such as Batman, Hakkari, Van, and Şırnak. 10 people (three of them were children) in Diyarbakır and one child in Batman died in those acts. Those acts continued a week. In Diyarbakır, streets were full of children who were throwing stones to the police. Police could not take control in the city. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made a declaration and said, *“If mothers and fathers do not take their children from the streets, what is needed will be done even if they are mothers or children.”*¹¹ After those acts, such children’s street acts were seen on the media in all protests of Kurds.

Actually, there were stone throwing acts before those 2006 acts but earlier acts were not so extended. This is related to the process of Kurdish Question. PKK declared cease-fire after its leader Ocalan was arrested in 1999 and continued this decision until 2004. Therefore, between 1999 and 2004, Kurds were silent. There were no such big street acts. It seems that they waited for a solution for Kurdish Question. However, nothing was done to solve the Question and PKK, in 2004, started to fight again. For Kurdish people, it seems that this is the loosing of hope about solution of the Question via democratic ways. The 2006 street acts are seen as an explosion of that feeling, to hope nothing from state and thus start to resist and believe that they cannot be free without resistance against state. As a result, 2006 street acts happened spontaneously. Moreover, those were the first acts in which children took place. The seeing of children on media in the acts started a debate about them. The general view of media about those children was that these children were used by “terrorist organization” by giving their hands stones. In such an atmosphere, I decided to make

¹¹ Report of UNICEF Turkey Agency. *Gösterilere Katılmaları Sebebi ile Terör Suçlusu Sayılan Çocuklar Hakkında Saha Ziyareti Raporu*. 2010.

a research on those children. Batman was also a city that such street acts took place and as I am from Batman and have my family and friends there, I chose Batman for field-research.

At the first stage, as I was in Istanbul, I started to collect the data about Batman. I phoned my friends to collect data in the city and tried to make some research that how I can reach such children when I go to the city. I went to Batman at the beginning of July and stayed there until 13 August. In that period, in the city, talking was about referendum, “democratic autonomy” that Kurdish Movement actors declared as a solution way for Kurdish Question,¹² and the torturing of dead bodies of PKK guerillas by state powers.¹³ In such a political atmosphere, I did my conversations in 20 days and had observing there. Before I went, I was thinking that it would be easy to reach children. I planned to choose a quarter in the city. I had many friends and relatives who could help me. However, I saw that it was not as easy as I thought. My friends helped me and tried to reach the children but the families and children did not want to have such a conversation. They did not know me and thus they could not be sure about me if I am a police or if I use this information badly. They were afraid of me at first. Many children were arrested and sentenced nearly to 10 years. Bérivan, who is a 15 years old girl from city, was discussed on media everyday and she was sentenced to 7 years. That had a big influence on families that if their children are like her. Thus, I forget about my plan to have a research just at one quarter of the city.

After a week, I could only reach 3 children. Then, I thought about how I can reach them. I went to the building of BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) which is known as pro-Kurdish party. I went there and met the chairperson of the party. She said that they want help me but they do not know those children. In addition, she said, “*You can go to the streets; you will find many children on the streets.*”(Fieldnotes, Batman, 19.07.2010). Nevertheless, that was not what I was looking for. On the street, I could not make interviews and have extended information about them. Moreover, it was dangerous for me. Both police and children could interfere me because they did not know me. As I understand, the chairperson of BDP did not want

¹² BDP'liler demokratik özerkliği tartışıyor. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/bdp-liler-demokratik-ozerkligi-tartisiyor/siyaset/haberdetay/08.08.2010/1273805/default.htm>. 07.08.2010.

¹³ BDP, gerilla cesetlerine işkenceyi Meclise taşıdı. <http://www.savaskarsitlari.org/arsiv.asp?ArsivTipID=5&ArsivAnaID=58252>. 09.07.2010.

to help me because there was lots of news on the media that members of BDP organize those children and even give stones them to throw to police. They thought that if I use the information that BDP helped me to reach the children, this would be a source for the media as it was said on media that BDP uses these children in the acts.

Thus, I said friends and relatives to ask people who can help me to reach children. A few days later slowly slowly I met a few different people who could help me. A man found my research important and said that he will help me what he can. He sent me to BDP with a young boy. While we went to party building, he brought me a room (youth room) where there were about ten children-young boys in. I said them my aim but this time, a 17 years old youth who was as the chief of them did not want to help me as he saw my research unimportant. On the other hand, some of the children accepted to have a conversation with me. The chief-child wanted to talk me alone. In our talking, he said, *“Everybody knows about stone throwing children. We, you, state, press everybody knows why children throw stones. It is better to study on “democratic autonomy”. If you do that it will be better.”* I said him that my research is about those children, my topic is not “democratic autonomy”, and somebody else can do that. I asked him to help about my topic. He said that he cannot help but if the children in the youth-room want to talk, he will not prevent them. I thanked him and had conversations with two children there. The other days I went there again and some children brought me to a building where they organize illegally.¹⁴ Thus, I reached a group of children in this way, and another group with the help of a child and by some other ways individually.

Totally, I made 22 interviews. 20 of them were individually and 2 of them were common group conversations. Moreover, I talked to some elders about what they think of this situation. Furthermore, I observed many children. I could have chance to participate a street act what took place in those days. Actually, it was the end of protest act but still children were there and I had chance to observe their actions. As a technique of participant observation, I aimed to learn *“insiders’ behaviors and activities.”* I participated in this act with being aware of know how to gauge their behaviors, be objective, and take good notes (Mack, Woodson, Macqueen, Guest,

¹⁴ They said that they will found an association in this building but still did not get permission from governorship. However, without getting permission, it looks like they opened it illegally.

and Namey 2005, pp.13-28). However, I had the difficulty of that technique because I could not take notes in that time. I later, in the evening of that day took my notes. Moreover, because of my age as being older than their ages and as there were only children in the acts, I had difficulty not to be noticed there. That causes some problem what I am going to talk about later. For the interviews, I planned to meet children in their houses in order to get an idea also about their family and house conditions. However, nearly all of them said that their families are not familiar about their participations to the street acts and therefore, they cannot have a meeting at home. Thus, I did my interviews in some foundations and different cafes. One of children was in the prison about 8 months and had come out of prison soon before. Some others were sometimes arrested by the police but did not go to the prison.

In my interviews, I used a voice recorder. Some of them worried because of recording voice and did not want to talk. I said them that I will not use their names but I need to record their voices. They accepted but especially two of them in the middle of conversation, worried from my questions and said that they do not throw stones to the police whereas before the meeting I said them that I interview with stone throwing children and if they do not participate such street acts I will not interview with them. And they said that they join the acts but in the middle of conversation two of them said no. One of them during the meeting looked at the voice recorder, did not want to answer some questions, and pointed out the recorder. I stopped the recorder and asked him if he worries, I can stop conversation and I cut it.

What I observed before interviews that they wanted to know that whether I will use this information for them or against them. As I am a person from their city and know Kurdish, many of them thought that I am a kind person for them and accept talking clearly. My first interviewer wanted to talk in Kurdish. Thus, I decided to ask the other interviewers that in which language they want to speak. As a result, I did 5 interviews in Kurdish, as they wanted and other 17 in Turkish. Some of Turkish speakers said that they want to talk in Kurdish but they cannot express themselves easily. I saw that in general, children do not like Turkish but speak Turkish. When I asked in which language do you want to talk in their speech, 15 children individually and in common group interview, they said that they wish to speak Kurdish but they

have difficulty to express themselves in Kurdish. They talked about that problem what I will focus in the sixth chapter.

My methodology about asking questions was to have a conversation rather than ask prepared questions. I used “free interview technique” and “reverse funnel technique”. As using “free interview technique”, I asked them open questions as they could answer easily and in detail. Here “why” and “how” were my most used questions. I provided them to talk about memories what they remember, their personal stories and anecdotes. I asked questions in order to understand their inner world. By that way, I tried to understand their ideas, psychologies, feelings, in short their story (Kabaş 2009, 122-123). I wanted to learn “Who are they? What is their story?” In order to do such a conversation I needed much time and I had enough time. As using “reverse funnel technique”, at first I asked them about their private life and then passed from their private life to the general. Thus, I started to ask for instance about their school life, family, and economic situation and continued to ask whether they face bad events in their past and go on. I avoided from adding my opinion to questions. I tried to listen to them carefully and asked questions from their talking. I never interrupted their talking (Kabaş 2009, 121).

I tried to do my conversations in a quiet atmosphere. For three conversations, I could not find an absolute quiet place but in general, I could do that. I did two common conversations in order to find the difference between their ideas, acts, and speech when they are alone and with friends. I did one without telling them that I will talk them for my research. It was a natural situation. I saw them they tried to cut the flag rope on front of a school. I asked them why they do this and start a conversation. Later when looked my all conversations I found that this was the conversation which children were the most relaxed and answered the questions more openly. My second common conversation was to gather a few children whom I had conversation with them individually. In that conversation I observed that, they are not relaxed as when they are individually.

3. A SHORT HISTORY OF KURDISH QUESTION

Today, when we look at the ideas about that question we see that there are many different views. More than 70 reports about Kurdish Question were written. Reports of foundations that have connection with state see the question as “controlling the region”, “providing the unity”, and “underdevelopment”. However, reports of civilian foundations see the question as “democracy”, “civilian”, and “reform” problems (Yayman 2011, p.12). For example, Hüseyin Kalaycı (academician in Maltepe University) says “it is a nationalism problem”¹⁵; some such as the leader of CHP (Republican People Party) Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu says “it is an economical undevelopment problem”;¹⁶ some such as Mesut Yeğen (academician in Şehir University) says “it is a Turkish state problem that rejects Kurds” (Yeğen 2009a); some such as the leader of MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) Devlet Bahçeli says “it is a plan of foreign powers against Turkey”¹⁷. This idea, today, tries to reduce Kurdish Question as PKK and PKK as terror (Tan 2009, p.19). All these and more views are discussed and can be discussed more but it is clear that this question has a long history in Turkey. Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, in his 1993 speech said that PKK is 29th rebellion.¹⁸ He did not say Kurdish rebellion but as saying this for Kurdish Question, he meant Kurdish rebellions. That means that 28 Kurdish rebellions or the rebellions that had relation with Kurds took place before PKK movement. Therefore, in order to understand the background of Kurdish Question well, it will be better to look at the history of the question in short. Probably, that will help to understand the differences between earlier rebellions, PKK movement, and

¹⁵ Hüseyin Kalaycı. Kürt Sorunu bir Milliyetçilik Sorunudur. <http://www.kritize.net/roportaj/442-huseyin-kalayci-kurt-sorunu-bir-milliyetcilik-sorunudur>. 28.06.2010.

¹⁶ İşte Kılıçdaroğlu'nun Kurultay Konuşması. www.haberturk.com/.../516976-iste-kilicdaroglunun-kurultay-konusmasi. 22.05.2010.

¹⁷ Aygütaş Selçuk. *Demokratik Açılım Süreci Işında Güneydoğu Meselesi*. <http://www.kocaeliaydinlarocagi.org.tr/Yazi.aspx?ID=1284>. 12.11.2009.

¹⁸ Ayşe Hür. Bu kaçınıcı isyan, bu kaçınıcı hareket? <http://www.taraf.com.tr/ayse-hur/makale-bu-kacincisiyan-bu-kacinciharekat.htm>. 23. 12. 2007.

the role of children in that movement as I argue that children acts form a new process.

Today, Kurds form a national minority, which lives in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Kurdish nationalism started in the first half of 19th century with the annihilating of semi-autonomous Kurdish principalities (Jwaideh 2009, p. 18). However, long before that period, in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, Kurdish principalities such as Marwanids and Ayyubids are seen in the region (Jwaideh 2009, p. 39). Such Kurdish dynasties and smaller principalities lived in the peripheries of big states and could stay free politically.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, Kurdistan became the struggle region between Ottoman and Iran. Ottomans, with their military success and successful diplomacy, could connect Kurdish administrator such as İdris-i Bitlisi and thus could unite Kurds to the Empire (Bruinessen 2010, pp. 203-207). Ottoman Emperor, Yavuz Sultan Selim, consented the organization of Kurds and their autonomous principalities (Jwaideh 2009, p. 43). This administration method continued about 400 years (Bruinessen 2010, p. 217). Some Kurdish autonomous districts had to give tax and soldiers to the Empire. Revolts appeared because of the avoiding of giving those taxes and soldiers (Bruinessen 2010, pp. 239-241). At that time, Ottomans did not afraid of Persians and thus did not care about Kurds' cooperation unlike before. Therefore, Ottoman State, starting from 1650 to 1730, destroyed most of autonomous Kurdish principalities between Diyarbakır and Van (Jwaideh 2009, pp. 43-44). At the beginning of 19th century, Ottoman state was weak and in order to gather strength, tried to annihilate principalities, which started to become unreliable and danger for the Empire. In 1830s, Mahmut II decided to destroy semi-autonomous Kurdish regimes in Kurdistan. His aim was to take this region again and join it into the Empire. In these years, some principalities were also suppressed (Jwaideh 2009, pp. 113-115; Bruinessen 2010, p. 269). That process finished through middle of 19th century.

However, the annihilation of semi-autonomous Kurdish principalities caused a chaos period in the region. The gap of authority was filled by sheikhs. Kurds accepted the sheikhs because of the necessity of authority (Jwaideh 2009, pp. 153-155). After that, in Kurdish society, the role of sheikhs became dominant. These sheikhs and notable families took an important role in Kurdish nationalism (Özoğlu 2004). On the other

hand, by the influence of nationalism (French Revolution) in the entire world, in the Ottoman Empire too (late 1800s-early 1900s), nationalistic movements were seen. At the beginning of 20th century, a group of intellectual Turks, called Young Turks with aim of “saving the empire” started to organize against Abdülhamit’s administration (Zürcher 2008, p.45). That group, in 1908, with name of ITC (The Union and Progress Organization) founded constitutional monarchy (Zürcher 2007, p.136). At first, Kurds also joined into ITC. However, after the 1908 revolution, nationalistic movements became danger for ITC authority and unity of the Empire. Young Turks thought that if they do not control them, these movements would demand local autonomy and foreigners could interfere, and thus the loosing of lands could happen. Therefore, in 1909, ITC decided to suppress all the opposition. With that aim, they put their plan (forcefully Turkify and founding of a central administrative system) into action. Thus, the cooperation with non-Turks finished. Those non-Turks’ actions were not seen anymore but it did not finish. Their resistance against Turkish authority got strong (Jwaideh 2009, pp. 206-209). As a result, Turks became powerful in the administration. The separations between Kurds and Turks started with the “panturkist” policies of the organization of Young Turks-İTC. With this aim to form a homogenous “nation”, the method of assimilation started to be used. That method was used for Kurds at first, in order to join them to that homogeneity (Özer 2009, pp.274-275). On the other hand, that method caused a feeling for-Kurdish, anti-Turkish feeling among Kurds (Özoğlu 2004, p.80).

In the Republican Period, the relation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk with Kurds is a debatable topic. After going to Samsun, Mustafa Kemal sent telegraphs to the Kurdish tribes in order to take their support for the Independence War. Again in Sevres negotiations, Mustafa Kemal organized some Kurdish tribes and wanted them to send telegraphs to the Sevres that Ottomans were their representatives, nobody else (Kirişçi and Winrow 2009, p.94-95). Sevres Treaty was the first international, legal document, which accepts Kurds’ self-determination right. However, with the raising of Kemalists, that right was not made a current issue in Lausanne Treaty. With the plan of Mustafa Kemal, Kurd delegates mentioned that the country belongs to Turks and Kurds (Lazarev & Mihoyan 2001, pp. 207-210). In the Lausanne, İsmet İnönü said, “*I am the representative of Turks and Kurds.*” (Özer 2009, p.292). Thus, it can be said that in the period of Mustafa Kemal, Kurds helped him and they took

part in the war against Greeks, Armenians, France, and England. İsmet İnönü, in 1969 Ulus Newspaper said, “Kurds put their hearts into national struggle.” (Akyol 2006, p.82). It seems that Mustafa Kemal was aware of the independence tendency of Kurds. He was seeing this dangerous situation and he started to emphasize the unity of Turks and Kurds. Again, in 1919, he said that Turks and Kurds were living together in the Empire and were forming an iron castle against enemies. In 1921, to the tribe leaders he said that he is aware of the dependence of Kurds. Again, on 24th of April in 1920, in the assembly, he said: “*Their principle is to accept each Islamic group’s race, tradition, and life style. It is not time to explain the details. With the help of God, when they will be independent, such problems will be chosen by siblings.*” (McDowall 2004, pp. 259-261). On 16th-17th of January 1923, in İzmit, he declared his famous and nowadays debatable idea that instead of suppresses Kurdishness, they can form some local autonomies for them. Which province’s population is mostly Kurds will administrate themselves autonomously (Özer 2009, p.291, Öznur 2009, p. 37, Yayman 2011, p.40). However, when the speech was printed on 17th of January, the parts about Kurds were cut. Nobody knows why that happened. May because Kurds really believed that or may because they also thought that Armenians could take the Kurdish region, they made cooperation with Kemalists (Bozarslan 2005, p.208). However, after the foundation of Republic everything changed. The war was done together but Kemalist administration, in order to save the unity of country, tried to assimilate Kurds and other groups (Bruinessen 2010, p. 295). The new state was a nation-state and was founded by nationalists. The aim was to form a unique Turkish nation (Belge 1995, p. 386). And forming a unique Turkish nation “*required the dilution of the largest and culturally and linguistically distinct non-Turkish people: the Kurds.*”(Zeydanlioğlu 2008, pp. 160-161).

By this aim, in the summer elections of 1923, earlier Kurdish deputies were not let to participate in their provinces. Thus, Turks represented all Kurdish area, and Kurds were taken away from assembly. The term Kurdistan was cut from official documents, Kurdish names were changed, and bad behaviors against Kurds in army started. In 1924, only Turkish was used in courts and Kurdish was forbidden. By the abolishment of caliphate, religious schools and medressehs¹⁹ were closed (McDowall 2004, pp. 265-268). Hassanpour (2002, p.136) says: “*since 1925 in Turkey, different*

¹⁹ Cultural schools in period of Ottoman Empire. In these schools, there were both religious and scientific courses. Turkish, Kurdish, and Arabic were used languages.

types of genocide, annihilation of Kurdish language, and annihilation of Kurdish ethnicity were used.” After that, nothing stood same. Both Islamist and nationalist Kurds started to look for different ways (Tan 2009, p.204). It seems such approaches cause the rising of nationalistic aspects between Kurds. Vali (2005, p.134) says: *“Turkish nationalism incited Kurdish nationalism. Kurdish nationalism existed as a reaction to undervaluation of Kurdish identity.”* Or maybe the reaction of Kurds still was not a real nationalistic reaction. Maybe the aim to stand autonomous in their local area was a more dominant aspect but it is clear that Kurds’ reaction started to keep nationalistic feature too.

There were 28 rebellions before PKK but three of them have an important place in Kurdish Question. Those are Sheikh Sait Rebellion, Ararat Mountain Rebellion, and Dersim Case. Sheikh Sait Rebellion had both nationalistic and religious aspect (Bruinessen 2010, p.387, Kirişçi & Winrow 1997, pp. 123-124). Just before 1925 Sheikh Sait Rebellion, Kurdish tribe leaders, intellectuals, and other nationalists were sent to west Anatolia and Kurdish language was forbidden. Such actions and the reaction against the abolishment of Caliphate and the Shari’a caused the rebellion (Jwaideh 2009, p. 405). The clear aim of the rebellion was to found an independent Kurdish state in which Islamic principles what were violated by modern Turkey, could be respected. The rebellion was prepared by a political organization, Azadi. However, because the organization could not have enough power to having people revolt, it benefited from Sheikh’s charismatic personality in order to move the masses (Bruinessen 2010, p. 387).

Ararat Mountain Rebellion had a more nationalistic aspect. After the suppression of Sheikh Sait Rebellion, in some regions, skirmishes continued. In 1927, Kurdish nationalist groups became together under the name of Khoybun and revolt in Ararat (Ağrı) for independence (Jwaideh 2009, 418-419). Dersim region had unique, different religious, linguistic, and geographic features. However, in 1937, by the entering of Turkish guns and secular Turkish laws into the region, that unique features started to be weakened. In January 1937, the law, which aimed to assimilate Kurds into Turks was not accepted by Kurds and the rebellion (or the case. MO) started (Jwaideh 2009, pp. 426-427). This reaction in Dersim, was suppressed in 1938.

These three Kurdish reactions have a deep impact on Kurds. In those events, Kurds were suppressed both physically and psychologically. Thus, Kurds were silent until 1950s. Especially in 1960s, the influence of Barzani in Iraq; the migration to the west and thus being aware of the social and economical inequality between west and east; the politicization of Kurdish youth; and the libertarian constitution of 1961 awakened Kurds. In those years, some Kurds (socialists) took place in socialist parties such TİP (Türkiye İşçi Partisi-Turkey Workers Party) and some (nationalists) in TKDP (Turkey Kurdistan Democrat Party). In 1971 coup d'état happened and these organizations finished (Bruinessen 2010, pp. 57-58). In 1973, by returning of parliamentarism, Kurdish organizations became more and radical. Moreover, in that period, when Kurds focused on their national democratic demand, they started to become distant from Turkish socialists who were influenced by Kemalism fairly. Thus, DDKO (Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları-Revolutionary East Culture Associations) existed and tried to organize Kurds in the east (Özer 2009, pp. 566-567). In that period, PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan-Kurdistan Workers Party) was founded too.

Abdullah Öcalan (Apo) started PKK movement in 1970s. Apo had relations with socialist organizations such as Dev-Genç (Revolutionary Youth) and ADYÖD (Ankara Revolutionary High Education Association) and was influenced by Mahir Çayan who was one of leaders of Turkish revolutionary movement Dev-Genç (Özer 2009, 619-621). Actually, PKK was representing a Maoist/Castroist version of Marxism and Leninism (Lazarev & Mihoyan 2001, p.359). PKK's aim was to found a Marxist/Leninist Kurdistan. Therefore, it did not only fight with state forces but also with feudal Kurds (Heper 2008, p.234). PKK used "revolutionary violence" against Turkish "colonialism" and Kurd "compradors" (Bruinessen 2010, p.59). According to datum of Genelkurmay Başkanlığı (General Staff Presidency) as a result of fight between PKK and state powers and land owners (last years, guardians), they lost 11.735 and 40.000 PKK members were neutralized (Yayman 2011, p.21). That fighting with both state and Kurdish feudal-aghas (big landowners) extended PKK movement in a short time. Especially the forbiddance of Kurdish language took an important role in extending of PKK last decades. In 1982 Constitution, law 88 explains that in schools, no languages apart from Turkish can be taught to the Turkish citizens (Yeğen 2009a, p. 122). However, in not only education

but also speaking Kurdish was forbidden in official foundations and even in the street. For instance on the 1980s Diyarbakır Prison's (famous with its torture to Kurds) door it was written "speak Turkish, speak more". Prisoners could not speak with their families in Kurdish and if they spoke Turkish, they could speak more but if not they could not. Such a pressure on Kurdish language can be named as "linguicide" or "linguistic genocide." (Dündar 2011). Such examples, forbiddance of Kurdish names and Kurdish music, torture in Diyarbakır Prison, burning and evacuation of villages and forests, killing of Kurdish civilians, and denigrating of Kurds in Turkish media made PKK bigger and powerful (Belge 1995, pp.391-392). Therefore, it is not wrong to say that Kurdish nationalism was nurtured by Turkish nationalism's irrational acts against Kurds (Oran 2002). Because of such suppressions, PKK movement rose. PKK accepts itself as a Youth Movement as it was founded by a group of intellectual youth. In its media, it uses that feature so much that affect today's children and youth too. In meetings, the slogan "*we started young, we will finish young*" is being carried. That shows how PKK looks youth and how it affects them. From children's speech such as "*they [Apo and his friends. MO] were also young when they start*", it is understood how children see PKK movement and how they feel that they also "can do".

4. CITY OF BATMAN

Batman was one of the cities that PKK expanded in a short time. In this chapter, I am going to analyze the city of Batman in which I did my field-research.

4.1 History, Landscape, Geography, and Population

Batman was a small village in 1930s. However, at the end of 1940s and in the beginning of 1950s, petroleum was found in the area and in a short time, that village became a town. The population of the town was 4713 in 1955 (Kalkan 2010, p. 6). Now, city's population is 313.000 and it is a big city (look at fig. 4.1). The landscape of the city is plain but in the north and east of the city, there are mountains. The west of the city is plain where Diyarbakır is located. In that plain, a branch of Tigris River, Batman Çayı flows and joins to Tigris in south of the city. The climate of the city is continental. It is hot and dry in summers, cold and rainy, and sometimes snowy in winters. There are trees only on the mountains not much on plain.



Fig. 4.1: A view from Batman. This photo of Batman was taken by Osman ARA for my research.

4.2 Economy

According to the result of population counting in 2000 by Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (Government Statistical Institution), the unemployment rate in Turkey is 10 % but in Batman the rate is 17 % and this is the highest rate in Turkey.²⁰ The economy of the city was based on herding animals and agriculture however; herding animals almost stopped because of the fight between army and PKK militants on the mountains. Now, it is based on agriculture and some small factories such as textile, brick, and concrete. City was added to GAP project by the aim of develop the city economically. Apart from some project about agriculture and herding, there are some other GAP projects especially after 1990 such as taking women in knitting courses, training children in the art subject, and giving them scholarship.²¹ This changing

²⁰ Report of Local Agenda 21 City Council (Yerel Gündem 21 Kent Konseyi). This agenda's members consist of the members of local organizations, both civil and state organizations and tries to do projects for the development of the city, Batman.

²¹ Report of GAP. GAP İdaresi Başkanlığı 2006 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu. http://includes.gap.gov.tr/files/ek-dosyalar/gap-bki/faaliyet-raporlari/faaliyet_raporu_2006.pdf.

structure of GAP from an economic project to a social development program was because of Kurdish Question. State after 1990s tried to solve Kurdish Question by enlarge the structure of GAP with social and cultural programs in order to keep people away from revolt (Özok 2009, p.59). The projects about training people were seen as state's propaganda to show that state loves them and by that way assimilate them. For example, a 35 years old teacher, Mehmet, from the city said, *“There is struggle of state in order to keep children. They work especially on education. For example, there are Mehmetçik special course and courses for sports at schools at the weekend. All courses are free. Nobody pays. The interesting thing is that teachers also are volunteers. They do not get money. They belong to Gulen Movement. And here, governorship and cemaat [religious community. used for Gulen Movement. MO] work together. Again they take women to ÇATOMs (Multifunctional Society Centers)...Kurdish movement tries to stand against them by opening special course too.”*

The rate of unemployment especially rose after displacement of the people from villages by force. In Batman, more than 200 villages and hamlets were evacuated between the years 1989 and 1999.²² Thousand villagers had to come to the city without anything. They left their animals and lands and came to city. Thus in the city, some new neighborhoods appeared. In a house, there were almost 7-10 persons and the head of the family, father tried to sell something (especially vegetables and fruits) in the city. Neither they nor the city was ready for their migration. The infrastructure of the city was not sufficient and as a result, these new neighborhoods stood like villages. Some people continued to herd animals and plant agricultural products at the shore of the city. Still, that situation continues in some neighborhoods. Moreover, trauma was seen on those people, especially on women. When they were in the village women were free because nearly all people were relatives and it was such an atmosphere that a woman could go out, walk and work freely. However, in the city center, women were not let to go out freely because their family thought that here is city and cities are dangerous as they learned from TV. In 2000s, the rate of suicide of women increased in the city. In 2000, 40 women tried to commit suicide and 28 of them died (Halis 2001, p.20). In those years, city was

²² Report of Batman Göç-Der (Social Support and Culture Association of Migrants) and Batman İHD (Human Right Association). Batman'da Zorunlu Göç Sorunu, Gelişim, Nedenleri ve Sonuçları.

known as the capital of suicide. In the entire world, the rate of men was higher for suicide but in that city rate of women was much higher than of men.

If we think, years of 1990s as the street fights happened between PKK and Hizbullah many men were killed. Now, in 2000s, the suicide of women started to be seen. There are a lot of children without parents in the city now. Some of them stayed with their grandparents but some did not have grandparents and they became street children. Who had stayed with their relatives now keeps a big hate to their fathers' and mothers' killers. One of the children whom I talked had lost his father in a Hizbullah attack.

Therefore, in an order, it is not wrong to say the displacement of the villagers to the city caused enormous economical and sociological problems in the city. And stone throwing children is the last point of those happenings.

4.3 Social Structure

The social class distinction is sharp in the city. While the petroleum was found in the city in 1955, a refinery was founded in city. First years, many workers from different west cities were brought to there in order to work in refinery. Thus, these people became rich in a short time. A closed housing development (site) was founded for them and this was forbidden for other people to go in. Therefore, when you look from top of the city, you can see how there is a developed luxury site and around it poor suburbs. However, later local people could be workers in the refinery and some developed neighborhoods are formed. Now, rich refinery workers and some state officials live in developed neighborhoods and villagers that migrated from their villages live in suburbs. The difference between those neighborhoods is so sharp that you cannot believe your eyes when you go from some neighborhoods to others. For instance, in the closed workers area while some is playing golf, in suburbs some is without shoes in the streets. That view is not far from many metropolises.

This sharp class distinction causes some important developments in the city. For example, ideologically class based PKK movement developed in Batman quickly in the late 1970s. Another, important result is distinction about religious beliefs. Because of that, the city is seen as a model for social group struggles. There are different groups of people but there were no fights. However, illegal state powers for

instance Arif Doğan as he confesses nowadays formed JITEM and Hizbullah as against PKK in city. Arif Doğan said, “*Hizbulkotr* [that is the name used for Hizbullah in the Southeast region.MO] was active mostly in Batman. PKK had an expanded dialogue with people of Batman. PKK had a large amount of supporters in Batman. That is because central committee members of PKK, Mahsun Korkmaz and Selahattin Çelik were from Batman.”(Doğan 2011, p.157). Doğan after saying that talked about how they did propaganda by using Hizbulkotr especially in Batman against PKK (pp.157-159). Again, in 1995s, some state guns that were bought from China and Bulgaria lost in the city and later it was said that the governor of the city, Salih Şarman gave those guns to Hizbullah.²³ It was brought a suit against him both for that issue and for taking a bribe. Later, he was acquitted from that suit by the court with the decision of “for missing guns governor cannot be seen responsible.”²⁴ Salih Şarman refuses those guns but he accepts the formation of a “special army” (60 teams, each team consists of 15 men) against PKK in the city of Batman.²⁵ He says, “of course there was JITEM. JITEM’s building was in the city center...I cannot say there were no Hizbullah in this special army.” (Akçura 2009a, pp.218-223). It seems that that formation of “special army” with the name of JITEM and its correlation with is true and that caused big long street fights between those powers and PKK. So many innocent people were killed in 1990s. However, still the absolute number of dead is not known.

Moreover, suicide of women also can be seen because of this sharp social class distinction. The report of Government Family Research Foundation in 2000 (Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu) shows reasons for suicide of women. That reports mentioned that the struggle between Hizbullah and PKK has a bad result on psychology of society; technology developed sharply but social and cultural structure did not at that speed; the imbalance in unemployment and income distribution is too high; the emotional relation of young girls with state officials as a hope to be rich, migrate from here and have a life as they see on TV and imagine it but if the marriage did not happen they kill themselves in order to hide their virginity which is

²³ Rüşvet İddiasıyla Cezaevine Girecek Olan Vali Saygı Öztürk’e Konuştu. <http://www.habervitrini.com/haber.asp?id=133526>. 10.06.2004.

²⁴ Kayıp Silahlar’ın alacak davasına da beraat. <http://www.t24.com.tr/haberdetay/126733.aspx>. 09.02.2011.

²⁵ Yılmaz Ekinci. Interview with Salih Şarman. ‘Rutin Dışı’ validen özel tim gerçeği. <http://www.haber7.com/haber/20071113/Rutin-Disi-Validen-ozel-tim-gercegi.php>. 13.11.2007.

honor in the area and honor killings are seen (Halis 2001, 133). Apart from that report, there are reports some other reports. The head of Bar of Batman, Sabih Ataç indicated that their report showed that this is “*the rebellion against the life inside four walls.*” (Halis 2001, 113). Actually, the life both for women and men and especially for children resembles to that life which Ataç mentioned. But this time these walls are abstract and these are what people feel them and think they are built by state. Therefore, it can be said that the rebellion of young women against to those four walls was committing suicide, but the rebellion of children against abstract state walls is street acts.

4.4 Development of Kurdish Movement in the City

The sharp development of capitalism in city caused contradictions and thus ideologically socialist PKK movement developed quickly. One of the leaders of PKK, Mahsum Korkmaz was from Batman and he did organizations in the city. As a result, even in 1979, Edip Solmaz attended the municipality election autonomously and was supported by PKK and won the election. Edip Solmaz was killed only 27 days later by brigadier general Temel Cingöz (Miroğlu 05.08.2009, Taraf) and Kurdish movement did not join the elections until 1991. By starting from 1990s in every election, the pro-Kurdish parties joined the election and won. In 1990, HEP (People Labour Party); in 1992, ÖZDEP (Freedom and Democracy Party); in 1993, DEP (Democracy Party); in 1994, HADEP (People Democracy Party); in 1997, DEHAP (Democratic People Party); in 2003, Özgür Parti (Free Party); in 2005, DTP (Democratic Society Party);²⁶ and now BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) are the parties as known pro-Kurdish parties and in municipality elections which they joined (1999, 2004, and 2009) won the municipality.²⁷

4.5 Street Fights between PKK and Hizbullah

On the other hand, the influence of religion is clear in the city. Nearly all population is Muslim. However, the Kurdish Movement has a secular ideology. Arif Doğan’s below speech shows that this contradiction between religious people and the

²⁶ 1990’dan Bugüne, HEP’ten DTP’ye Kürtlerin Zorlu Siyaset Mücadelesi. <http://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/117387-1990dan-bugune-hepten-dtpye-kurtlerin-zorlu-siyaset-mucadelesi>. 12.12.2009.

²⁷ Look at <http://secim.iha.com.tr/>

ideology of Kurdish Movement was seen as a chance for state to form a religious power against secular Kurdish Movement. At that period, Hizbullah was formed and developed in the city in a short time. The head of Hizbullah, Hüseyin Veliöđlu was also from Batman. Arif Dođan in his speech at 32. Gün TV program, mentioned: *“I had chosen Hüseyin Veliöđlu as he was a well-informed and sincere religious person. Thus he could affect religious people as the head of Hizbul-Kontra.”*²⁸

It was known that state authorities, such as Salih Şarman who was the governor of city, formed an illegal “special army” and bought guns for that army secretly. Moreover, because of bribery, he was arrested for 1.5 years and after exited from prison in the Zaman Newspaper he said, *“That army and guns were not secret. We brought the project to Tansu Çiller, the Prime Minister in that period, and she accepted the project. We bought guns from China at first and then from Bulgaria by the discretionary fund (4 million dollars).”*²⁹ As a result, armed Hizbullah members did terrorist acts in the streets. It killed many politicians such as Deputy Mehmet Sincar, journalists such as Ferhat Tepe, members of pro-Kurdish parties, Human Right Association, and sympathizers of Kurdish Movement. PKK tried to kill the members of Hizbullah as an answer. Thus, in the streets, there was a real terror. Journalist Aydın Engin says that in 1995 he went to city and talked to head chief of DYP (Dođru Yol Partisi). That man had said that he was not supporter of Hizbullah but *“they make life as a prison for Kurds who support PKK.”* He also said that soldier gave military education to the members of Hizbullah and these two powers do not let supporter of PKK to live in the area.³⁰ The state’s support to Hizbullah was taken place in the report of Turkish Parliament Research Commission of Actor-Unknown Political Murders (Faili Meçhul Siyasi Cinayetleri Araştırma Komisyonu). According to that report both Hizbullah and village-guardians took place in such murders and army gave support to the military education camps of Hizbullah. However, that report was not declared because of the opposition of some members of commission (Kirişçi and Winrow 1997, 150). Chief of police of Batman, Öztürk Şimşek in 1995, talked to that commission and he mentioned that there are

²⁸ 32. Gün TV Program. 27.01.2011.

²⁹ Eski vali Şarman: Özel ordu benim değil, devletindi.
<http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=258429>. 22.02.2006.

³⁰ Aydın Engin. Batman-Habizbin-Hizbullah.
<http://www.t24.com.tr/content/authors.aspx?author=13&article=3097>. 13.01.2011.

Hizbullah's Camps near Gercüş (district of Batman) and army unity helps them in training (Çiçek 2000, pp. 77-78).

The influence of such murders was so big on people. There was not an official forbiddance to go out in the evenings but nobody was out after the sun went down. Everybody was in fear. Many people were executed by shooting from the back or were hit by meat cleavers (big knives). As a result, the organization of PKK decreased in the city. It is said that legal pro-Kurdish parties could not find people to be the head of the party in the city. This atmosphere caused a trauma over people who lost many relatives and had fear to loose some others. The children who were born in those years are now 15-20 years old.

Therefore, after all these happenings, the sociology and psychology of those Kurdish children has a big difference from the sociology and psychology of children in the modern life of west.

5. CHILDHOOD

5.1 The Sociology of Childhood

In his book, *Centuries of Childhood*, Philippe Ariés mentioned that in the medieval period there is an awareness of childhood as children are depicted in Medieval Art like miniature adults. However, in the 13th century using nude children in art was seen. In the 16th century, childhood was seen as a time of innocence and sweetness. Children were idolized and valued as a source of amusement or escape for adults (Corsaro 1997, 49-50). However, Montaigne wrote that he could not abide passion for newborn children who have not mental activities and recognizable bodily shape. In addition, he cannot accept to love children for our amusement like monkeys or taking pleasure in their games and infantile nonsense. Locke, in his book “*Some Thoughts Concerning Education*” says that children are born without shield as weak people. Again, Rousseau, in his book “*Emile*”, writes that children are naturally innocent but because of prejudice, authority, and social foundations everywhere around us, they have risk to form themselves (Heywood 2003, 32). Thus in the 16th and 18th centuries, known as moralistic period, a new idea of childhood appeared as it is the period of immaturity and that children must be trained and disciplined. In our modern world, interest is on physical, moral, and sexual problems of childhood. Parents are responsible before God for the soul and bodies of their children (Corsaro 1997, 50-64). Moreover, Hans Peter Dreitzels mentions that until 1960s, children were seen as “uncompleted organisms”. James Kincaid argues that the fetishization of the innocence of the child occurs at the cost of denying the child ‘a whole host of capacities, an emptying out.’ Innocence takes on a negative valence, defined as the absence of qualities such as strength, knowledge and agency (Stasiulis 2004). As a result, children were kept away from being actors. Therefore, the important thing was to the way of making uncompleted, illogical, unqualified, selfish, and uncivilized children to completed, logical, qualified, social, and autonomous adult.

Thus, until 1960s, researches on children are about their growth and socialization (Heywood 2003, 9). However, Ariés thinks focusing just on growth and socialization of children prevents the freedom of children they had hitherto among adults. Therefore, it is not a clear idea that there is a progression of childhood from early times to modern world according to Ariés. The change is much because of the moving from extended to nuclear family, emergence of age-graded schools, and existence of class and race separations (Corsaro 1997, 50-66). Again, the model of Alan Prout and Allison James with Chris Jenks on sociology of childhood verifies that idea. In their research, they indicated that yes, it is true that becoming a child is biological but the perceiving and interpreting of that is related to a culture. For example, the perceiving of childhood as innocent, weak, and sexless in the West is not same in Latin America suburbs and war areas of Africa. Furthermore, childhood is not independent from class-sex-ethnic structure of the society and it should be examined together with them. In their research, they say, *“The childhood in a worker family is different from the childhood in a middle-class family; a child in a Catholic Irish family is different from the one in a Protestant German family; and a boy child is different from a girl child.”* Writer Frank McCourt says: *“When I think about my childhood I cannot believe how I could stay alive. It was a poor childhood. The worse than being poor, was to be a poor Irish child and worse than that to be a poor, Irish, Catholic child.”* (Heywood 2003, 10-11).

For socialization of childhood, there are models, “deterministic model” and “constructivist model”. In the “deterministic model”, children are seen as novices and untamed threat. Therefore, they should be controlled through careful training. Thus, adults and even social theorists push children to the margin of social structure. These theorists of deterministic model saw children as having potential and threat to present and future societies (Corsaro 1997, 7-9). On the other hand, “the constructivist model” sees children as active actors and eager learners. Children, here construct their social world and their place in it actively. According to this idea, children do not just internalize the society they are born into; they act in society and cause changes in it (Corsaro 1997, 9-11).

Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget mentioned that children from the first day of their infancy interpret, organize, and use information from the environment and by that way they construct conceptions of their physical and social worlds (Corsaro 1997,

11-12). Lev Vygotsky, who is a Russian psychologist, believed that children's social development is also the result of their collective actions and these actions take place and are located in society. Whereas for Piaget, human development is primarily individualistic, for Vygotsky it is primarily collective (Corsaro 1997, 14-15).

In later years, such linear models of children's social development were replaced by the collective and productive-reproductive views. According to Prout and James, children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live (Hart 2008). Again, Danish sociologist Jens Qvortrup's structural approach shows that children in their particular childhoods are like adults, active participants in organized activities. They both affect and are affected by major societal events and developments (Corsaro 1997, 27-31). That new approach of childhood shows that childhood is a social construction resulting from the collective actions of children with adults and each other. Childhood is recognized as a structural form and children are social agents who contribute to the reproduction of childhood and society through their negotiations with adults and through their creative production of a series of peer cultures with other children (Corsaro 1997, 41-44).

The development of childhood in Ottoman-Turkish culture is not different from the development in the west till modernization. Accepting the childhood as a different category; starting of children to share adult's clothes, food, and games; starting to work from 7-8 ages; all ages having education together; in spite of that since 16th century the discovering of childhood; starting class distinction in schools; understanding the innocence of child; and thus accepting the protecting of child is same in Ottoman-Turkish culture too (Onur 2009, pp. 327-328). Today's even youth is not different from the perception of childhood in Turkey. Leyla Neyzi talks about three periods of youth in modern Turkey. In the first period (1923-50) youth came to embody the new nation and in the second period (1950-80), youth was in perceiving themselves as acting in the name of people to build a just society. And in the third period (post-1980), public discourse tried to represent youth as apolitical consumers. And now, youth is in challenge to express their identities and become subject rather than object (Neyzi 2001). However, the public discourse is continuing to represent youth as apolitical individuals and keep children away from politics. And not youth

but seeing the child innocent, “uncompleted”, and illogical is still the perception of childhood in the Turkish culture. Bühler-Niederberger mentions that seeing children innocence and thus have many social policies to help them, educate them, grow up them also causes a weak individualism of children (Bühler-Niederberger 2007). However, in Kurdish culture this seems different in many aspects as maybe because Kurdish society has not such an opportunity to look after their children well. And maybe Kurdish children’s existed individualism is because of the hard socio-economic conditions. Here, I am going to focus on the sociology of childhood in Kurdish culture and the process of being subject in politics.

5.2 The Sociology of Kurdish Children

When it is talked about Kurdish children the situation cannot be understood well to just focus on “childhood” by giving reference to pedagogic approaches and calling for conscience. That is done consciously or unconsciously also cuts the connection of stone throwing issue with politic, historical, social memory, and socio-economic aspects of the Kurdish Question. Erik Erikson mentions that children should be not just researched as they are the mirror of culture or as they are creatures but also they should be researched, as they are creators of culture and are a dynamic power too (Elhüseyni 2009).

Alan Prout, Allison James, and Chis Jenks’ research explains childhood as “*yes childhood is biological but perceiving and interpreting of that is related to a culture*”. This cultural difference that causes a different perception of childhood is seen in Turkish and Kurdish cultures in Turkey. Their example “the perceiving of childhood as innocent, weak, and sexless in the West is not same in Latin America suburbs and war areas of Africa” can be an explanation about different childhood in Turkish and Kurdish cultures. Childhood in Turkish culture as Onur (2009) also mentioned is similar to childhood in the West. On the other hand, childhood in the Kurdish culture can be compared with the childhood in Latin America suburbs and the war areas of Africa (for instance in Palestine).

Starting from 1984 until 1999, about 4 thousand villages (? / MO) were burned and evacuated in Kurdish area. About 3 millions (? / MO) of people were forcibly displaced. 57 % of them start to live in “gecekodu” (shacks) in the suburbs of the big cities (Yıldız 2004, pp. 48-49. The children of those displaced people were

foreigners of the cities, which they migrated. In the new living areas, these children are deprived of shelter, health, nourishment, and education. They faced a clear strong poverty. As a result, they faced serious illnesses. Many children instead of being in the school have to work in order to help their families economically. Many of them were denigrated and arrested, and had sexual torture and psychological harassment by the police. Girls face bigger and more dangerous problems such as facing sexual harassment much, violence in the family, earlier ages marriages and honor killings. Thus, it is clear that in such conditions, Kurdish children have depression (Yıldız 2004, 9-10). According to speech of adults and children, it can be said that these bad conditions still continues and became worse. For instance, 60 years old Şükrü, the man who wanted to help me and get children and me together said:

“I know history and also history of religions well. Nemrut had said his people ‘I am your God.’ He means he could do everything whatever he wanted. And he had said ‘kill people’s children and rape their women who do not obey’ so that they feel themselves dishonorable. Today, same methods are being done here. Hundreds children such as Ceylan Önkol and Uğuz Kaymaz were killed. In Siirt, 75 child-girls were raped. They resemble Nemrut.”

Apart from facing bad conditions in the cities, many people were killed because they had relations with PKK or because they were just sympathizers of PKK. None of the killers were arrested. According to the report of TBMM Human Rights Research Commission in 2004, the total number of actor-unknown murders is about 17.500.³¹ In last years, one of the killers Abdulkadir Aygan³² talked to Gündem Newspaper and then Taraf Newspaper about illegal state organization JITEM and confessed that they killed many innocent people in those years. Some of the skeletons of men were found in the place where he had shown in his drawn sketch. Later, Arif Doğan³³ confessed that he set JITEM against PKK and had the role in such killings. He talked to the court and said that in JITEM he had 10 thousands members. He said that they

³¹ Report of Yeşiller Party. Kürt Sorununda Şiddetsiz ve Demokratik Çözüm İstiyoruz. http://www.yesiller.org/V1/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=340. 07.08.2009.

³² Abdulkadir Aygan was a PKK guerrilla. After he was arrested he became a confessor in the prison. Then he was taken out from the prison and joined to illegal state organization JITEM (Jendarme Intelligence Struggle Against Terror). He also confessed that he was in the group, which killed Musa Anter, intellectual Kurdish writer. Now, he is living in Sweden and says that he wants talk on the court.

³³ Arif Doğan is a retired general and now was arrested as a member of Ergenekon (organization which aimed to make a coup d'état.)

killed many PKK militants and his members were taking 3.000 Turkish liras for each killing. The number of fatherless children because of those killings is not less. It is absolute that those fatherless children have a trauma. As a result, their struggle on the streets becomes something to overcome the trauma that both they and their families had because coming together shows that they are not the only people who had such a bad background. They start to see that, *“there is somebody who faced a worse background. I am not alone.”*(Tuzcuođlu 2011, p.28-33). The people who are not alone start politic activities both as acts on the streets and as founding their foundations. It can be said the traumatic situation of individuals does not become a social trauma by the way of taking part in politics (Üstündađ 2011). It seems that not just adult Kurds but also children take part in politics and try to overcome the individual traumatic background. As they learn that their fathers were killed by such state related organizations, their taking part in politics grows as against state on the streets by throwing stones. From my interviews, I saw that they “hate” state and all things that have relations with the state such as army, flag, national anthem, Atatürk etc. This shows that how Kurdish children are affected by the past social events and thus designate the power that they will fight against.

Economy is another important fact that causes a different childhood. In Batman (or generally in Kurdish area) childhood is seen as helping the family economically. Economy in Kurdish area is based on agriculture and herding animals. For such an economy, it is more profitable to have more working person. That is why those families have more children. When you are farmer, you need a few persons for working on the field and a few for herding and feeding the animals. However, because of the displaced of Kurdish villagers by force, they migrated to the cities. In cities, those children started to work on the streets. In the cities, many children now have to look forward their families. This makes them far away from the life at home and thus children face to fight for standing against hard life.³⁴ According to the IHD (Human Right Association) report in 2001, 98 % of street children are children of migration and most of them are from Southeast Region (Yıldız 2004, p.64). Thus, families in Kurdish area work their children from earlier ages in the villages and then in the cities and they see them as adults in one aspect. Nevertheless, the important thing is that children have not “adult’s all features”. For working they are “adult” but

³⁴ Report of European Peace Council in France. Çocuk-Kürt, Taş-TMK. (written by Gülnaz Duman Bilge). 24.05.2010.

for “to be listened and to be asked for explaining their ideas” they are “child”. One of children, Ali’s life (15) can be a proof for that fact. Ali was outside for 3 days when I talked to him. He had escaped from home and came to the café where I was doing my interviews.

Ali: I sell handkerchiefs on the streets. My father does not work. He is at café and play “okey” [a game, MO] all the day. Sometimes I go to cafe where he and his friend there. They called me to their table and they kid me. I do not know why. I can understand his friends but my father? How can he do that? He does not love me. He thinks that I do not understand anything. I hate him. I escaped from home and I will not go back. I can take care of myself...

According to Ali, his father does not see him as a child when he works but he sees him as “illogical” when Ali says his ideas. Ali’s life is a common situation in the Kurdish families. That causes a “revolt” feeling on children. They think that they work like adults on economy but they are not considered as “adults” important. It is clear that they want to be not just worked but also listened. From that point, they start to feel they work like adults but adults do not listen to them, neither their fathers nor state. As a result, Kurdish children think that if they work, they must be listened too. Thus, they start to act. Again, prison-exited Mehmet’s talking for before and after prison shows that how adults see him as an “adult” and how he feels good for that.

“After the prison, everybody see me as an “adult”. The relatives who did not greet me now say greet me, say “hello”. That makes “struggle” and party bigger for me. Neither struggle is true as this struggle. We are present. From now, nobody can accept us as we are not present”

However, as Ali’s reaction against his father, the reactions start to turn against Turkish state because they think it is state that causes that situation of their father by not developing economy in the Kurdish area. According to a research about Turkish Probe in 2001, the ratio of population under poverty line is 30 % in other regions of Turkey, whereas in Kurdish region this rate more than 60 % (Yıldız, 2004 p. 24). Here the role of ethnicity starts to be seen again by both Kurdish adults and children.

Kurdish children as they belong to Kurdish ethnicity, have big social problems faced because of Kurdish Question. The daily talking of children in Batman is about Kurdish Question, Kurdish language, street acts, soldiers, police, guerrillas, the

ethnicity of their teachers, and discussions on TV about Kurds. When you talk to a 15 years old child in Batman, you feel that you talk to an adult not a child. Thus, Kurdish children act autonomously from their families or teachers as adults and that is why Kurdish children revolt (can revolt) and become an actor even in politics.

Adults, most especially in adult-child routines in families, affect children's peer culture. However, once children begin to move outside the family, their activities with peers and their collective production of a series of peer cultures become just as important as their interactions with adults (Corsaro 1997, 115). Kurdish children are also forms peer cultures especially in the suburbs of the cities where they have migrated. The talking in the first meetings of children is about their villages in general. Where did they come from? Why did they come? What did they face when they migrate? As a result of such talking, they find common feeling soon and they form their groups. Because the answers to those questions are about politics, they become like a politic group.

One of the most essential ways of gain control over their lives for children is to resist and challenge adult rules and authority. Moreover, in order to challenge with their fear, conflicts, and confusions they join peer culture (Corsaro 1997, 140). When we look at Kurdish children we can see that growing up in bad conditions what we talked about above, Kurdish children saw what it is to loose their houses-villages and playing area; to migrate to the cities; to loose their fathers; to have nothing there; to have to work in order to help their families economically; to become street children. As a result of this deep feeling, they started to find who caused this. By listening to their family members and people around, reading, and watching TVs. they are sure about the maker. This is the state with all its foundations. In a few street acts, they saw that they are not as weak as they thought. As becoming groups, they could resist against police or even move the police back. Thus, they felt that they are "powerful" and "can do". The process of empowerment as a multi-dimensional social process that helps people to gain control over their own lives is seen for Kurdish children. Empowerment *"is a process that fosters power in people for use in their own lives, their communities and in their society, by acting on issues they define as important."* (Page and Czuba 1999). What Kurdish children faced fosters power in them and they use it in their lives, and people against state power. They do that via violence. They set a relation between violence and freedom. According to George Battaille,

oppressed people's freedom is related to sovereignty and violence because violence expresses such a point that oppressed people face authority, risk their lives, and thus overcome the norms of sovereign. Kurdish children's fight and freedom connection is founded by violence and sovereignty (Darıcı 2009, Toplum ve Kuram). And if they are not free they will disturb state and not let it to be free too. As a method in their acts, they resort to brute force. Salk mentions that if a child acts destructively, this is a sign of the factors that extremely disturb him / her (1998, p.209).

Serhat (16)³⁵: *“We want to do something but we cannot join into politics, and nothing else. Even a 5 years old child throws stone if he / she sees what police did. For instance, one's arm was broken. Even if Roj TV is a forbidden channel, it is being shown there. Six police officers attack a child. They hit him as if he is an animal. They hit his head by foot. Since they use violence, we will also use. We use our sweet language too, but they do not listen. When there is no violence, they do not understand. They do not talk about the question. As if there is nothing, there is no question. A culture is being diminished, they do not see.”*

³⁵ Serhat is a Science High School student. He stays in a dormitory.

6. STONE THROWING ACTS

Stone throwing children issue mainly started with the acts on 26 March 2006. These acts started in Diyarbakır in order to protest the killing of PKK guerrillas by state powers. After a short time, street acts extended to other Kurdish cities such as Batman, Urfa, Van, and Şırnak. That was the first time Kurdish children attacked the shops too. Polices and soldiers tried to suppress the reactions by violence. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, on TVs said that people should control their children otherwise the security forces will do whatever is necessary. As a result of these violence contained street acts, 11 (9 children, 2 adults) in Diyarbakır and 1 child in Batman totally 12 people were killed (Darıcı 2009, 32-33). Moreover, Darıcı mentioned in his thesis that, these acts were the first acts that children started to attack the shops. However, it is far away from a class-based reaction what Darıcı claimed. The children see even poverty-richness as distinction of Turk-Kurd. Turks whom Kurdish children saw in the area are mostly teachers, doctors, and engineers. And these officers are richer than the people from the region (Ali's below explanation is because of such an idea). Therefore, some of them think that Turks are like those officers in general. And they see this as because of Turkist state policy. For example, Mazlum (17)³⁶ said, *“State does not found factories here. Why? Because we are Kurd. They do not want Kurds be rich.”*

Ali (15). *“I do not like Turks. They have money and see poor as ‘thing’. They say they do not want poor people in the world. That is to say, now if a mouse comes we kill it, don’t we? They also see poor people like that. If they had opportunity they would kill us, but they do not have.”*

M: *How did you reach that idea?*

³⁶ Mazlum is a high school student.

A: *“I reached by myself. I saw many Turks. In Diyarbakır street. They wear badly. Their children make fun of us. Their fathers do not say anything.”*

M: *They may be Kurd. There are rich Kurds too.*

A: *“No. I know from their voice. Now, if I speak Turkish, I do not speak like them. There are rich Kurds too but their children are not like that. They [Kurds, MO] train their children.”*

According to Ali, Turks are rich and rude people. They see Kurds as poor and bad people and they want to kill people like Ali. Even if Ali’s idea seems as a class based idea when I asked Ali about rich Kurds I see that he has no problem with rich Kurds. He says that rich Kurds are not bad people. Ali sees richness and Turkishness in the same category.

Again, 18 years old Fatma’s³⁷ explanations show that throwing stones to the shops is not with a class based feeling:

“We throw stones to some shops. Yes we did. However, those shops belong to Hizbullah or they are open-shops. You know there is protest, why do you open your shop. You will not open. Opening the shop means that I do not listen to you and saying that ‘who are you?’ They will listen to. People who do not close their shops pardon but we will do what has to be done.”

17 years old, Mustafa³⁸ said, *“Stones that are thrown to the shops are not thrown unconsciously. That shop is either supporter of system or Hizbullah. Or that day there is a protest and he hasn’t been closed his shop. Otherwise, the youth do not attack uselessly. If he is against that cruelty, the youth does not attack. The youth is never being supporter of the system.”*

It is seen that children attack the shops not because they are open and sell their products. It is because they do not listen to them or the party (PKK) and because they are against the party. PKK uses violence as the way to be recognized by state and the way of freedom (Bozarslan 2002). It seems that children also use this method. PKK militants in the cities send messages to the shops that there will be a protest and the shopkeepers should join that protest by closing their shops. In the protest day, open-shops are being attacked by the sympathizers of PKK. This is a case of authority.

³⁷ I used pseudonyms for their safety. Fatma is an 18 years old high school student.

³⁸ Mustafa is a 17 years old high school student. He is in Kurdish youth organization.

PKK wants to be authority in the area and use such acts. The children see themselves as supporter of PKK and think that shopkeepers have to listen to them and by that way listen to the party.

These street acts continued until second of April and became a current issue in the country. Parliaments, intellectuals, writers, political parties, and human right associations for days discussed this stone throwing children issue on media. However, media both TVs and newspapers mentioned that those children are used by the “terrorist-organization”. In all mainstream media the news about stone-throwing children issue were given as money is given to those children and they are deceived in order to provide them to throw the stones to the police and shops. They are pushed to the front and used as a cat’s paw by “terrorist-organization” (Durna and Kubilay 2010). As a result, in 2006, Anti-Terror Act was accepted and it was mentioned that the families who let their children go to street acts will be punished (Darıcı 2009, 34). State powers in the region started to arrest and sentence children to 10-15 years,³⁹ and even sometimes tried to sentence to 30 years.⁴⁰ It was far away from the foundation aim of Children Courts in Turkey. The aim of Children Courts was to save them in society not to sentence them even if they are guilty. Again, children under 18 were seen under the full-responsible age and they get less sentence than adults. (Yücel 1989). However, those laws were not taken into consideration. The method of discipline children into the prison started. On the other hand, arguments on the media were based on seeing children innocent and as they have to be rehabilitated.⁴¹ Police should not use violence against them. They need help, love, and interest.⁴² With this aspect in some acts police started to give children candies,

³⁹ Polise Taş Atan Çocuğa 10 Yıl 8 Ay Hapis. <http://www.sondakika.com/haber-polise-tas-atan-cocuga-10-yil-8-ay-hapis-2119019/>. 23.06.2010.

⁴⁰ Polise taş atan 10 çocuğa 30 yıl hapis istemi. http://sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2009/08/18/polise_tas_atan_10_cocuga_30_yil_hapis_istemi#. 18.08.2009.

⁴¹ Okulda rehberlik yeniden düzenlensin. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/14249850.asp?gid=233>. 20.03.2010.

⁴² Büyüklerin işlediği günahları lütfen çocuklara ödetmeyelim. <http://www.stargazete.com/politika/buyuklerin-isledigi-gunahlari-lutfen-cocuklara-odetmeyelim-haber-249082.htm>. 11.03.2010.

Çocuklara kıymayın efendiler. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=183102>. 01.04.2006.

Çocuklara kıymayın efendiler! <http://www.hurhaber.com/haberarsiv/Cocuklara-kiymayin-efendiler/230949>. 29.10.2009.

balloons, balls, chocolates, bananas, and so on.⁴³ Therefore, we can see that state powers use both discipline and deceive methods in order to cope with these street acts. However, stone-throwing acts increased day-by-day (look at fig. 6.1 and fig. 6.2). The issue was not what mainstream Turkish media had focused. There had to be something else. In this thesis, my aim is to reach the background of that issue and to expose the realities what were not said and is not wanted to be said. Who are those children? What sets them into action? What does lie at the background of that issue?

From my interviews with children I formed four headlines what cause children to act on the streets: The narrations told by their families about what they faced in the past, the role of state, the role of Official Education in the region and the role of both Turkish and Kurdish media.

⁴³ “Polis Nevruz öncesi top dağıttı”.
http://haber.gazetevatan.com/Polis_Nevruz_onesi_top_dagitti/294433/1/Gundem.17.03.2010.
“Polise taş atan eller sporla sevgiye ve çiçeklere uzandı”
http://www.samanyoluhaber.com/s_400227_polise-tas-atan-eller-sporla-sevgiye-ve-ciceklere-uzandi.html. 13.03.2010.

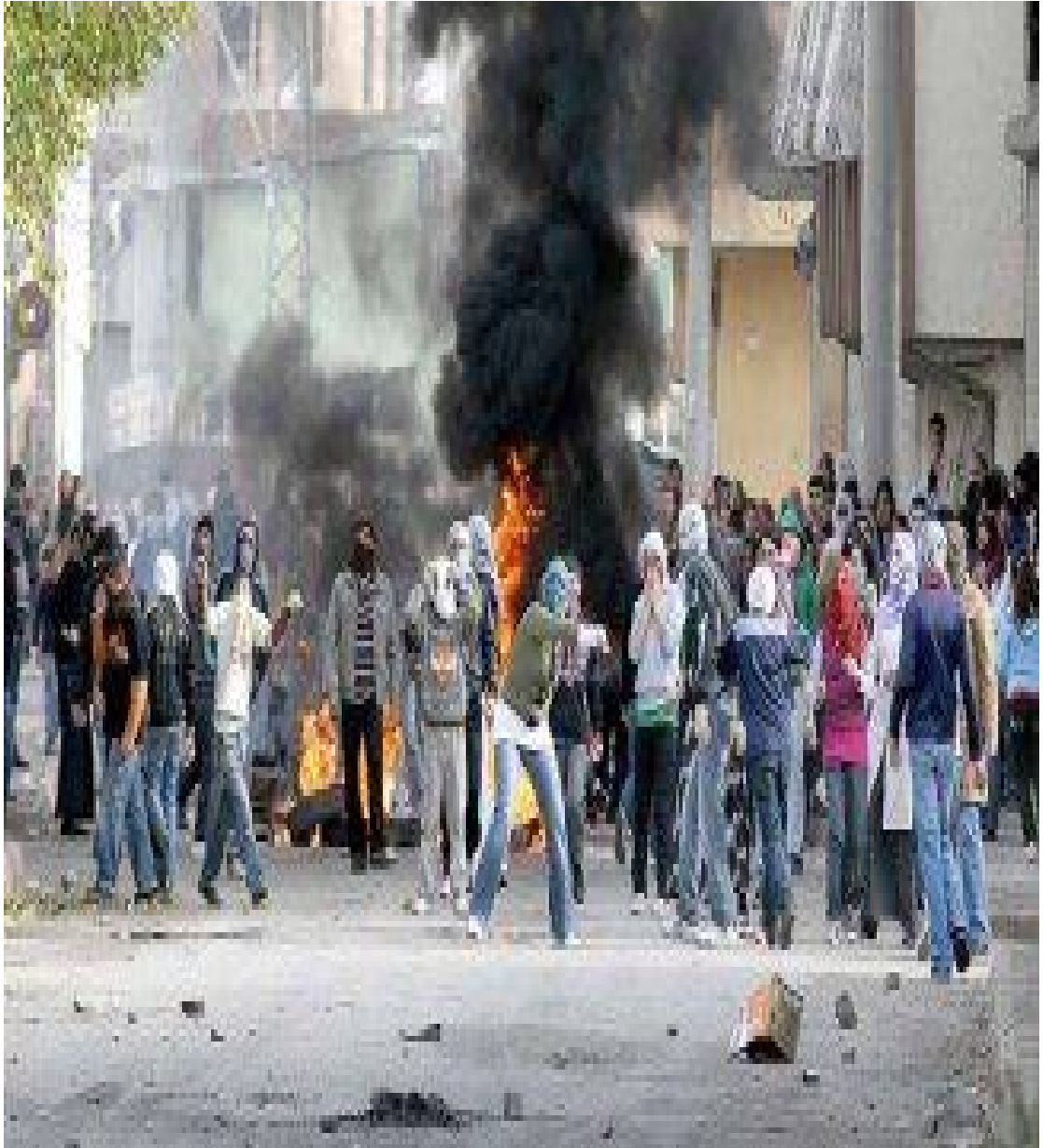


Fig. 6.1 : A photograph from street acts in Adana in 2010. in <http://www.eksresgazete.com/?/haber/oku/21507>. 24.06.2010.



Fig. 6.2 : A photograph from street acts in Batman in 2010. in <http://www.batmanhaberleri.com/haber/haberdetay.asp?ID=224>. 14.08.2010.

6.1 The role of the narrations of their families

As we mentioned in the chapter about the city of Batman, there was a real violence both in the villages and in the city.

6.1.1 Narrations about the village life

The narrations are generally about the suppression of the state powers with the aim of making villagers guards. The Village Guard Law was passed on 26 March 1985. The main duties of village guards were to prevent the entering of terrorists (guerrillas) into the village; to prevent the joining to the PKK; to appear the people who help PKK; to join the military operations and save the soldiers; and not to let PKK in the region (Tapan 2007, pp.96-102). Some tribes accepted the guard system willingly because of their poverty and force of state and because PKK was fighting against them (Tapan 2007, p.111). However, some villagers were forced to be guard. As a result, sources that help PKK to survive were tried to be destroyed. With that aim, villages were burned and evacuated and forests were burned (Etten and others

2009). As in the whole area, villages (totally 3438-Goc-Der Report 2009) which did not accept to be guard were burned and evacuated by state powers in Batman (totally 164-Goc-Der Report 2004) district too as a struggle against PKK guerrillas. Those villagers had to migrate to the cities and start to live there. Elders and also children had a trauma because of the burning of the village. TESEV's (Turkey Economic and Social Research Foundation) report (in 2006) about "displacement" shows that the children who take part in violence acts in Diyarbakır are the children who see the burning of their villages (Akçura 2009b, pp. 345-346). Displaced people could not become adapted to the city life and missed their past village life. All the time they talked about their village life and the days of burning-vacating the villages by state powers. Their city-born children grew by hearing such narratives. GUNSIAD's (Southeastern Industrialists and Businessmen Association) report in 1997, after determining the displacement of people, evacuation of villages, and the bad economic and social conditions, made a comment that "*East and Southeast is in threshold of social explosion.*" (Akçura 2009b, p. 349). The speech of children about their village and past life of their families shows how they were influenced by those social events. They have a deep social memory, which they harmonize from the narrations.⁴⁴ The memory has a thick link with social context. The process of remembering something is clearly influenced by the social context that the person in. From history that we learn at schools, from TV, film, newspaper, magazines, internet, and from oral and written culture that reaches to us by our family and social environment we remember the past. How we remember the past, is related to all of these (Neyzi 2011, p.2). However, Kurdish children's influence especially comes from the oral narrations that are told by their family members and people around them and the social context they are in now. They listen to the narrations about the past from adults and now are in a so politicized social environment because of Kurdish Question. Thus, they create a social memory. As a result, their struggle on the streets becomes something to overcome the trauma that both they and their families had.

Umut⁴⁵: *I was born in a village of Diyarbakır. We came to Batman 10-12 years ago. In the village, they insisted "guard system". Some of our relatives accepted but my*

⁴⁴ Report of European Peace Council in France. Çocuk-Kürt, Taş-TMK. (written by Gülnaz Duman Bilge). 24.05.2010.

⁴⁵ Umut is a 17 years old high school student.

father did not. Thus, we had to come here. First Adana, then here. Here they came suppressed us. They said that we had to go back to the village and be guard. We did not go. In those days, an event happened. 17 villagers were killed. And they came to us and said “PKK killed your relatives. Go and get your relatives revenge.” However, we knew that it was not PKK, which did killings. We know that state has a finger in this event.”

Ali (15):⁴⁶ Lastly, they wanted to do Balyoz coup d'état.⁴⁷ They had done 12 September coup d'état too. If they could do Balyoz, people could not go out. People at outside could be killed or paralyzed by the police. My dad is telling. One day in the café there was an ID control and my dad did not have his ID with him. They brought him to the police station. It was a miracle that my dad exits from there alive. In time of coup d'état, people had lost their mind because of soldier. My mum was saying that when she goes to the police station or see police, her legs tremble because she remembers time of coup d'état. If there will be coup d'état, even good police will be bad. I do not like them because of that.

Mesut⁴⁸: Were you born in Batman?

Hasan T.⁴⁹ : 90s are being told. Our surname is T. It is same as a guerilla, A. T. Therefore, my uncle is being brought to gendarme station several times. They wanted to take him into the prison.

M: Do you remember those days?

H: I remember the days when I was 4-5 years old. Soldiers were coming to the village, collecting everybody in the village square. They were hitting the mukhtar [the elected head of village.MO] because he could not speak Turkish. My brother is telling that one day again, soldiers collected the villagers and did body search. They could not find anything. Because of that, they hit him well and say run out the

⁴⁶ Ali is a primary school student.

⁴⁷ On 20 January 2010, Taraf Newspaper exposed that with the name of Balyoz, a coup d'etat was planned by some sections in military in the years of 2002-2003. Military officers refused that but voice record of that meetings was exposed the day after.

⁴⁸ It is me. From now as “M”.

⁴⁹ Hasan is 19 years old. He is preparing for university exam.

village. He is saying that if he was escaping they would shoot him and show him as a guerilla.

Such stories are heard from most of the children. Children build a memory in that way. They tell stories as they had lived those days. However, the dates they are talking about are before their birth or belong to their very earlier ages, which they cannot remember. They say that, such events in the villages (burning of villages, suppression for guard system...) are always talked at home by elders.

6.1.2 Narrations about “Time of Hizbullah”

Nearly all interviewers said something about Hizbullah. The fight between PKK and Hizbullah are being told as “killings of Hizbullah.” As they say, their father, mother or farther their uncles faced Hizbullah attacks.

Cemil⁵⁰: *“I did not see my father. He died. Actually, he was killed. As it is told he was killed by Sofiks.⁵¹ I keep a hate inside against them.”*

Mazlum: *“My uncle became a “şehit”⁵² in Hizbullah time. My uncle was killed in the street and we even could not go to take his dead body. They were scared.”*

Mustafa: *“Relatives say, time of Hizbullah, they shot someone in the street. No one could go out. They made surprise attacks on many houses at night. They were doing many actor-unknown murders. This shows that they want to get rid of Kurds.”*

Fatma: *“in Batman, in time of Hizbullah, my father went to Mersin by himself. We stayed in Batman alone. My two brothers could not look forward us because they were ill. My uncle was interested in hiding my father so he also could not look forward us. We could not go out. We even could not open the curtains. Sometimes our neighborhoods were coming and saying, “do not afraid, we are here but do not go out. If you need anything just say us we will bring for you.” We were scared of both state and Hizbullah. Actually, Hizbullah is also related to state. All the killings*

⁵⁰ Cemil is a 17 years old high school student.

⁵¹ Sofik is the name for members of Hizbullah used by some people in the city. Normaly people in the area use Sofi (as related to Sufism) name for people who pray so much. But using “sofik” is something denigrating those people as they look religious and pray much but they kill people.

⁵² “şehit” is religious term used for the person who died for Islam normaly but in Turkey it also used for soldiers who died for state, flag, nation etc. Moreover, this term is used by Kurds for the person who fight for Kurdish Movement. The main aim for both of them to “sacred” the death and continue their fight for that sacredness.

were Kurd, Kurd intellectuals. For instance, Mehmet Sincar was killed in Elma Street. Mahsun, İsmail Hakki maybe you do not know. All these were killed by Hizbullah.”

The families of those children lived in “time of Hizbullah”. Years 1990s were mentioned as “time of Hizbullah” both by old and young people. This proves that how those street fights influenced people. That period was remembered as attacks of Hizbullah to innocent people. And after PKK leader Ocalan was arrested in 1999 the Hizbullah killings stopped. Huseyin Velioglu, the leader of Hizbullah was killed by a police attack in Istanbul. After that Hizbullah’s death-houses were appeared, many of its members were arrested. Thus, the period of actor-unknown murders ended (Halis 2001 p. 13).

The feelings of the children about Hizbullah come from the influence of their families and whole the city. The information about Hizbullah such as killing sympathizers of PKK; the ending of Hizbullah by the state after Ocalan was arrested; the telling of Arif Doğan and so on convinced the majority of city and thus children that Hizbullah-State relation is true. Therefore, in their talking, children accept Hizbullah as state. As a result, that big influence of Hizbullah or it is better to say trauma of people because of Hizbullah is now accepted as because of state. Thus, children who hear those narrations from “time of Hizbullah” get hate against Hizbullah and thus state.

6.2 The role of state or powers related to state

When we look at “the Kurdish Question”, we can see that there is a state’s hegemonic Kurdish discourse. This discourse is that the question is coming from the provocation of foreign countries, fundamentalist religious reaction, tribes, and bandits. However, this is an ideological discourse and not true. According to Mesut Yeğen (2009a, pp. 20-23), this discourse distorts the reality of the Kurdish Question and it prevents the ethno-politic feature of the question and denies the destroying Kurdish identity by the Republican governments. We know that from the foundation of Turkish Republic to 1990s, state behaves, as there is no such a question because as it is known after the foundation, state denied Kurds’ ethnic and even physical existences (Yeğen 2009a, p. 18). This was done in order to make Kurds to accept the superior Turkish identity. This caused Kurds’ reaction against that identity. When the

individual belongs to an “inferior” identity reacts against the superior identity, a harsh reaction by the state power is done against those individuals. The result is trauma (separation, massacre...) (Oran 2004, pp. 28-30). In Kurdish Question, it seems that there is a struggle in context of identities.

However, from 1990s state gave up its hegemonic discourse, which rejected Kurds’ existence and accepted Kurds’ existence. This changing policy can be seen at least from the speech of state authorities. For example, in Diyarbakır, 1992 March, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel said, “*We accept Kurd’s reality.*” This is accepted as state recognized Kurds as an ethnic group (Akyol 2006, pp. 23-24). The law that forbid using of Kurdish in printing and speaking was abolished, “the laws of change” were made and some reforms were done in 2002 as adaptation to the European Union process but that did not cause a development in reality (Yıldız 2004, pp. 18-19). Lastly, Kurdish TV TRT 6 was opened, Kurdish Language and Literature Department was decided to be opened in Artuklu University but such steps are not what Kurds say “enough” and what Turks in the west say “yes”. Nowadays, Kurdish Question is in a different course and influences all the politics of Turkey clearly. In the west of Turkey, Turkish nationalism started to have violence. The dead of each soldier fighting against PKK in the southeast showed its influence as an increasing of the Turkish nationalism in the west. Moreover, migrated Kurds in the west show the Kurdish Question to the Turks. Before that, people in the west of Turkey did not know about the situation. They knew about the Question as some terrorists who are helped by the “foreign enemies” attack the state in the southeast and they want to separate Turkey. State discourse of denied Kurds was the believed discourse by the Turks. Ümit Kıvanç says that state, as having the right to use legitimated violence burned villages, get people to eat feces, displaced people in the Southeast and showed dead bodies of “enemy” in order to destroy enemy’s morale but caused Turkish society to get a war-like feeling too. Thus, people on the west took part in that “war” on side of their state (Kıvanç 1996). Moreover, after migration of Kurds to the west cities, Turks started to see them everywhere in their daily lives. Because of bad economical condition, Kurds in the west worked everywhere, started to build houses in the suburbs of the cities without permission. Kurdish children and youth who lost their houses, villages and friends had difficulty to live in cities. Some started to live on streets, some started to commit theft, some started to use drug.

Thus, the west people had a feeling as “*Kurds came and took our works. The mafia is Kurd, the thief is Kurd, the purse-snatcher is Kurd, and the bastard is Kurd.*” (Saraçoğlu 2011, p. 114). This feeling brought with it “bad child” image too (Darıcı 2009, Toplum ve Kuram, p.18). However, that “bad child” and even “bad people” image refers Kurds. What Saraçoğlu mentions is that this is a new situation in Kurdish Question. This is different from the “denying Kurds discourse”. It is the perception of Turks about Kurds nowadays. He used the term “exclusive recognition” for this new perception. According to him, this new perception of the Kurds is a “cultural nationalism” and it is more dangerous than pure nationalism because it keeps violence in its character against Kurds in the west cities. Report of IHAD (Human Rights Research Association) shows that after that migration, an increasing is seen in actions of discrimination and dishonesty against Kurds in the west (Ensaroğlu & Çetin 2010, p.44.). Moreover, in Mersin Bar’s Kurdish report in 1999 it is said that somebody tries to create an enmity in Turkish society against migrated Kurds. In Edremit, we see these attempts (Akçura 2009b, p. 429). The last examples such as the attacking of Turks to the Kurds in İnegöl-Bursa and Dörtöyl-Hatay can be developed examples for that new perception.

What I get from the interviews, a new perception of Kurds in the east (especially between children) is appearing as a reaction to that new perception of Turks. Some of Kurdish children were trying to speak parallel with the PKK ideology such as “the brotherhood of people”, “we have no problem with Turks but state” and so on. However, both from those children’s speech and from some of the children’s clear speech it can be understood that they do not make a clear distinction between state and Turks. Sometimes they use the term “Turks” for the state or army.

Diren (13):⁵³ *We do not love Turks and they do not love us. I also do not love them. They hit us because we are Kurd. They have arrested Apo too.*

Without planning to talk to children, I faced such an event. In front of a primary school, I saw that some of little children are pulling the rope of flag. They were trying to bring down the hanging flag. I went there and that conversation took place between us.

Mesut: *Why are you doing that, children?*

⁵³ Diren is a primary school student.

Agit (12): *Dishonorable Turks.*

M: *Why do you think so?*

Agit: *Because they are so. They shoot everywhere. They spread terror.*

M: *And you? What is your name?*

-Rohat.

M: *What do you feel about flag Rohat?*

Rohat (9): *Hate.*

M: *Why?*

Rohat: *Because soldiers attack guerrillas.*

Agit: *Dishonorable soldiers.*

Berivan (11): *Dishonorable soldiers.*

Rohat: *Dishonorable soldiers.*

Şervan (7): *Dishonorable guerrilla.*

Berivan: (turned to others) *Did you hear, Şervan said “dishonorable guerrilla.”*

Şervan: *No. I said “soldier”.*

Agit(Şervan’s elder brother): *Şervan, I think you said. How do you say that, maniac?*
(and he slapped Şervan).

Şervan: *I swear it was unwillingly. I could have said “soldier”.*

-Laughing-

Agit: *If there was a Kurdish flag, it could have been bigger and higher than that one.*

M: *How is the Kurdish flag?*

Agit: *Green-Yellow-Red Kurdish flag.*

Not just for these children but also for many Kurdish children, soldier-flag-Turks are thought in the same category. Moreover, they put guerrilla against soldier, Kurds against Turks, and Kurdish flag against Turkish flag. How did that perception start and form? Some of children’s talking can be answer for that.

Osman (16):⁵⁴ *I have a friend. His two brothers are in the mountain. One dies. This friend sells tomatoes. If he gives a Kurd two rotten tomatoes, gives a Turk one. Because he / she [the Turk, MO] is foreign, is guest. We say that we are “brother” but we know that they do not see like that...*

...Şerzan Kurt was killed in university because he was Kurd. We are all aware of that. We will also go. We are also Kurd. Death is obstinately insisted to us.

... In 26 March 2004 [in 2006, MO] guerrillas were killed by chemical weapons. That influenced society so much. In Batman and Diyarbakır people were ready with their stones on the streets. Banks were looted. Military entered the city centre. Police could not be able to cope with the acts. I was at school at that time. The school is at the city centre. Acts reached to the city centre too. Our school is a successful school. All soldier and police children come to our school. Two panzers came to school. Panzers came and took soldier and police children. We stayed there. In that time, the concept “brotherhood” became abstract. Where is the “brotherhood”? They only took and brought Turks. In that school, the organization of the youth started with that event.

Mazlum (17): *I feel sad when both soldier and guerrilla die. I wish Turkish society was like that too. If they felt that too, we met in a common point. They do not say even they feel sad. They see us as enemy. One of my friends came from Istanbul a few days ago. He says in each 20 meters they [police, MO] controlled his ID just to defy him. We are officially slaves. They work us officially. From now, I also look Turks unkindly. At earlier times, we were thinking that the unity could be. But now, I do not believe that.*

Firat (18):⁵⁵ *When we go to Turks’ cities, they have ill will against us. I went to a market in Istanbul. “Can I have a Cappy fruit juice?” I asked. He said, “where are you from?” I said, “I am from Batman”. He said, “There is no Cappy.” But, there was. You cannot reach anywhere by this way.*

When you ask about peace all children say that they want peace and ending of this Question but their general speech language is the language of “hopeless about peace”, “resist” and “fight”. This language is what the leader of BDP Demirtaş talked

⁵⁴ Osman is a high school student. Come from a rich extended family.

⁵⁵ Firat is a high school student.

about. Demirtaş in a speech on TV said, “Next generation -Kurdish children- is different from us. Still we can talk to each other but next generation will not talk.” Moreover, the ex-head of Diyarbakır Bar, Tanrıkulu mentions that these children do not believe that this question will be solved with democratic ways but with struggle and fight. This is a new generation.⁵⁶ That radicalism in their speech is felt much when they talk especially about soldiers and polices.

Ömer (17):⁵⁷ *When soldier, police die I say, “Go to hell”. Yes, in plain words “go to hell”. Even, sometimes when it is said in news, for instance “there happened a fight, 2 soldiers injured”; I say, “Why do not they die. I wish they die”.*

Serhat (16): *“Even a 5 years old child throws stone if he / she sees what police did. For instance, one’s arm was broken. Even if Roj TV a forbidden channel, it is being shown there. Six police officers attack a child. They hit him as if he is an animal. They hit his head by foot. Since they use violence, we will also use. We use our sweet language too, but they do not listen. When there is no violence, they do not understand. They do not talk about the question. As if there is nothing, there is no question. A culture is being diminished, they do not see.”*

Abdullah (17):⁵⁸ *I join the street acts in order to they release Öcalan. Moreover, to “outsiders”⁵⁹ do not die. When soldiers die, I feel glad. I do not love them. They are harsh against us. For example, e we play soccer, policemen come and say “what are you doing here?” One day I was going to city center, they caught me. There had happened a theft. I asked them “why don’t you let us to go”. He said, “If I take you into the car I will fuck.” And they slapped me. That gave me revenge feeling. The day after, it was said there is a street event. I went. And then, I went to other acts. It continued like that. In order to take my revenge.*

Abdullah at first said that he joined the events for Öcalan, “outsiders”, and Kurds. The speech of Abdullah above shows that he connects the bad behaviors of police with Kurdish Question. It was thought that soldiers and police, and even Turkish teachers “don’t like them” because “they are Kurd.” Therefore, the act against them

⁵⁶ Neşe Düzel. Interview with Sezgin Tanrıkulu. Sezgin Tanrıkulu: “Kürtler Batı’da evlerini satıyor.” <http://www.taraf.com.tr/nese-duzel/makale-sezgin-tanrikulu-kurtler-bati-da-evlerini.htm>. 31.05.2010.

⁵⁷ Ömer is Science High School student.

⁵⁸ Abdullah gave up the school. He works in textiles.

⁵⁹ A term used for PKK guerrillas.

is accepted as act against Kurds. Thus, they “join the street acts for themselves, for Kurds, for Öcalan, for ‘outsiders’.” This language is also seen in Kurdish children speech in Adana whom Darıcı did interviews with.

6.3 The role of education in schools: Turkist Education affects Kurdish children in reverse

After the formation of Republic, the foundations that also develop Kurdish culture and language such as madrasas⁶⁰ were closed.⁶¹ It was not let other languages to be used in media and education apart from Turkish. Still today the law code 42 in constitution, forbids the teaching of other languages apart from Turkish as a mother language (Yeğen 2009b, p.67). The Turkification of surnames, names of lands and villages, and the forbiddance of Kurdish names giving to children were also the motive of Turkize other cultures and Kurds. In 1935 East Report, İsmet İnönü said, “*In primary school, Turks and Kurds must be together. This will be helpful to Turkize Kurds.*” (Heper 2008, p.240). However, the effective assimilation foundation was and is still YİBO (Yatılı İlköğretim Bölge Okulları-Boarding Primary Schools of Region). There is no doubt that one of the aims of those schools is to Turkize Kurdish children. According to datum of the Ministry of Education, 155 of 299 YİBO are in the Kurdish region. Moreover, to Turkize Kurds was not limited to YİBO. Apart from formal education, nowadays’ campaigns such as “Haydi Kızlar Okula-Girls Let’s to School”, “Baba Beni Okula Gönder-Dad Send Me to School”, and “Okul Öncesi Eğitim- the Preschool Education” can be evaluated in such a manner (Yeğen 2009b, pp.67-69). Here, it can be said that state by the way of suppression and schools aims to create “*the disciplinary individual*” what Foucault talked about (Bühler-Niederberger 2007).

Did state reach its aim? Again, according to Yeğen, coming to 2000s it was a big disappointment for state to see Kurds could resist against this policy. In meetings of 2000s not Turkish flags but PKK’s confederalism flags were seen. In elections, they

⁶⁰ Madrasas were religious centers but they also develop Kurdish culture too. Kurdish language was used in the madrasas in the region and that has an important role in developing Kurdish language. In the region, there is a perception about madrasas as they were Kurdish language and culture school and they were closed in the Republican Period.

⁶¹ ‘Kürt Medreseleri’nin Kapatılması da asimilasyonun bir parçasıydı.’ http://www.ozgur-gundem.com/index.php?haberID=1181&haberBaslik='K%C3%BCrt%20Medreseleri'nin%20kapat%C4%B1lmas%C4%B1%20da%20asimilasyonun%20bir%20par%C3%A7as%C4%B1yd%C4%B1'&action=haber_detay&module=nuce.

gave their votes to Kurdish parties. They resisted against joining Turkish circle. Why did it happen like that? Two main changes were seen starting with 2000s. One is the candidacy for being a member of EU and the other is the new situation for Iraqi Kurds. These two facts will possibly incite Kurds' alienation with Republic (Yeğen 2009b, pp. 78-85). That influence of two facts in a larger aspect can be seen in the Kurdish region clearly. However, Kurdish children who go to assimilationist official schools are influenced by that education in a reverse side.

The first shock starts when children come to school age. The majority of them do not know any languages apart from Kurdish. They speak Kurdish at home but one morning face a different language at school and Kurdish is being forbidden there. Teachers have to forbid Kurdish even if they do not want as a teacher saying, *"It is forbidden to speak your language at school. I thought about myself, about forbiddance of Turkish, getting my education in a different language, and starting to live in that language after entering the school building. My heart was bored.* (Aygündüz 2010, p.39). Kurdish children are influenced from that sudden forbiddance of their language at most.

Zeynep⁶²: *At home, they call me Xecé. I go to school and do not know that my name is Zeynep. I really do not know. Teacher reads students' names. He says Zeynep but I do not know and do not answer. At last, there is one extra student. He said, "Whom I did not call." We do not answer. Later he found that this student is me. He sent me to a cellar like place and hit me. He hit me because I did not know language. He was fascist. One day he pointed at me and said me to stand up by sign. He said something. I did not understand. Another thing, I did not understand. He came next to me, slapped me from nape of my neck, and said "Stupid. Stupid Kurdish girl." I stood up until the bell rang. I was going home and saying, "I do not know Turkish. I will fail. Mum, I am unsuccessful." My mum was saying, "Try a bit you won't fail". Then I said a Kurd friend to teach me Turkish. She helped me. I solved slowly slowly.*

Esra (15)⁶³: *Language is the identity of a person. Our mother language is Kurdish. For instance, I cannot speak Kurdish at school. Once, because I talked, my teacher rebuked me too much. He was teaching "da" [too in English.MO] affix. I said, "In*

⁶² Zeynep is 19 years old. She graduated from high school and is preparing for university exam now.

⁶³ Esra is a student in High School. She is also learning Kurdish in Kurdi-Der.

Kurdish it means 'mother'". I thought he was Kurd. That is why I was at ease. He said, "Our lesson is not Kurdish. Do not speak Kurdish once more and go out from the class." I was ill. I said, "I am ill I cannot go out at that cold." He said, "Go and sit in canteen." I said, "I cannot sit in canteen." He looked me very badly.

Osman: I was seven years old. I had a teacher from Ankara. A marginal type with reddish hair, long nails. One day, she said me in Turkish to bring "ibrik" [Turkish term for long-spouted ewer.MO]. I did not understand and went out. I am in contradiction. I do not what to do. While I cannot find a solution, I stayed 3-4 days in buildings under construction. I was exiting home but not going to school. Teacher was teaching a child Turkish by beating. When I remember I was not going to school. Then, at home, they learned that I do not go to school. I was getting a beating at home and then at school. But if she had said me to bring "misîn" [Kurdish term for long-spouted ewer.MO] I would bring her ten of it. She was pricking my ears with her long nails and that was giving too much pain. These totally cause to joining the acts.

...moreover, state always obstinately insisted on giving us Turkism. Every morning, on 19 May, 23 April and so on, we go, state always obstinately insist us Turkism in ceremonies. There is not our present in the state and we try to not respect state's, system's present either.

These speeches show the deep impact of children in terms of language at school. It is clear that the aim to Turkify Kurdish children continues. However, other than reach that aim, such an education policy makes Kurdish children against Turkism and thus against state and its policy. This is something for instance leads to say "how happy for one who says I am Kurd" instead of "how happy for one who says I am Turk" slogan. In Turkey, before courses starts, every morning children were stood in order and told an oath apart from the Turkish national anthem. The last two lines of oath are "I present my existence to Turkish existence. How happy for one who says I am Turk." This leads Kurdish children to say "Kurdish and Kurd" terms in stead of "Turkish and Turk" in these lines.

Fatma: A captain in army was teacher of Milli Güvenlik (National Security) course. A friend was wearing puşi [a scarf-like cloth was seen as a symbol of guerrillas in that period]. The man looked at the child and said, "Did they become man by

wearing that cloth? And now you wear.” Child shouted. They expelled him from the school. Our friends boycotted school for one week. But what can you do? He is a captain, the man of state. Again, one day he said for HADEP deputies that they could not speak well. I said, “What do you mean by saying speaking?” He said, “Turkish speaking”. I said, “This is so absurd. From whom we learn Turkish?” “From us” said he. I said, “Turkish that we learn from you is that. What you speak we speak it too.” “Go out” he said. I exited from the classroom and went.

Serhat (16): *To Milli Güvenlik course, an officer of army or whatever comes. He comes to class and say, “How are you soldier?” This is course, so-called. It is not a gendarme station that students stay order like soldiers. They come and put pressure of Turkism by force. Do not we say anything? If there is pressure, cruelty, you will talk.*

That course is totally about Turkish heroism in history and about nowadays “dangers” against security of Turkish state. One of the big dangers is told as “PKK terrorism” and the debate starts between Kurdish children and the teacher of the course who is an officer of the army.

Kurdish children in their speech say that they want Kurdish education. Actually, in 2008, according to the Kurdish Report done by Doğu Ergil (2009, p.285) the 58.9 % of the interviewers in the cities where pro-Kurdish party DTP is powerful said that they want education in Kurdish. At the beginning of this education year 2010-2011 with the act of Kurdi-Der, especially, in Hakkari, Şırnak, Van, Muş, Diyarbakır, and Batman the majority of Kurdish children boycotted the school for one week.⁶⁴

Umut (17): *I want education in Kurdish. I meet Turkish when I was seven years old. I was not knowing Turkish well till 3rd grade at school. I have difficulty in Turkish now too but I coped. Education is poor. At school, it is Turkish, at home Kurdish. If there was Kurdish Education, it will be better for next generation and for me too. I mean education must be in language at home. It is Kurdish. I did not choose my nationality. It is not beyond one’s control. I mean the God designates.*

Another child, Serhat tries to tell the reason for Kurdish Question and the solution: *According to Constitution, everybody lives in Turkey Republic is Turk. It is being saying Atatürk used that as an extend “nation”. However, today’s regime, the regime*

⁶⁴ “Okul boykotu” etkili oldu. in http://www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=32863. 20.09.2010.

of coup d'état accepts that as "race". It says everybody comes from Turkish race... and now, they say "we do not say you are not present". And we say, "Ok you do not say but constitution says. If the constitution says, 'There are Kurds' you have to put our language into education too. We will not have to speak Turkish. The books that we read are in Turkish; the writings on the shops are in Turkish. Kurdish becomes poor day by day. There must be Kurdish schools. Our language is getting lost. We say it must be recognized in the constitution. We will open schools in our language. Kurdish education must be brought to referendum. If you ask people in the west, of course they will say "no". You have to ask to people in the region where there are Kurds. And if they say "yes", then you will give (accept).

Firat (18) had gone to Kurdish course and got his "diploma" says, *"There must be Kurdish education. If there was, we would not be in that condition. There is not any section about Kurds in the constitution. Why not? We lost 10 thousands people in Malazgirt. In Kurdish it is called 'Me Lez Girt'(means 'we got it quickly' in English MO)."*

Firat's telling about *"we lost 10 thousands people in Malazgirt⁶⁵"* show they feel that Kurds-Turks got those lands together but now Kurds are not recognized. Mazlum's (17) speech again can be determined in this aspect: *"We want to speak Kurdish in governor's office. There should be our flag and an official ID. Maybe I do not want to have Turkish flag on my ID. I want Kurdish flag. I want a Kurdish state because Kurds were always deceived in the wars. My grandfather's dad joined Çanakkale War. This Anatolian lands were not taken by just Turks' unity but by Turks, Kurds, Lazs, Armenians and all's unity. And we were always exploited. As a result I want that our rights to be given. Eastern parts belong to us."*

Hasan(19): *"Mesopotamia (they can study on) belongs to Kurds since earlier times, since centuries. Turks came from Middle Asia. Thanks to us they took here. They must accept this."*

⁶⁵ Malazgirt is a place in Muş district. It is important in Turkish history as Seljuk Turks entered Anatolia by winning the war here against Byzantine Empire in 1071. It is said that 10.000 Kurds joined that war against Byzantians.

6.4 The Role of Media

6.4.1 The role of Turkish Media

“In Turkish media, the source about Kurdish Question was almost totally of state foundations and mainly Turkish Army. The formal language was used in news about Kurdish Question. The term “Kurd” was never being used.” (Ayaz 1997, p.32). Today is not as Ayaz talked but still the language of Turkish media -both in TVs and in newspapers- is not neutral in Kurdish Question. Its policy is parallel with formal ideology that accepts Kurdish Question just as “terror” and “separation”. Last years TV series show Kurds as underdeveloped, rude, and ignorant people and show PKK guerrillas as terrorists who kill innocent people and Turkish army powers who try to guard those innocent people against those terrorists (Tan 2009, pp. 543-544). The daily Hürriyet Newspaper, which is the second newspaper with highest circulation, still keeps *“Turkey belongs to Turks”* slogan under its logo. News about Kurds in Turkish media has a racist approach. These few examples at below prove discrimination and threat against Kurds clearly. These are headlines of news and some are headlines of newspaper of that day. There is so much news on the media like these, which have a discrimination language against Kurds:

Kürt Sorunu Yok Terör Sorunu Var –Not Kurdish Question, Terror Question (Zaman, 05.01.2007).

PKK Ankara’da-PKK in Ankara (Posta, 26.06.2006).

Hala aynı terörist kafa-Still same terrorist mind (Posta, 03.04.2006, using for leader of DTP Ahmet Türk).

Kürt Hakkı Diye Bir Sorunumuz Yok-No Kurdish Right Problem (Hürriyet, 19.12.2006).

Türkçeyi bıraktı da Kürtçe konuştu-Spoke in Kurdish as if stopped Turkish (Posta, 11.11.2006).

Kürtler Türkiye’yi işgal ederse teorisi-Teory about if Kurds occupy Turkey (Yeni Balıkesir, 29.01.2007).

Kürtlerin Hak Sorunu Yok ki-Kurds have not right problem (Posta, 19.12.2006).

Başkan’ın terörist acısı-Mayor’s terrorist sorrow (Posta, 30.03.2006).

Töre cinayeti, Kürt kültürünün parçası-Honor Killing is part of Kurdish culture (Hürriyet, 19.08.2006). (Köker & Doğanay 2010, pp.43-47).

It cannot be said that such news were done accidentally. In media, what will be written, who will be employed, how it will be written, and so on is chosen carefully. Even if the media says that, their aim is not make racism, here intention is important and they cannot refuse that they intent to say something bad about for instance Kurds. The main aim is to create a discourse against them and thus rule them (Dijk 2010). It seems because of such a media approach, some people start to have a hate against Kurds and start to punish them.⁶⁶ Moreover, about Kurdish Question, a part of mainstream Media causes ignorance in the west about Kurds and Kurdish Question. For instance, a pop-star Demet Akalın in a concert in Bodrum said to her listeners, *“Did you all come from mountain? From Diyarbakır? You look like morons.”*⁶⁷ Without going the region, they do not become aware of the reality. When they go and see region and Kurds there, they have a shock. Filiz Aygündüz who was appointed to Diyarbakır as a teacher mentions her bewilderment by saying, *“The first time to facing Kurdish happened when I passed the minibus stations. I looked at the drivers bewilderedly. They were saying ‘were’ ‘were’. Confusion. What is that? Here, do people speak a language that I do not know?”* (Aygündüz 2010, p.9). Again on streets in the west, you meet people saying *“Kurds are so stupid. PKK-Apo kills them and they support them. I cannot believe.”* According to the Social Dominance Theory, there are one or more dominant groups in every society. And this group is the strongest who controls resources. With this power, it uses legitimizing ideologies in order to ensure its legitimacy and thus it demonstrates that its action, appearance, and language is normal but others’ is not (Çayır 2010). In Turkey, the dominant group is *“la-ha-sü-mü-t”* (laic-hanafi-sunni-muslim-turk). In short, if you are a hanafi-sunni (not alevi) muslim and Turk with a secular (laic) life style you are superior than others (Oran 2007). And Turkish media has an approach with the aim to preserve the superiority of that group. The Turkish columnist and TV programmer Mehmet Ali Birand wrote about Kurdish Question and mentioned that from the speech of Prime Minister, visiting of ministers and bureaucrats they write a scenario halfway true halfway imaginary and everybody, even they start to believe

⁶⁶ Media’s that approach is same also for Armenians, Romans, Christians, Jews, and so on apart from Muslim Turks.

⁶⁷ “Dağdan mı geldiniz? Diyarbakır’dan mı? Moron Moron Bakıyorsunuz.” in <http://www.medyarakar.com/haber/magazin-17312/dagdan-mi-geldiniz-diyarbakirdan-mi-moron-moron-bakiyorsunuz-demet-akalin-nasil-sok-etti.html>. 19.08.2008.

that scenario after a short time.⁶⁸ On the other hand, Kurds in the east also watch TVs and read newspapers. Such a media approach grows distant between Kurds and Turks, state, and related foundations while it makes Kurds closer to the Kurdish movement and its actors. In the speech of children, that impact can be seen clearly. As they say, they especially watch evening news and news programs with their family. However, the TV series is also watched much.

Ömer (17): *Fatih Altaylı* [columnist and TV programmer.MO] said on TV “for each dead soldier 10-15 PKK members should be killed.” I cannot believe. How are these people like? As if they kill insect. I watched *Osman Pamukoğlu* [leader of HEPAR-Right and Equality Party.MO] on *5N1K*. I laughed.

M: *Why?*

Ö: *Because of nerve. “There were no Kurds in Çanakkale” he is saying. The day after, he had an accident.*

M: *How did you feel?*

Ö: *I absolutely wanted him to die.*

M: *It would be said he was killed because of this speech.*

Ö: *I do not care. They say such things in any case. Without searching. What if they say this too? All that I want was his death.*

Abdullah (17): *I want to nobody talks about Kurds badly on TV. For instance, they say terrorist for mountaineers, but şehit (martyr) for theirs. I want they do not make difference between them. I get angry when they say “supporters of terrorist organization”. They say, “They are putting bomb to somewhere and kill many people.” I did not see anything bad about them. I believe in what Kurds say not TV’s.*

Fatma (18): *I am in violence but because of state, at most because of people on TV. They say “Turkish Young”, “Turkish journalist” “Turk”. They even made Kurds as Turk. They even made Salahaddin Eyyubi as Turk. TV must not say Turk-Kurd. It must say Turkey people. People. If you say “Turk”, sorry but nobody can accept that.*

⁶⁸ Rüya görmeyelim. PKK böyle tasfiye edilmez. in <http://www.mehmetalibirand.com.tr/yazidetay.asp?id=437>. 13.10.2010.

Mervan (17)⁶⁹: *State is not sincere. I mean it does not want peace. Peace is a bit difficult. From past to nowadays it is same what state does. Especially media. If there is something that should be known is the sold Turkish media. When topic is about us, it is not neutral. We see that. In each topic, when speech comes to Kurds, it does not want to say. There are so many examples...*

As a result, they look Turkish media with hate. They see Turkish media as the state's media against Kurds. They say that and again watch news, news programs and series on TVs. It seems that the feeling about Turkish media meets the glad feeling about Kurdish media and it forms a big impact on them.

6.4.2 The role of Kurdish Media

Kurdish media consists of 16 satellite TVs, a lot of newspapers, radios, and web sites. However, for struggle in Turkey, a range of media is told as “related with PKK”. The meant media are ROJ TV, MMC TV, Mezopotamya radio, Günlük and Azadiya Welat newspapers, Firat News Agency, and Rojaciwan.com. From my interview as an answer to my question “*what do you watch, read, and listen?*” these names were told much. However, ROJ TV is the one that has a big influence on Kurds, adults-youth or children. To question of “*what is the relation of PKK and ROJ TV?*” Amed Dicle says, “*Our relation with Kandil is relation of journalism. Turkish media accept them as ‘terrorists’, we as ‘Kurdish Movement’. We are a Kurdish TV and there is an obvious Kurdish Question. Everybody creates idea and broadcast about that question. And Kandil is in the center of that question. As people on the media, how can we pay insufficient attention to there? Of course, there is an important area for media. We broadcast speech from Kandil and from Prime Minister too. Moreover, there are 16 Kurdish TVs and PKK members speak on all of them. Are all these TVs supporter of PKK?*”⁷⁰ Amed Dicle explains their income as “*the helps of personal and foundational and advertisement. Never minimize the help of people.*”⁷¹ It seems that Roj TV is watched much in the Kurdish area.

⁶⁹ Mervan is a High School student.

⁷⁰ Selin Ongun. Roj TV'nin Genel Yayın Yönetmeni: PKK'de örgüt içi infazları belgesi varsa yayımlarız! <http://www.t24.com.tr/haberdetay/110441.aspx>. 10.11.2010.

⁷¹ Selin Ongun. Amed Dicle: Kamuoyu Bilincini en çok Gülen Medyası Kirliliyor. <http://www.t24.com.tr/haberdetay/110641.aspx>. 11.11.2010.

Osman (16): *“When time gets to 7, we watch Roj TV news, then CNN Türk, NTV. Mostly we watch news channels. For music MMC [satellite TV, broadcasts Kurdish music. MO].”*

Mazlum (17): *“I saw what was done to guerrillas’ dead bodies. Who says I am human being, should do something. I saw their photos in newspapers, on Roj TV. Even, I saw when I was at dinner. I cut eating. That was so terrible.”*

Zilan (12)⁷²: *“I saw on Roj TV. They were crushing guerrillas’ heads, cutting their noses. They were hitting with knife. I was affected so much.”*

Ömer (17): *“I think I was mostly influenced by Med TV [first Kurdish TV. Roj TV was opened after Med TV was closed. MO]. Of course, my father has been arrested, my father’s uncle has been killed in torture in Diyarbakır, state had burned, diminished our house in the village after we exited. All these and politics are being talked at home but at most Med TV was effective.”*

It seems that the effect of Roj TV on Kurds sees by the state too. 50 years old man, talked about the satellite dishes that how soldiers in the villages and polices in the city centers tried to obstruct people to put satellite dishes on top of their houses. As he says, state powers were going on top of houses and taking out the satellite dishes. However, state could not prevent the using of satellite dishes and now it tries to prevent Roj TV’s broadcast by the way of damaging its signals. In the city you can hear such talking that how state powers try to prevent Roj Tv and how they try to cope these prevents. They are also talking about Prime Minister Erdoğan’s speech that they opened TRT 6 as an alternative against ROJ TV. State, also tries to close Roj TV totally by the way of diplomacy. Thus, a Denmark public prosecutor, Lise-Lotte Nilas sued Roj TV. It is said that Roj TV broadcasts in favor of PKK.⁷³ However, later, in Wikileaks documents, there were notes that closing of Roj TV is a demand of USA. On the notes, it is written that for the relations of Denmark and Turkey, for the manner of Turkey about Rasmussen’s candidate for NATO, Roj TV should be closed.⁷⁴ The law court of Roj TV is on 15 August 2011. State’s such effort against Roj TV causes a feeling on Kurds to own Roj TV much. They see state

⁷² Zilan is a student in primary school.

⁷³ Danimarkalı savcı Roj TV’nin kapatılması için dava açtı. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/15984808.asp>. 07.10.2010.

⁷⁴ Wikileaks: ROJ TV Davası ABD baskısıyla açıldı. http://www.librenews.eu/?style=news&cat_id=3&news_id=24943. 31.01.2011.

formal as it opened TRT 6. And they ask if state is real, why does it forbid Kurdish on other channel, in the assembly, and so on?

Serhat (16): *“You open TRT 6 but it is not legal. There is no law for that. If they want, they can close it soon. First when it was spoken Kurdish in the assembly they said, “It was spoken in an unknown language”. That means that state opened a channel in “an unknown language”. How? Does state open a channel in unknown language?”*

Sipan (16)⁷⁵: *“Erdogan spoke Kurdish on TRT 6 but when Ahmet Türk spoke on TV, they cut broadcast. When a Kurd speaks his / her own language, they do that but a Turk, an Arab comes and speaks, and it does not become a problem. These should not be done to a Kurd.”*

⁷⁵ Sipan is a High School student.

7. THE EMPOWERMENT OF CHILDREN

7.1 The Ideology of Stones

Ulrike Meinhof says that if one person throws stones it will be a crime that necessitates punishment but if thousands stones are thrown that is a political action; if a car is burned it is a crime but if thousands are burned that is a politic action (Prinz 2008, p.143). Stone throwing acts of Kurdish children in Turkey is something like what Meinhof talked about. It is a political action what thousands people especially children and youth take part in. I got the heading of this part from the speech of a child. That 17 years old youth's speech with the manner of state and Kurdish Movement shows that these stone throwing acts are much bigger than what is seen. The harsh suppression of police, the punishment of children with 10 years, and the speech of Kurdish Movement actors about these acts are proof of the importance of such acts in Turkey politics. Here I am going to write a long interview. I think that will be better to understand why and with what feeling children join the acts, what they do in the acts, what they think about their acts, state, Kurdish Question, and how they become a political actor as a result of these acts.

Umut (17): *At school, some of my friends have arrested. They are put into the prison in their 15 age. We have a lot of lands in the village but we are here. I thought and searched the reason for that and I understood state's mercilessness. I understood that state has a role in what happened to us.*

M: *What do you understand when it is said "state"? What is state for you?*

U: *When it is said state, you passed from here there are vehicles-akreps [military vehicles like panzers.MO]. State is that. It set a colony here. Maybe you know there is Raman Mountain here. There are petroleum shafts. It gets petroleum here and sends it to Iskenderun. State sees here as a colony. When I was at primary school, I knew state as my state. Same was for the law. But later I noticed that state accepts just Turk as its citizenship. It sees other identities different. Now if you say 'I am*

Kurd', it does not do anything but if you practice your Kurdishness, it can say 'stop' immediately.

M: Do you join the stone throwing acts because you saw these?

U: We have so much suffer. In our family, some are in the prison, some are in the mountains, and some were killed. If we could get weapon, we would o that. However, because we do not have weapons and because stone is ideology we throw stones. If there would be an ideology of weapons, we would fire weapon but I do not think that there is an ideology of weapons.

M: How about PKK? Is not there an ideology there?

U: Yes, PKK has weapons but if not and if it cannot practice its theory, it cannot take its rights. In history, no states whatsoever said to people "come and get your rights." It is impossible. People who got their rights had got by their lives and so on. PKK is such a thing.

M: It seems there is a contradiction. You say there is no ideology of weapons and you also support PKK's acts.

U: Now, look. If you take weapons, they say "he is murderer. He does not have an ideology." But if you throw stones they say "he has an ideology. He throws stones in order to change something." If I was in the mountain and fire weapon, yes there would be an ideology of that but in the city it does not have. I mean city.

M: Is it seen that there is an ideology of stone throwers? I do not think so.

U: Yes, there is. As I know in this AKP government 28 thousands children were judged and arrested.

M: Where do you get that information?

U: I read on Günlük Newspaper. And here, Bérivan friend is in the prison. She is 15 years old. I mean state has fear. It knows that stone has ideology and can change something. That is why state gives so much punishment.

M: You talked about Bérivan. I think she is being judged with 7 years. Maybe that happens for you too. Aren't you afraid?

U: If you solve system's psychology, no fear anymore. If a child is willing to risk his / her life when he / she throws stones, then he / she does not have fear. At first, there

was fear but later I became familiar with fear and I overcame it. Our ancestors got an appointment in 1921. They had said, "You will take or take." If we do not do, if other does not do, it cannot be done. Nazım Hikmet has a word. I influenced by that word. He says, "If I do not burn, if you do not burn, if we do not burn, how darkness becomes light?" Some of us also should burn to make darkness light.

M: Is this a kind of sacrifice?

U: Yes. We sacrifice ourselves. If our ancestors would do what we do now, I am sure there would not be birth pangs now. The birth would be happen. But everybody thought their individualism.

M: What do you mean by birth?

U: Freedom. Freedom of all of the people. Alevis, Keldanis, Yezidies...freedom of all societies.

M: What do feel about Turks? Is it same?

U: Yes, same. In all societies, there are fascists. In Turks, in Kurds, in all societies. But I see state powers, radical nationalists as enemy.

M: Whom do you mean by saying radical nationalists?

U: Who is proud of his / her Turkishness, his / her race; who killed Ceylan, breaks children's arms, sentences small children to 15 years, and forbids Kurdish. I do not have the resentment about somebody as I have about people with claret red berets, special operators, commandoes and so on.

M: Why?

U: When you look at the internet, it is seen. The man smashed a guerilla of PKK head to bits, took out his brain and posed. What does human beings think when he / she sees that view. In everywhere, human being respect dead and buried but here they do not. Those people with claret red berets are such humans that as if they were trained like robots. There is no compassion feeling, no conscience. When I see these I think of the song "benim meskenim dağlardır [my house is mountains.MO]."

M: Are these things that influence you to join acts?

U: *Yes. For instance, against what has done to dead bodies of guerrillas we come together with friends. We collect stones, Molotov cocktails, leave everything, even family behind us, and fight.*

M: *What does your family think about your joining the acts?*

U: *Two months ago, police came to our home and said, "Your child is in a wrong environment. Bring your child to that special school." My father went but I did not accept. We argued at home. I said, "If I go there I will join the system." I did not go. Pressure of family is also until a point. Till where? I will take it out. Because you see state gives its ideology to family and family gives it to its child. Our family has pains so much but again they have fear that something happens. They say "shoot guerilla shoot, set Kurdistan" but have something like "do not touch our children" in their mind. How is that view? I join acts as I can.*

M: *How does fight start in an act in general?*

U: *When there is press speech, police takes all panzers at front line. When they attack, we also do not go there empty. We reacted.*

M: *By saying not empty?*

U: *We go there ready. A few times we went unprepared, police were ready. Mass broke up, slogans were shouted. Police encircled us and arrested a few friends. That was a lesson for us. After that, we do not go unprepared.*

M: *Is there an organization in the act area?*

U: *Yes, but generally everybody has its initiative. Who takes stones throws, takes throws.*

M: *I think stones are not just thrown to police. They are thrown to the shops too.*

U: *In "closing up shops" acts, a message comes. Some throws stones to open shops in that time.*

M: *You? Do not you throw stones to open shops too?*

U: *No, not open shops but I said that we know our stones ideology. For instance, when we throw stones to banks, state foundations, and other states' imperialist things it has got an ideology. For example we throw stones to banks, break its*

glasses. Banker calls glassworker. Who earns there as a result? Glassworker, worker. Glassworker does not earn in a year what banker earns in a day.

M: Is this something supporting workers?

U: Yes, of course. Or again when we take paving stones, worker comes and works there. This is real.

M: There is such a conscious too?

U: Of course. I say you "there is ideology of our stones."

M: How can this question be solved according to you?

U: In Kurdish Question, however much politicians speak it cannot be solved until military wants. If something happens in this country, it will happen when military says OK. Or as in France-Lebanon question. Anarchists, socialists, journalists, intellectuals all wrote a manifesto for Lebanon's freedom. If in Turkey that happens, that question can be solved. But now, there is not such an atmosphere. I mean it will continue. In Turkey, when we look at intellectuals, deputies and so on it is said that PKK should take out its weapons for solution but I am sure that when PKK takes out weapons they eliminates Kurds immediately. Because of that, I do not want PKK takes out weapons. I said before, in history societies had took their rights by their struggles. No king had said, "Take your rights". If we also give up or weapons, we can be eliminated. So, I support struggle with weapons. It does not happen other way. If it could be done by dialogue, it would be done. Since 1999, it was done armistices a few times. But it was not solved. You look Sheikh Sait case. After Sheikh Sait was eliminated, it was said it will be solved but was not. When we look at Seyit Rıza, the resistance in Dersim, state said, "He should give up". And he gave up but it did not solve. It is clear. Human beings look at history and have lesson. If we take out weapons, we will be eliminated too.

M: You do not trust state.

U: Who does trust here? If they would trust they would not throw stones, so many people would not give up their lives and go to mountains; so many people would not be in the prisons. They could say, "We regret" and give up. But they do not trust. They know that if they do not resist state do not give up pressure.

Umut's speech summarizes the issue of stone throwing acts. As Umut says those children at first, in primary school, with the affect of official education, accept state as their state but in their 15-16 ages, start to see nothing in the state that represents them. As they say, they see military vehicles in the street, arrestings, and deaths. Another important issue from Umut's speech is that, state is seen as exploiter. According to him, state, for instance, gets petroleum from the city but people in the city do not benefit from that. State transferred it to İskenderun. Such a feeling can be seen from other children's speech too. For them, that means that state, economically gets something from their area and brings these to west cities. The more fair meaning of that is "getting from Kurds and giving it to Turks." The perception for elders is also the same. This perception causes an idea among Kurds as not to see the state as theirs. That perception is parallel with the colonialism theory of PKK. PKK especially in 1980-90s, made a propaganda that Turkish state sees the Kurdish area as its colony and it exploits the area and Kurds.

Another important point in Umut's speech is that to be careful about the target of their stones. According to him, they throw stones to the banks, state powers, and official foundations. He sees these foundations as belongs to imperialist-colonialist states. Thus, when they break the glasses of that foundations, both they harm those states and help workers in the city. And of course this is a resistance against colonialism.

Umut is hopeful about their resistance that it can change that bad situation. According to him, stone throwing acts is the way of resistance against these powers in the cities. He is not against PKK's armed actions but in the city centers he thinks that their stone throwing actions are more effective. Moreover, he says that, also state powers see that effect and that is why they sentence children with 10-15 years and suppress the acts harsly. Umut summarizes this as "our stones have an ideology." As I see, that ideology of stones is something accepted or known by all the struggle powers in the area. Firt of all, stone throwing acts create an influence over people in the area as people see also the attacks of the police against their children. Thus, the link between them and state become weak. Moreover, other children affected by those acts and they also start to join the acts. It seems that state when first acts happened, thought that if it did not prevent that, such acts could cause a big social issue and thus tried to suppress the acts by attacking the acts and arresting the

children. However, arresting 15 years old childrens (sometimes 11 years old), sentence them with 10 years, and put them into the prison did not reduce the acts. Kurdish people and also democrats, intellectuals in Turkey were influenced from those arrestings and they started to protest the state. This caused a new opposing movement against state. It seems that, Kurdish Movement saw that new opposing group and started to focus on the stone throwing actions more. PKK made propaganda to show how the Turkish state is cruel as saying in its media, "*Turkish state arrests even our children.*"

The debating on stone throwing children shows children that their acts are so important. Thus, children started to act more as seeing that their acts harm state powers and as seeing that there are many people; democrats, intellectuals, and writers try to help them; PKK and Apo support their acts and consider their acts important. This gives children self-confidence to acts more. In the acts, they are not afraid anymore as there are their supporters who see them as "*the dynamo of the Kurdish struggle.*"⁷⁶ Thus, they think that their acts can change something and for that they can "*sacrifice themselves.*" They think that as Umut says, "*the birth will be happen by their resistance.*" I see this as the empowerment of Kurdish children politically. Sociologically, the issue comes from Kurdish Question. The reasons can be listed shortly as below: Kurdish villagers were forcibly displaced and migrated to the cities. Thus, Kurdish movement developed much in the cities. On the other hand, the suppression of the state continued in the cities too. Furthermore, children had to work to help their families economically. Therefore, children started to see themselves as youth and wanted to be listened because they worked and looked after their families. And children felt that this is state, which caused that bad situation. This state does not represent them, they are discriminated by the state as because they are Kurd.

By starting from Umut's speech, I am going to comment stone throwing acts in a larger perspective under three headlines. At first, I am going to focus on the relation of these children groups with adults, then how they become a political actor in Turkey and lastly the manner of state powers and Kurdish actors about those street acts.

⁷⁶ Karayılan: Gençler için en stratejik mevzi gerilladır. <http://www.firatnews.biz/index.php?rupel=nuce&nuceID=20051>. 13.01.2010.

7.2 Semi-Autonomous Children Groups as Political Actors

Kurdish children in the street acts are totally supporter of PKK. Ideologically they are committed to PKK and thus BDP and other Kurdish Movements' parties and foundations. However, practically they have not a clear connection. As it can be understood from Umut's speech, they do acts without somebody calls them. Even though their families are supporter of PKK too, they do not want their children join the acts. Even if they do not interested in their children's growing because of economic conditions, they tried to protect their children. This is something seen in all living beings' lives. On TVs, it can be seen that families, especially mothers try to take their children from the streets when there are acts. Still, children join acts. Such speech about joining the acts can be heard from lots of children:

Mehmet (18)⁷⁷: *It was 15th February, the day that leadership was arrested. We closed our shop to protest that. My two brothers went to look at the shop but they will not open. They did not bring me that day. I do not know why. They said, "Stay at home." I grow impatient. How can I stay at on such a day? I wore black totally to protect that day and went out. Once I was at home and there was act. I could not stay. I jumped down from second floor and went. I was relaxing and then coming.*

Esra (15): *My family does not want me to join the acts. They support everyway but if I am arrested, they will be upset. Because of that my mother said me to not join the acts. I said my mother that I have course in Kurdi-Der. It was Sunday. She said, "You do not have." I said, "I have." She did not insist on that too much and I went. I saw my younger brother in the acts. He is in 6th grade. I do not want him to join acts because he is too small yet. He will be 11 years old soon.*

Abdullah (17): *My family does not know that I join the acts. If they know, they do not let. They say "it is useless." They have fear that I will be arrested. But they also vote for DTP. Now, if my father would be here I could not tell you these. He does not know that I join. But I join. Even now, there is act in the city center. If you would not be here, I would be there now. There are full of children. But in the evenings when we return we are worry about what to say to our families.*

Children with a deep feeling join the acts and they do not listen to their families. Especially, Mehmet's "I could not stay. I jumped down from second floor, went,

⁷⁷ Mehmet was in the prison for 9 months. He was released two months ago.

relaxed, and returned” sentence is important from the point of view of showing their feelings. Their families are also supporter of PKK and vote for BDP in general. On the other hand, they want to protect their children even if they can say, “*Shoot guerilla shoot, found Kurdistan.*” Children’s resistance against their families’ unwillingness can be understood from Erdoğan’s speech: “*families should prevent their children otherwise what has to be done will be done even if they are children or women.*”

When it is looked at the relation of children with PKK, BDP and other Kurdish foundations, it can be said that there is a semi-link between them. Because nobody said children directly that there are acts and they should join the acts. However, children hear that there will be acts from adults, TVs, internet, newspapers etc. and they go the area where there will be acts with their initiative. Moreover, sometimes, for instance if they see what was done to dead guerrillas on Roj TV, the other day they start to act totally with their initiative. Generally, there are a lot of children on the streets all the day. The reason for that is the presence of a large number of children in the region. Therefore, normally they are on the streets, playing or talking. With a slogan of one or two children, other children join too and thus the act starts.

Mehmet (18): *I thought to go to Gök Taksi. A few suburbs come together here for the act. “There must be something there,” I said. I looked at and saw that people stay on sides. I join them I saw 2-3 children shouted slogans and there became crowded suddenly. We shouted slogans...It was known where acts will be start. We were going there. There were friends there. They say, “Adults push children to front line.” It is wrong. Children push adults to the front. (Laughing).*

Serhat (16): *Sometimes, it was announced by a written paper. But if there is a serious thing like burning of guerrillas’ bodies, people react without announcement. If somebody is human being, he / she should see this insult. Their heads are cut. This is crime for humanity. Absolutely there are things that provoke people to revolt. If you watch those views, human beings shame for their humanity.*

M: *Did you see?*

S: *I saw on the internet and also on Roj TV. Then people came together to react against this situation. We walked but police blocked the way. They directly attacked. Mothers were at front. They poured water to them, threw gases bombs and a chaos*

started in the suburb. Then who risks throwing stones comes to the front. There are Molotov cocktails, skyrockets etc.

M: Are the faces closed?

S: Is it OK not to close our faces? (Laughing). They put us to the prison otherwise. If there is a big cruelty, we will risk even 15 years but we close our faces.

Abdullah (17): However much we can do acts it is better. In all walking, fighting happened. Somebody throws stones to police and it started. I do not want there are women in when fight starts. We are angry when police hit them. We start when they go. We throw stones, police throw gases. Whenever we are tired, give the act up, or it is getting dark the act finishes. After the act we talk to friends about the act as saying, "We did this and that." Fighting acts are better than other acts.

The relation of children with Kurdish Movement actors can be considered in two ways. From my observation and speech of children it can be said that there an organization between high school children or youth. Such youth are around 16-18 ages. These children have their own organization with relation of Kurdish Movement actors. For instance, they have their association (I am hiding its name), their own organization houses, and their own rooms in BDP building. I went their association. They said that it is not legal now but they will apply to found the association legally. On the walls, there were pictures of the leader of PKK, Ocalan and dead guerrillas. Books were also mostly of Ocalan, members of PKK, and about Kurdish Question. They see themselves autonomous. They organize for Kurdish Movement but they do not get any order from PKK or BDP. They give their decisions autonomously. They do not work with adults. They decide something and start to do that. They believe that youth is the most important part of the Kurdish Movement and they see themselves as the main actor of the Kurdish Movement. According to them, they try to organize high school youth to resist against the system both in order to save Kurdish rights and save people from bad things. When I go to their association, they were talking about drug that was being sold by police those days. They said they were trying to keep youth away from these bad things because drug and alcohol were given to them by the state powers in order to take them away from politics, Kurdish Movement. Moreover, people who commit theft and open bet places were not arrested.

Mazlum (17): *Today if I am in prison 10 years because of stone throwing and if drug sellers do that in front of police eyes this means that these are state's men. I saw with my eyes. They arrested a drug seller and released him immediately. They came to the suburb for a bet raid. I have a friend who plays bet in his shop. They did not arrest him. They had told him "do not take an interest in politics, whatever you want do it." Another friend was arrested because of theft and they had said him "if you come here because of theft I will release you from back door, if you come because of drug I will release but if you come because of politics be sure that I will never release you."*

Sipan (16): *They saw that they cannot do anything against this movement for 32 years and thus now they brought drug, hashish around us. They try to finish us with bad things. Police is selling. We do not accept this.*

In those associations and houses, they also prepare for street acts. For instances, they prepare Molotov cocktails, slingshots, skyrockets and so on. These children-youth are at front to protect people. They see themselves as guards of people in the acts.

Mustafa (17): *Youth is always at front. There can always be an attack. It is at front in order to protect people. For our language, our leader, holly dead, Kurdish society, and ourselves we are at front. Before acts, youth makes preparations. If enemy attacks, all things are being used for guard. Stone, skyrocket, Molotov cocktails. Youth does not attack unless police does. Faces are closed in order not to be seen on the cameras and may be civil police can be there.*

Moreover, they work for Kurdish movement autonomously. For instance, they said that in the last municipality elections, they worked so much. They see the success in the election as their success.

Osman (16): *For us as history there is a 30 years struggle (means PKK movement. MO.) and Sheikh Sait. For Batman, there is Mahsum Korkmaz's revolt and youth's rising in the last elections. There is the role of youth in the winning of nearly 100 municipalities and the debating of "democratic solution." On the Diyarbakır Street, youth had fun 9 days because of winning of the municipality. Next election, it will be 200 or 150 municipalities. Youth is aware of their existence now. It is more politicized because there is a pain in each house. This brings more organization.*

However, younger children such as age of 9-15 are not in the organizations generally. These children join the acts when they see there is an act in the street or

because they hear that they will be acts from adults or TV. They join the acts because of the living at the past and thus “hate” against state, soldier, police, and so on.

Zilan (12): *I was going to acts even when I was 9-10 years old. Last year there was at Gök Taksi. I am going with my cousin. We are interested in politics so much. When I was little, there was an act. They passed on front of our house. I was scared so much. They broke one's arm. I escaped and hid in the toilet. I looked at from the hole. Our toilet is outside. I saw police is still hitting so much. I was affected very much and I started from that age. I started to have bad feeling about police. Whenever I see a police, I want to throw stone. I never like police.*

It seems that both state and Kurdish Movement see that empowerment of children / youth. This effect and policies about these children can be seen from done of state and Kurdish Movement.

7.3 The policies of State Powers and Kurdish Movement about these children

Starting with the 28 March-03 April acts in 2006 the power of children was started to be felt. Children took part in all Kurdish foundations legal acts. Moreover, they did illegal acts autonomously on “important days” for them such as “suppression against Ocalan”, “killings of guerrillas”, “hitting of Ahmet Türk”, “15 February-arresting of Ocalan”, and so on. At first, state tried to suppress the acts by the way of violence. Between 28 March and 03 April in 2006, the acts in with the aim protest the killing of 14 PKK guerrillas (4 of them were from Diyarbakır and brought to city for burying) 5 children and 5 adults 10 people were killed. 200 children were arrested and 91 of them were taken into the prison.⁷⁸ According to TUIK (Turkey Statistic Foundation) datum, in 2006, in 27 cities (there is no Hakkari in these cities) 304 children were arrested and 719 children were judged in Major Punishment Courts.⁷⁹ Again, Ministry of Justice gave the number 3000 for years of 2007-2008. However, the Bar of Diyarbakır gave the number 7000 for these years.⁸⁰ ÇİAÇ (Justice for

⁷⁸ Report of IHD-Diyarbakır (Human Right Association, Diyarbakır Branch). “Diyarbakır Olaylarına İlişkin İnceleme Raporu.” 06.04.2006.

⁷⁹ This numbers are what Minister of Justice Mehmet Ali Şahin respond a general questioning in parliament. Report of UNICEF Turkey Agency. “Gösterilere Katılmaları Sebepi ile Terör Suçlusu Sayılan Çocuklar Hakkında Saha Ziyareti Raporu.” 2010.

⁸⁰ Report of Peace Council in France. “Çocuk-Kürt, Taş-TMK” (written by Gülnaz Duman Bilge). 24.05.2010.

Children) gave this number as around 4000 children in 32 cities.⁸¹ With the change in TMK (the Act Against Terror) 15-18 years old children started to be judged in the Major Punishment Courts with special duties.⁸² In general, the accusation was because of committing a crime for the Organization (means PKK), make Organization's propaganda and so on. Thus, children of 12-15 ages could be sentenced to 6-14 years and children of 16-18 ages could be sentenced to 9-18 years. And the sentences were not postponed. It was aimed to be dissuasive. However, in 2005-2007 there is an increasing in the arrest of children.⁸³ Again, from speech of arrested children we see that even these children join the acts more and started to think about state and related powers and symbols more negatively.

Mehmet (18): *I started to see the details of cruelty in the prison and became more conscious. From now, I can say "state" for all other states but not for Turkey Republic. It is an unjust, cruel state. There is denial, death, all things in it. I do not say "state" for this state. It is as bad as that you can think. It is barbarous. It does not deserve the name of "state." Now, my suit is continuing. I do not follow the court. I gave up following it. If there will punishment then it will come with great pleasure. I will be proud of myself if I stay in the prison. From now, I comprehend everything thanks to God. I will never feel bad even if they give me 50 years. I also will never give this struggle up. I will not give up even if Kurdish people and even my brother do. It is cruelty to deny himself / herself for a person. If a person denies himself / herself, it means he / she does not exist.*

Moreover, the suppression of state is also contrary to ÇHS (United Nations Children Rights Agreement) and AHİS (Europe Human Rights Agreement) which Turkey is a part of them. ÇHS accepts all people under 18 as children. According to AHİS, children should be judged differently than adults with a more careful attention. Again, AHİS says that "arresting should be the last solution." The number of arresting and children in the prisons show that state did not see arresting as a last solution. Moreover, in the prisons, children faced with torture. It seems that state has such a manner that if children will not be disciplined in the schools they will discipline them in the prisons.⁸⁴ Against these children who throw stones to an unjust

⁸¹ Report of ÇİAÇ. "Taş Atan Çocuklar (!?) Paneli-2 Etkinlik Raporu" 22.04.2010.

⁸² Report of Peace Council in France.2010.

⁸³ Report of UNICEF.2010.

⁸⁴ Report of European Peace Council in France.2010.

world which they did not create, state stands with so big laws, so serious courts, and so major punishments (Sancar 2010). State also thought, “*These are not children.*”⁸⁵ According to datum of TÜİK in 2006, ages of children who were arrested were between 9 and 18.

<i>Yaş /Age:</i>	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
<i>Gözaltına alınan çocuk sayısı /:</i>	1	1	3	2	7	33	43	90	79	45. ⁸⁶
<i>Number of arrested children</i>										

Moreover, 14 children died in these street acts between 2000 and 2009.⁸⁷ However, as reports’ datum, the acts did not stop but increased. Thus, the states’ new strategy took place with the pressure of public opinion, especially of ÇİAÇ group. With the efforts of ÇİAÇ, that question was brought to the assembly by DTP (Democratic People Party) and in July 2010, some changes were done in TMK (Anti-terror law). With theses changes, it was accepted that if stone act does not cause a harmful result it will not be seen as a crime to be sentenced (Şeran 2010). As a result, children were started to be released from July 2010. As a solution plan, by the GAP Eylem Planı (GAP Action Plan), it was thought to open foundations for children’s social-cultural and sports activities and to make an educational and economic improvement in the region.⁸⁸ In fact, this Action Plan was also being done as parallel with suppression the acts by the violence. In media, at that period, we could see much news about training of children in sports activities and so on.⁸⁹ However, this was also could not

⁸⁵ From Cemil Çiçek’s (assistant of Prime Minister) speech in Cenevre. in Interview of H. Hüseyin Kemal with Mehmet Atak (representative of ÇİAÇ).

<http://www.yeniasya.com.tr/2010/05/24/roportaj/h1.htm>. 24.05.2010.

⁸⁶ Report of UNICEF Turkey Agency. 2010.

⁸⁷ Information File on Kurdish Children in Turkey. By Kurd-CHR, IHD (HRA), ÇİAÇ, and Firat News Agency. 07.10.2009.

⁸⁸ Report of UNICEF Turkey Agency.2010.

⁸⁹ This list is just from April 2010:

“Taş atan çocuklara polisten futbol topu.” <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25080356/>. 10.04.2010.

“Hakkârili çocuklar taş yerine gol atsın”. http://www.timeturk.com/hakk%C3A2rilicocuklartasyerinegolatsin_121958-haberi.html. 23.04.2010.

“Cizre Polisi çocuklara plastik top dağıttı”. http://www.samanyoluhaber.com/s_410375_cizre-polisi-cocuklara-plastik-top-dagitti.html. 20.04.2010.

solve the problem. Children were not stopping to join street acts. State's new strategy was pretending not to see the question of stone throwing acts after releasing of children starting in July 2010. However, the issue was not solved but became bigger day by day. These children groups became a political actor in Turkey.

It can be said that state also accepts that these children groups became an actor. In order to prevent such acts to be extended, it used all ways such as suppression, love, and pretending not to see. That is what Umut said, "*Stone throwing is not just stone throwing. There is an ideology of stones.*" Children also see such a reaction of state. Actually, this makes the children to feel that they are powerful and they can change and are changing something by these stone throwing acts.

Mervan (17): *State is afraid of us. If not it would not arrest a 5 years old child.*

Umut (17): *State has fear. It knows that stone has ideology and can change something. That is why state gives so much sentence.*

The idea that state has a fear makes children to think that they can "achieve" and "take their rights." At that point, the relation of Kurdish Movement takes an important role as to consider children and youth important and listen to them.

Fırat (18): *Today if PKK says, "I am nothing. There is youth." this means that everything is OK. PKK links its presence with youth.*

Osman (16): *Our posture in the act areas affects both PKK and İmralı Island. There is an organization from bottom to top. For instance, if shout "revenge" in the act,*

"Hayatlarında ilk kez kuaföre gittiler".

<http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=974272&title=hayatlarindailk-kez-kuafore-gittiler>.
17.04.2010.

"Taş atan çocuklar polisle barıştı." <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/14378255.asp>.
10.04.2010.

"Polise taş yerine uçak" <http://www.sanliurfa.com/haber18129-polise-tas-yerine-ucak.htm>.
08.04.2010.

"Polise taş atan çocuklar havuzda kulaç attı" <http://www.medya73.com/polise-tas-atan-cocuklar-havuzda-kulac-atti-haberi-201856.html>. 08.04.2010.

"İstanbul Emniyeti'nden "taş atan çocuklar" klibi..."
<http://www.cnnturk.com/2010/turkiye/04/05/istanbul.emniyetinden.tas.atan.cocuklar.klibi/570850/>. 05.04.2010.

"Onları içeri atmak kolay asıl mesele kazanmakta!"
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2010/04/05/onlari-iceri-atmak-kolay-asil-mesele-kazanmakta>.
. 05.04.2010.

"10 Bin Çocuğun Polis Kimliği Oldu" <http://www.haberfx.net/10-bin-cocugun-polis-kimligi-oldu-haberi-178193/>. 04.04.2010.

there will be an answer to that from the mountain [means guerrilla.MO]. There is a link here.

Children such explanations about the link with PKK and Ocalan also can be seen in PKK members' and Ocalan's speech either. For example, in many PKK explanations it can be heard “*regards to youth*”, “*youth is the most dynamic and hero power of our struggle*”, and so on.

For instance, the leader of KCK (The Union of Kurdistan Communities) Murat Karayılan joined by the phone to the 12th Mazlum Doğan Youth and Sport Festival in Cologne / Germany and said, “*Our people's struggle is at every area. And the advance is absolutely youth. In Europe, Kurdistan, and in the mountains, youth is the most dynamic power of the struggle. Our calling is to grow their struggle more. The generation before you brought struggle to today and left the flag to you. And you take it and bring it to the more future. For that, at first take part in guerrilla and then all areas of the struggle because the hope of these people is you.*”⁹⁰

Again, on his speech on “Guerilla TV” he said: “*Next years, in a soon future, the fate of Kurds will be clear. The role of youth is the basic here. Our eyes are looking at Kurdistan youth. If they do their role and have their responsibility, future is ours, victory is ours. No power can prevent us from this holly freedom way.*”⁹¹

Such calls from PKK members have effect on youth and children and also make them to feel themselves “important.” With that effect and feeling, youth and children start to organize autonomously. They found their own foundations and make decisions about the struggle by themselves. They collect money for the rent and expenses of these foundations both from people. A young girl, called Mizgin (I talked with her without planning a conversation) said that they went and take money from their municipalities if they are in financial difficulties. I asked her “*and do they give you money as you want?*” she answered, “*They have to. We take.*” Therefore, it can be said that youth and organized children see themselves superior than adults in the struggle and organize, make decisions, and act freely. PKK gives support to them by its explanations.

⁹⁰ Karayılan'dan gençlere “mücadeleyi geliştirin” çağrısı.
<http://www.firatnews.nu/index.php?rupel=nuce&nuceID=10856>. 11.07.2009.

⁹¹ Karayılan: Gençler için en stratejik mevzi gerilladır.
<http://www.firatnews.biz/index.php?rupel=nuce&nuceID=20051>. 13.01.2010.

Another relation like that is seen between youth / children and Ocalan. Nearly all children see Ocalan as a phenomenon. The general ideas about Ocalan are as “he started the struggle and brought it nowadays. Thus, he is the person who saved Kurds from being assimilated...” Thus, this brings with itself for children to see themselves as the followers of Ocalan.

Diren (13): *Apo revealed our Kurdishness. If they do not release him of course there will be war, acts, and many people will die in the acts. If they release him guerrilla come down and war will finish.*

Sipan (16): *Bahçeli talks nonsense. Sometimes I say I will kill him. Once, he threw rope and said, “Hang Ocalan.” Does he see the leadership so simple? If they do something to the leadership, we not just in Turkey and Kurdistan but in everywhere become “alive bomb.”*

M: *Is Ocalan important that much for you?*

Sipan: *Yes, Ocalan is important that much for me. We were a dry tree; he caused us to leaf out. He was an engineer and could save himself but did not.*

...

Murat (13)⁹²: *Apo is the president of Kurds. He went to mountain at first. I love him. If Apo is released, there will be solution otherwise not. If they execute Apo Turkey will collapse. And we will stand and go to help Apo.*

From the common speech may it can be understood better that why they see Ocalan and PKK so important.

Osman (16): *Speaking Turkish shows assimilation. Even our dreams are in Turkish. Let every language to live. For instance, let Arabic school in Mardin. Let Laz. For Lazes, to say, “We are Laz but Turk.” shows a completed assimilation. If there would not exist may be we would be like that. PKK existed and prevented that.*

Firat (18): *On TVs, they say “terrorists bombed that village.” so on. They can say as much as they want. I never believe that because I know who are in the mountains. They are our brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles.*

...

⁹² Murat is a student in primary school.

M: *What do you want? What can stop you?*

Osman: *If our presence is accepted in constitution.*

Mazlum: *If our language let be freed. You go to governor's office, there is translator for English but for Kurdish not because it is forbidden.*

Osman: *They opened Kurdish course but you have to pay for that. Why do I have to learn my language with pay money? We give our taxes but they do not let our language. Kurdish Course was closed because its door was narrow 35 cm. this means 35 cm. is big for democracy and justice. Put 2 Kurdish courses. What will happen? At school, there is "information" desk next to "danışma". We want there should be next to them "ciyé pirsgiréké" too. What will happen?*

Erkan (18)⁹³: *There were university students on TV. Ahmet Altan asked them "how many of you know 'seni seviyorum' in English?" Everybody raised his or her hands. And "Kurdish?" he asked. Nobody knows. Is this brotherhood?*

Fırat (17): *If they do not let these, there will be an inner tumult. There will be a big reaction.*

Osman: *State should do these even for its benefit otherwise there will be too bad results. My aunt is Turkish for instance. What can I do? Shall I cut her head? Such things are insisted to us now. They should solve while there is still a brotherhood. Moreover, Abdullah Ocalan is 65-70 years old now and he is in the prison. My father has an easy life, his family is with him and he has difficulty to walk slowly slowly. Ocalan's life is more difficult. He was in the mountains and now in the prison. There will be death. Age is 70 and naturally, everybody dies. He will also die. State should see that his death in the prison is being killed for us. It is naturally. Now let's leave everything. Now, the reaction to 100 guerrillas and actor-unknown murders is different from the reaction to Ocalan's death. There will be much blood to be shed. They should know that clearly.*

Mazlum: *When he was arrested, thousands were burned themselves. Think about his death. They will not just burn themselves but also others.*

Erkan: *There will be an inner fight.*

⁹³ Erkan is graduated from high school.

Osman: *Now we went to schools, our fathers spent 7 billions for us. There is money, work, and education but if Ocalan dies, everything will be zero. Nobody sees others.*

M: *If he dies naturally and PKK makes a declaration that he died naturally, was not killed.*

Osman: *People do not accept that. He is in the prison and thus he is killed according to us. If they release him and he dies naturally, OK. Everybody dies. But in the prison not. 15 thousands guerilla will come to cities and there are 15 in the cities too. In military, there will be a fight between Turkish and Kurdish soldiers too. We cannot think what will happen. Heads will be cut and nobody will be able to stop that. But we do not want that. Immediately, they should release him say Turks the reality. They should say “we burn them, collapse their houses, killed and throw them into acid shafts, forbid their language, and Ocalan revolted against that.” They should release him. He goes to Europe or wherever he wants. People on the mountains come and there happens a solution. But his death finishes everything. Prime Minister, President, soldier, PKK, people...these are nothing. There is only one reality and that is Ocalan. His death will be too bad. Thousands say “we risk our life for him.” There is a big influence of him in the region.*

M: *What caused Ocalan phenomenon for you?*

Mazlum: *To wake us up.*

Osman: *Our presence is because of his effort. If there would not be Ocalan, we would be like Lazes saying, “We are Turkish.” But we live and say “we are Kurdish.” Moreover, PKK and Ocalan changed our life. They gave us the conscious of humanity. They changed our behaviors against women, our father, mother, and so on. Helping our mothers, seeing women equal to ourselves, not throwing rubbish, helping our neighbors are all his brings. Saying women to be free is so important for example. In short, there is so much his brings and that is why people support and fallow him so much. The cause of our presence is Ocalan. We wish from God to make his life longer. We are sure that if he lives 10 more years, there will be so better developments. Now he is the one who hold PKK and people. If he says to PKK “stop”, PKK will stop. If he says to people, they will stop. If he says, “Do not throw stones.” stones will not be thrown for one year.*

This phenomenon of Ocalan is so clear for children. For them, Ocalan is the man who started Kurdish struggle and thus is the cause of their presence now. They see him and PKK as the saver of them and thus they follow him / it with a big sensation. Here, I noticed that this new generation is sensitive about equality, women's rights, and so on. Kariane Westrheim (2010) in her study about PKK mentions that PKK formed a new identity and individuality in its praxis both in the mountains and in Kurdish society. It seems that this new identity shows itself in children's life too. They saw Ocalan as the cause for that and put him in a superhuman position. They especially follow what Ocalan says for them. For instance, they read his talk notes with his lawyers on the net and also try to get specific information if Ocalan said for them.

Osman: *We try to read Ocalan as much as we can. Two of his lawyers are from Batman. When they come, we go to in front of their office. "How is he? What did he say? Did he send greeting?" His greeting is so important. We especially consider his greeting important. For example, if he says "greeting to Batman" we feel happy. Sometimes we talk about the meaning of this greeting. "Does he want to say put yourselves in order or you are successful?" Everybody comments differently but comments are positive.*

It seems Ocalan is aware of this affection and he sends his greetings to children on the acts or somewhere there is not acts in it. The link between Ocalan speech and acts can be understood from these developments. For instance, the acts in Yüksekova / Hakkari start to take part on media much more in July 2010. Especially on 27 July 2010, because police tried to arrest four children in the acts as the protest of Dörtüol events, people reacted against arresting and street fights took place between police and people until morning.⁹⁴ After these acts, Ocalan in his talk on 30 July 2010, with his lawyers talked about "autonomy" what was discussed on media and also at the end of his talk said: *"I send my love and greetings to all Hakkari and Yüksekova children."*⁹⁵ After this speech of Ocalan, next day (31 July 2010) youth in Yüksekova declared "autonomy" in Esentepe suburb of Yüksekova and stand guard

⁹⁴ Yüksekova'da İzinsiz Gösteri.
http://www.habervan.com/haber_yorumla.php?haber_no=6377. 28.07.2010.

⁹⁵ Öcalan: Müzakere olmadan çözüm olmaz.
<http://gorusmenotlari.blogspot.com/2010/07/ocalan-muzakere-olmadan-cozum-olmaz.html>. 30.07.2010.

there. They said that if police or soldier comes they will not let to enter the suburb.⁹⁶ This connection shows the meaning of Ocalan's greeting to children. Therefore, these children do comment of Osman to saying, "*we discuss whether we are successful or should do something.*"

⁹⁶ Yüksekova'da özerklik provası.
<http://www.firatnews.nu/index.php?rupel=nuce&nuceID=30628>. 31.07.20.

8. A SHORT ANALYSIS ON TWO STUDIES ABOUT STONE THROWING CHILDREN

Many studies were done on stone throwing children issue. Many of them were done as preparing a report by foundations or as articles to be written in the newspapers. However, two of them should be discussed as they were done two close cities but reached different results. One was done by Haydar Darıcı in city of Adana with the name of *“Violence and Freedom: The politics of Kurdish Children and Youth in Urban Space.”* as a thesis in Sabancı University. The second one was done by Nurdan Akiner in city of Mersin with the name of *“Mersin Banliyölerinde Öfke Patlaması”* with the help of Mersin University and Mersin Governorship. Adana and Mersin are two close cities in the Mediterranean Region where many Kurds migrated especially in the 1990s. Both of studies were done on the neighborhood where Kurds live. However, these studies have reached nearly totally, different results. Darıcı sees that these children and youth are actor. According to him, these Kurdish children and youth make a connection between their violence-contain acts and freedom. He accepts this as the politics of Kurdish children and youth as in my study, I argue. However, Akiner’s study seems to have a mission against seeing these children and youth as a political actor. She mentions, *“This is something to say ‘we are also here, see us too, we have also difficulties.’ These acts in the regions which have a closed life style are not a real opposing alternative against system but are meaningless and also ‘the explosion of anger which cannot be stopped also by people who incite this struggle by their propaganda.’”* (Akiner 2010, pp.10-11). Akiner resists using “stone throwing children” term as the term was used for Palestinian children. According to her, this has not anything related to the historical and social structure in Palestine. Thus, she rejects the politic context of these acts, puts it totally into an economical underdevelopment concept, and uses the term “banlieu” for the regions that such acts take place, and thus makes a relation with banlieues of France which French media defines banlieues with an extreme poverty, violence, and drug traffic (p.15). The

relation of French banlieues with poverty is not wrong (Quadrelli 2007) but it has a relation with discrimination too as people living in banlieues are mostly migrated from North African countries and faces apartheid policy of state (Silverstein and Tetreault 2006). Akiner does not talk that way of French roots, puts it totally into the anger of poor youth and sets a similarity between those roots and stone throwing acts in Turkey. Thus, she sees the causes of Kurdish children acts as the difficult life of uneducated, extend, and closed families. According to her, such families' children see their and other people in Mersin very different. They form a comment of poor-rich, we-they and thus start to feel an anger and thus throw stones. She avoids making a relation with Kurdish Question and does not explain why all these stone throwing children are Kurdish. And again, she does not answer why other poor people such as Turks and Arabs do not throw stones. Only at the last page of the book, she mentions, "*Children from Mersin's mountainous villages grow also in bad conditions but they do not throw stones.*"(p.238) and as a solution she suggests "love" and "educate" them. What I see from Akiner's study is that she, with the help of Mersin University and also Mersin Governorship, tries to take these acts out of politics and say that this has not a relation with Kurdish Question, the problem is the poverty and uneducated of these people and thus as a solution she wants say we have to love, educate, and help those people. This is to put Kurdish Question into an economical and social underdevelopment and try to find solution in that way. However, this was state's 1990s discourse and nowadays does not make so much sense for either defining-solving Kurdish Question or the issue of children in the acts.

My study in Batman is totally different from that concept. And yes the acts of these children resemble Palestinian children' acts. Here I am going to focus on just a few similar situations between Palestinian children acts and Kurdish children acts.

When we look at the stone throwing acts in Palestine, we see that those acts started with the protest of killing 6 Palestinian workers by the crashing of an Israel military truck in 1987 (Çubukçu 2004, p.26). This resembles the starting event of stone throwing in Kurdish area. Kurdish children's stone acts as we mentioned before started in 27 March-02 April 2006 in the protests of killing of 14 guerrillas by army. Another example from Palestine is the killing of 12 years old Muhammed Durra and his father in 30 September 2000, in Gaza. This event makes a big influence and

became the starting event of second intifada (Çubukçu, pp.27-28). The events of killing of Palestinian Muhammed Durra and Kurdish Uğur Kaymaz are similar in terms of type of event and their effect on society. In Kurdish area 12 years old Uğur Kaymaz and his father were killed by police in Kızıltepe / Mardin. This and also Ceylan Önkol who was killed by a mortar cause a big influence in the area. When you talk to people in the area you hear from many people such sentences: “*they killed Uğur Kaymaz. They killed Ceylan.*” For example, Mazlum’s below speech shows how he was influenced by those killings.

Mazlum (17): *“I know why I join the acts. Therefore, even if they arrest me 100 times and they hit me by billy 100 times, I will continue and do worse. I go for take our martyrs’” revenge. They killed Ceylan Önkol. We try to show that “Ceylan is not alone. We will take her revenge from you.” ...Killing of one-Şerzan by state-enemy does not mean that it will be their liberation. One Şerzan died, we see 1000 Şerzans were born. TC state assimilates and degenerates people. It does genocide for Kurdish. I never see it as my state. I also do whatever I can in order to collapse this state and I believe that I am doing.”*

Moreover, the approach of official authorities is also similar. For instance, the speech of governor of Adana, İlhan Atış, is not different from the speech of Rafi Etan, leader of rightist Ometz party in Israel. Both Palestinian and Turkish authorities try to use same methods in order to prevent stone throwing acts. Rafi Etan said that they should go to houses of stone throwers, get on their fathers into buses and exile them to Libya. Thus, nobody can throw even sand (Chesnot and Lama 2003, p.155). On the other hand, İlhan Atış mentions that they should fine families of children on the acts with 100 YTL and also cancel their green cards.⁹⁷

We can see the same similarity in terms of media and speech of authorities in Israel and in Turkey. “They use children” discourse is told in the media and said by writers and authorities both in Palestine and in Turkey.

In general, in the Israel and its media, it is said that Arafat pushes children at front line. According to Israel media and authorities, Palestinians wants to make Israelis the killer of children, they use children. However, as an answer to that, Palestine authorities said that even animals have instinct to save their children. This is

⁹⁷ Report of SHD (Social Rights Association). Hak İhlalleri Raporu. Ekim-Kasım-Aralık 2008.

something to see them inferior than animals. This is a fascist sense (Çubukçu, p.29).When we look at Turkish media we can say that the majority of media in Turkey says that PKK pushes children to the front.⁹⁸ Moreover, Sedat Laçiner (Rector of Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University) in his writing wrote that state tries to save children with laws but PKK gives stones and bombs to the hands of children and push them over police.⁹⁹ However, in ÇİAÇ's (Justice for Children Group) research about stone throwing children it is said that this terrific idea was created by media and mentions that families are also influenced so badly from their children's situation.¹⁰⁰

I think these examples are not so much different. There is a sociological and cultural similarity between Palestine Question and Kurdish Question unlike Akmer says. Moreover, children in their speech also make some similarities between their situation and Palestinian children.

Esra (15): *Gaza issue. Wonderful! Erdoğan supported them so much that! I do not think that Erdoğan is different from Israel and also Southeast from Gaza. When children in Gaza were throwing stones, Erdoğan was clapping for them but when here children throw stones they are punished with 15-20 years. Why is that?*

Sipan (16): *Erdoğan cries for Palestinian children. He says that they are throwing stones but he do not see cruelty that done to our mothers and us. Butts are hit to our heads, he does not shed tears but he sheds tears for Palestinian children. These are tears of crocodile.*

Osman (16): *We feel compassion for Palestinian children, also for American children but nobody feels compassion for us. You cry for Hamas but not for Ceylan Önkol. Enes was 3 years old. Little child had threw stone to police from balcony. He was shouted and killed. In Greece, 17 years old child was killed by the police, Prime Minister said: "I do not feel OK consciously." and resigned. But here, 12 years old Ugur Kaymaz was shouted with 13 bullets; Ceylan was killed by mortar, her mother*

⁹⁸ PKK Yine Çocukları öne sürdü. <http://www.haberajans.com/pkk-yine-cocuklari-one-surdu-haberi-89221.html>. 14.02.2009.

⁹⁹ Sedat Laçiner. Bir 'çocuk sorunu' olarak PKK. in http://www.samanyoluhaber.com/y_467656_sedat-laciner-bir-%E2%80%98cocuk-sorunu-olarak-pkk-.html. 02.11.2010.

¹⁰⁰ "Çocuklar Terör Yasasından Mağdur, Barolar Suskun." <http://bianet.org/cocuk/print/122570-cocuklar-teror-yasasindan-magdur-barolar-suskun>. 07.06.2010.

collected her parts but our Prime Minister do not call and even express condolences. These affect us.

All these examples from media, speech of state authorities, and children show that there is a close similarity between situation in Palestine and in Kurdish area. Similarity with France banlieau acts what Akiner tries to make cannot identify the issue of stone throwing acts. Resemble can be made just in terms of the form of acts not causes of acts. Violence in these acts resembles violence in France banlieau acts but the cause is not the poverty of these children unlike Paris banliaeus. This is an identity problem more than a poverty problem. The poverty of these people is not a proof of the cause for these acts because not all poor people throw stones and there are many rich people, who throw stones.

For example, Ömer (17) from a rich family and a hardworking student at Science High School in Batman said, *“I will surely win Medicine. I will help people here as a doctor and give scholarship to some children. May be you will say ‘you will not do after having a job. It is not done.’ But I will do. Alternatively, may be, you see I am not here.*

M: *What do you mean?*

Ö: *I mean I can go to mountains. One never knows. Or I have friends; they say ‘we will go after graduate from Medicine.’ It can be like that way.*

M: *Is there a specific aim to finish Medicine and go? Why finishing Medicine and go?*

Ö: *To help people there.*

M: *Medically?*

Ö: *Yes.*

Ömer is also that child who said, *“When I hear there are dead and injured soldiers in fight between soldiers and guerrillas, I say for dead: ‘Go to hell!’ and for injured: ‘I wish they die.’”*

It is clear that Ömer’s situation cannot be identified with *“they are poor and have not special rooms and beds, eat on the floor...”* what Akiner mentions (p.23). State for Ömer is *“not just physical pressure but also forbiddance of language, being assimilated, not being recognized and so on.”* Moreover, as a solution he says: *“The*

things that exalting Turkism, should be taken out from constitution; language-cultural rights of Kurds should be accepted; and the way of politics should be opened to Kurds.”

It can be thought that my study is in Batman, and Batman cannot be considered as Mersin. However, in Batman also there are banlieu-like suburbs and again not in Batman but in Adana (study of Darıcı) which is close to Mersin, it is not reached such a result that Akıner says. Darıcı’s study also focuses on the connection of Kurdish Question and stone throwing acts and he defines this issue as “politics of Kurdish children and youth.” Darıcı, also mentions the class-based way of these acts but he never avoids making the connection of that issue with Kurdish Question. I can say that, my study in Batman has not such a class-based context. I think that is because Kurds who had to migrate to the Adana, Mersin, and so on are mostly poor now in these cities. Migrations in 1990s have a political aspect and they escaped from the war as loosing their houses, animals, lands and so on. Thus, they are poor now in these cities. However, the earlier migrated people did not migrate because of politic causes.¹⁰¹ The migration before 1990s were economical and migrated people in that time did not face “discrimination” unlike today. Thus, the fact of “Kurdish identity” did not exit in those people’s mind. I think that is why they are far away from Kurdish Question and do not take place in political acts. But this does not prove that rich people do not take place in the acts. It is because they are far from Kurdish identity reality, which existed especially after 1990s. I think that also defines the situation in Batman and generally in the whole Kurdish region. In Batman, what I see both poor and rich people take part in acts as they see this as an “identity” question.

In Batman, not only poor children but also rich children take part in these stone throwing acts. They throw stones to the banks, official foundations of state and shops which are supporter of state or which belong to Hizbullah sympathizers. Children in their speech said that in the closing up shops acts, the open shops are being attacked because these shopkeepers do not listen to the party (PKK) and them. According to them, these shopkeepers are fascist, supporters of state or Hizbullah. Last years, because Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-Justice and Development Party (AKP) is the

¹⁰¹ Report of Göç-Der. 1999-2001. The Research and Solution Report on the Socio-Economic and Socio-Cultural Conditions of the Kurdish Citizens Living in the Turkish Republic who are Forcibly Displaced due to Armed-Conflict and Tension Politics; The Problems They Encountered due to Migration and Their Tendencies to Return Back to the Villages.

biggest and may be the only rival power against Kurdish movement, a child said that they “throw stones to shops of the sympathizers of AKP too.” On the other hand, for example the supermarkets, which belong to the sympathizers of Kurdish movement, are not being attacked as because they are sympathizers of Kurdish movement and close up their shops in the protests of closing up the shops. Therefore, stone throwing acts in Batman and in general in the Kurdish region are not class-based acts. Throwing stones to the shops cannot be accepted what Darıcı mentions. From the speech, it can be said that, children divide all powers as supporters of state and supporters of the party, PKK. Therefore, they try to protect the people who are supporters of the party and attack shops and even people who are supporters of the system, Turkish state.

9. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I aimed to expose the background of the stone throwing issue in Turkey. That issue, as stone throwers are Kurd, is related to Kurdish Question. I argue that this new phase of the Kurdish Question has a big importance to understand the present point of Kurdish Question. By searching and talking to children, at first, I saw that these children have a memory about the past. That past is of their family's adult members rather than theirs. Two events form that memory. One is the evacuation and burn of their villages by state powers in order not to help PKK guerrillas and the other is street fights between PKK and Hizbullah. By the evacuation and burn of villages, around 1-4 millions (absolute number is unknown) of people were displaced and forced to migrate to the cities. These cities are Diyarbakır, Batman, Van, Mersin, Adana, Istanbul, Izmir, and so on. These people had to leave their belongings at their past. Thus, in the cities they faced with economical difficulties at first. Moreover, they could not adapt city life and could not forget their past. Thus, many of them faced trauma. Where I did my field research, women started to commit suicide. Furthermore, a new big violence-contained street fight took place especially in Batman. That fight had taken place between PKK and Hizbullah but in general sympathizers of PKK were being killed by Hizbullah. Later, such as retired colonel Arif Doğan, and the governor of Batman, Salih Şarman in that period confessed the relation of Hizbullah and state. For people in Batman, it was state that did this to Kurds. Because of those attacks of Hizbullah, total number is unknown but just in one year (2005); more than 210 people were killed. Thus, people had a big fear in the city at that period. From my interview I saw that this is the second process that caused people and also children to form a memory about past. Children use "time of Hizbullah" for that period and they explain how that period was bad. It seems that children as hearing from their families and people around, form a memory about past. This memory is connected to what they face today.

Today, the violence of police against them and Kurds, the discriminatory language of Turkish media, the propagandist language of Kurdish media, and the Turkist education system at schools complete their memory. Moreover, they are not listened at home because they are being seen as “child” and because it is thought that as “child” they cannot think well. However, they are not being seen as “child” in work because children work both at field and in the streets. When they work, their family does not say they are child and cannot work. This causes anger. This anger of children against adults at home and against state as it is the state that causes the bad situation of their families, pushes children into a revolt against these powers. With the awareness of the role of state in their both bad socio-economical conditions and having no rights as they are Kurd causes to direct their anger and revolt against state powers and related symbols and foundations. By acts in the streets, they became aware of their power as they became a current issue in Turkey. State powers tried to suppress their acts with violence and punish them with 10-15 years. On the other hand, Kurdish Movements’ actors such as PKK members and Ocalan affected them by “sending their greetings” to their acts. At that moment, they, especially high school students started to be organized and have their own decisions especially after 2005. In my research, I saw that and I explain that as semi-autonomous organization groups. The reason I use that, is because they have not practical but theoretical connection with Kurdish Movement, especially PKK and Ocalan and because they act with their own initiative on behalf of Kurdish Movement.

In their speech, apart from joining the BDP meetings, they come together on the streets to react against state powers that pressure Kurdish Movement’ actors such as arresting of mayors, killing of PKK guerrillas, preventing of Roj TV, and so on. In their daily lives, they talk about Kurdish Question and their acts, watch Roj TV and programs about Kurds on Turkish TVs, read *Günlük Newspaper*, and follow sites about Kurds online. As their agenda is that question and as normally they are on the streets, with shouting a slogan by a few of them, they come together in a short time and react against police, state foundations, and shops that are against Kurdish Movement. In the act that I participate, I saw that they tried to get notice of police in order to throw stones when police come. I asked a child who hit rubbish box with stones and kick it:

M: *Why are you doing that?*

-To let somebody calls the police and bring police here.

M: *Do you want to police come here?*

-Yes. But they are afraid. Only one panzer comes and escapes immediately.

M: *Why do you act? What happened?*

-Didn't you hear? They had cut our guerrillas' heads. Today, their dead bodies could come.

Apart from such unorganized acts, some acts took place with the organization of high school students. They have their own organization houses and associations. In these houses, they come together as friends of school and organize on behalf of Kurdish Movement. Here, the line with Kurdish Movement seems become thicker as they have rooms in BDP buildings too. However, even in BDP buildings, they organize separately from the party and take their decisions without asking party managers. The disagreement between adults and them is seen as adults do not agree with children in violence-contained acts. In party meetings, adults try to prevent children but they could not. Sometimes, children also throw stones to adults who try to prevent them. They think that, “*state does not understand in kindness.*”¹⁰² They form a relation with freedom and violence as Bataille says. Here, I argue that these acts and these children resemble street acts and children in Palestine. The process of development of the acts has a big similarity with the one in Palestine. Both of them are the empowerment of children that are formed around “*identity struggles.*” They have influenced from past lives of their family members that happened because of the pressure of state as against their identity struggle. With this influence, they formed peer cultures on the streets of the cities where they were forced to migrate. That peer culture with the life they face now persuades them to act against the power that caused that life and thus influence these powers. By acting in the streets, they become an actor in Turkey politics and thus influence the state, Kurdish Movement, and society. This creates a new process in Kurdish Question, as state cannot stop their acts even if it uses violence. With their acts, they become a new opposing Kurdish group. Therefore, apart from PKK and BDP actors, now there is a new political actor in the cities, semi-autonomous Kurdish children and youth groups. By

¹⁰² According to children state is rude and uses violence against Kurds. By saying that they mean it cannot be fought with such a state without using violence.

using violence in their acts against police, state foundations, shops that are supporter of system, and people who are against their acts, they become a new power in Turkey politics as being “child” in terms of age but “adult” in terms of idea. This is also a new form of “childhood” in Turkey. These Kurdish children are like children in Africa and Latin America rather than children in the west of Turkey as like children in the west (Europe, America). As nobody sees them as “child”, they do not also see themselves “child.”

They are political actors affect Turkey politics by their acts in the streets. Sana Nakata¹⁰³ who theorizes children’s political agency says that children also take part in politics and can be political actors and their politics should be recognized and appreciated by adults when it occurs (Kallio 2009). For Kurdish children what happened is the empowerment and being political actors in Turkey and some (state and its supporters) is against their politics and some (Kurdish Movement and its supporters) recognizes and appreciates their politics. According to children, the method to be free is violence against violence. Their idea about themselves (generally Kurds) and state is separated sharply. Frantz Fanon (2007, pp.44-52) explains that in the world, at one side there are exploiters and at other side there are exploited people. Exploiters denigrate exploited people and use violence against exploited people via their soldiers, polices and so on in order to keep their authority. However, with the idea of “equality”, exploited people see that there is no difference between them and exploiters. At that point, the exploited people become ready to react against exploiters. Fanon again indicates that violence of exploited people unites these people and keeps them away from “being inferior”, “hopelessness”, and “passiveness”; give them “encourage” and “self-confidence” back (pp.97-98). For Kurdish children, Turkish state’s existence in the Kurdish area is such an existence. However, PKK showed that they (Kurds) are not “inferior” but are people like everybody (Westrheim 2010). And if they are like everybody, they should have rights as normal people have in the world. Thus, they think that to take their rights, to be free, to preserve their existence against such a state they should revolt and use

¹⁰³ She wrote her article *Elizabeth Eckford’s Appearance at Little Rock: The Possibility of Children’s Political Agency*. With “little rock” she refers the event in the Little Rock Central High School, Arkansas, US, on 4th September 1957, when the school was turned from being a white high school into a desegregated one. This transition was not welcomed by all. Elizabeth Eckford made her way through the aggressive crowd at front entering. This is known as a symbol for black movement against racism.

violence as a method because state does not understand from kind language. These violence-contained acts make children to feel powerful, to have self-confident, and hopeful about the future. According to them, if state does not recognize their existence they will also not recognize state's existence.

Osman (16): *"...We always saw state's barrel. We have not felt its kindness and compassion yet. State always obstinately insisted on giving us Turkishness. We go to May 19, April 23 and so on. State always obstinately insisted on giving us Turkishness in activities. We cannot take place in the elections because of 10 % election blockage. There is not our existence into the state in any form. And we try to not accept the state's, system's existence now..."*

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