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## KURDISH MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION POLICY OF PKK TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

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### Abstract

PKK terrorist organization, which announced its foundation purpose as “establishing the Independent United Kurdistan” on the lands of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, believed that it can accomplish this purpose only through armed action and used Kurdish as a mean of providing their armed personnel needs and obtaining the support of the regional population. In 1994, at the peak of terror incidents, PKK terrorist organization being unable to reach its intended results and suffering heavy casualties, understood that it cannot be successful by only armed action and moved its activities towards the political field with the support of some European countries. In this sense; PKK terrorist organization started using Kurdish, especially after 1995, as a propaganda tool for providing its manpower needs for terrorist activities and obtaining political gains with the help of Kurd Diaspora. In this period Kurdish mother tongue education demands have played an important role.

**Keywords:** PKK Terrorist Organization, Kurdish, Language Policy, Kurdish Mother Tongue Education.

### 1. Introduction

PKK terrorist organization believed that it could achieve its objective by armed struggle and shaped its strategies accordingly during its foundation period. Within this context, “Conscription Law” was declared and put in service in order to supply warriors for the need of ARGK (Arteşe Rızgariye Gele-Kurdistan, Kurdish People Liberation Army), an armed branch of PKK terrorist organization, in the third congress between 25<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of October, 1986 (Kaya, 2013: 164; Özcan, 1999: 98; Pirim ve Örtülü, 1999: 187). However, in the following periods, the need of ARGK for warriors could not be supplied, so teenagers were kidnapped whenever it was necessary, which led Kurdish people becoming hostile towards the organization. Afterwards, this case was discussed during the 4<sup>th</sup> congress between 26<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> of December, 1990, and the importance of propaganda based on political inducement on the application of “Conscription Law” was emphasized (PKK IV. Ulusal Kongre Kararları -V-, 1991). Also, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference between 5<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of March, 1994, Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the terrorist organization, stated that they needed 50.000 armed forces to achieve their aims. On the other hand, it was known that estimated armed forces of PKK terrorist organization were limited to 7.000-8.000 at that time (Ünal, 2012: 116). In this period, The Kurdish Language was used as a malversation tool to supply PKK terrorist organization with armed forces and to get support from local Kurdish people during the propaganda activities.

While PKK (Laçiner, 2010) terrorist organization was trying to cover the need for warriors, it started to lose immense manpower in the battles. Especially, 1994 was the year of the biggest loss which made the administrative staff understand that they would not reach their goal only by armed conflagrations. Therefore, they felt the necessity to extend their struggle to political stage (Laçiner, 2010). PKK terrorist organization began to pursue a Kurdish Policy to supply their need for warriors and to gain political advantages under the guidance of Kurdish Diasporas after 1995. The Kurdish Language Policy was declared as one of the 6 main principles of “Party Program- Duties of Kurdish Revolution” in the congress between 08th- 28th of January, 1995, which was the first step of PKK’s Kurdish Language Policy (Özcan, 1999: 395-397). A Kurdish TV channel based in the UK started to broadcast (Laçiner, 2010) in May 15, 1995, which was the next step of the same move.

What PKK terrorist organization has strived to achieve in return of the Kurdish Language Policy by the help of Kurdish Diasporas directed by western countries can be described under two headings. In order to found “Independent United Kurdistan”, PKK terrorist organization changed its objective, which was set at the foundation period, from one country-one nation-one language to one language-one nation-one

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country as defined by Greenfeld previously. (Virtanen, 2006: 148). However, it is not rational to point out that PKK terrorist organization has abandoned the objective of founding an independent country, because there has been no decrease at armed conflagrations since 1995. This objective was redefined to be reached in the long term by building the "Kurdish Nation". Also, it is possible that PKK will benefit from some applications like plebiscites to establish an independent "Kurdistan" in the future after building up the "Kurdish Nation". Another political gain is the acceptance of Turkish citizens from Kurdish origin as minority to build up an independent Kurdish nation by means of language context thanks to Kurdish language. Thereby, they will be able to complete the construction of "Kurdish Nation" by concessions (Çevik, 2013; TBMM, 2014: 2-3) arising from minority rights they can get from the Turkish Republic (Çevik, 2013). PKK's demand for education in the mother tongue, which is accepted as the most effective tool to build up a nation (Birch, 1989: 41) and the final stage of building up a "Kurdish Nation", has always been tried to be kept up to date.

## 2. The Importance and Place of a Language in the Process of Identity Building

If language was the only way of self-explanation, there would be only one language spoken across the world (Atmaca, 2004: 38). On the other hand, in today's world there are approximately 6.500 languages (Sadoğlu, 2010: 37) because language is not just a way of communication but it is also a way of shared expression for a society to express their perception of the world and life. That is to say; there is a close connection between a language and consciousness of society (Porzig, 1990: 8). In parallel with this, language is the key criterion of differing from the others in the process of building a collective identity (Sadoğlu, 2010: 27). Language having a concrete function to transmit the ethnical identity between generations plays a defining role in the creation of ethnical identity (Sadoğlu, 2010: 36). The cultural and national implications of language have an important role in this process.

Language and culture have always been related. Cultural and linguistic developments occur simultaneously; hence, the higher the cultural level, the richer a language which interacts with that culture becomes because new concepts arise in accordance with the emergence of new ideas. These concepts not only shape the culture but also improve a language by evolving into established structures in that language. (Imer, 1976: 21-22). In the Turkish culture, thanks to the importance of kinship, there are expressions defining every bound of family relations. In contrast, it is not possible to say the same for most of the western cultures. For example, in Turkish "amca" is used for the brother of father and "dayı" is used for the brother of the mother, but in English the word "uncle" is used for both.

A language is the most fundamental tenet of a nation. Nations that have lost their languages are assimilated in other nations because language is the shared memory of a nation.

Therefore, in the case of losing their languages, nations that have the consciousness of being a nation lose this consciousness and become sub-nations of other nations because losing a nation's own language results in losing the values of the national identity (Atmaca, 2004: 38). W. Von Humboldt defines national languages as real homeland of a nation in which that language is spoken and as the most profound existence to point out the national will. Also he mentions that national emotions can disappear as soon as a national language is lost (Gencan, 1979: 1).

People who share the same language feel closer than people from different language backgrounds because they can communicate with each other with no difficulty and they can share their feelings and ideas more easily. They generate more similarities thanks to the productive ground that enable them to interact with each other in a better and fruitful way. This resemblance can be seen more in the values such as religion, culture, traditions and history. If this whole process happens between the societies living between the same borders, then it can be said that the nation construction process has started (Ercilasun, 1993: 78).

Construction of a nation means the standardization of language, culture and education (Virtanen, 2006: 149). Formation of a national language and creation of a language unity is not possible without deployment of a general and singular primary education system (Hobsbawm, 2006: 71). Besides, components that build nations are in interaction with both each other and the other components of other nations (Virtanen, 2006: 149). In this context, according to Herder, one of the most important philosophers of German romantic nationalism, differences between the national language and the languages spoken in



neighbouring countries has vital importance because national existence of a country can be affected in a negative way if the whole or a part of the people living in that country speak a language similar to or the same with the ones spoken in neighbouring countries. Especially, speaking a language different than the one spoken by the rest of the country but close to languages of any other neighbour states may result in development of abandonment of the feeling of unification and emotional closeness to those countries. (Sadoğlu, 2010: 27-28).

The relationship between languages, cultures and education systems can come up in two ways: one country-one nation-one language, e.g. UK and France; one language-one nation-one country, e.g. Germany. France and UK, as examples of the first, became independent countries and constructed their nations and created their one language after these two procedures. Germany, example of the latter, was founded as a country based on the idea that people who speak the same language should form a nation (Virtanen, 2006: 149).

In the example of France, 2 reports, both carried out in French borders of that time, were fundamental in the process of making French the national language. The first report was presented to Convention in 29.01.1793 by Carnot. In this report, language unity was emphasized as crucial to build up national consciousness and to protect national unity. Also, teaching French as the official language in all of the French schools was mentioned there. (Kohn, 1967: 88). The second report was prepared in 1794 by Abbe Gregoire, a member of public education committee. In this report, it was stated that there were 6 million citizens who could not speak French, and almost the same number of people were not fully competent in French. It was also pointed out that only 3 million French people were proficient in and could efficiently use the language (Erözden, 2013: 138).

Making French the national language could only be possible by using it as one and only medium of instruction (Sadoğlu, 2010: 30). It was not before 1920's that French was spoken all around the country (Erözden, 2013: 138). Education is one of the most powerful tools in nation building process (Birch 1989: 41) because dissemination of a standard national language (Arraiza, 2011: 128); adoption of main components of shared cultural values; contributing to forming national identities by redounding national consciousness (by the subjects of national history and geography) can only be possible via education (Sadoğlu, 2010: 23). When the medium of instruction differs from national language, polarization of the societies in that nation is inevitable (Arraiza, 2011: 129).

Almost every nation-state gives vital importance to dissemination of one language to build up a national identity. The concept of nation-state which sees the idea of one language enough for executive, legislative and judicial powers in the first place aims to convert the society into a one-language-speaking nation in the long term because national language is accepted as the warranty of national identity. Education is seen as a primary tool to reach this goal. Furthermore, national language must differ from other languages spoken in the neighbouring countries to show the difference of that nation (Sadoğlu, 2010: 24).

### **2.1. Language Policy**

Language Policy is defined as the series of ideas, principles and decisions about the rights of the speakers and the status, usage, place and region of those languages (Virtanen, 2006: 148).

The beginning of using language as a state policy roots back to the period of autocracy. After switching into autocracy, bureaucratic operations in central government increased immensely and a need for a shared language occurred to deal with these operations. Along with this administrative language, publishing languages emerged with the invention of printer. As a result of reform movement, the impact of Latin decreased, thereby public languages such as administrative and publishing languages found ways to emerge. Autocracies in Europe strived to disseminate these languages in their societies as if they were national languages. Thus, these language policies applied in to provide effective bureaucracy indirectly led to the emergence of new political regimes (Sadoğlu, 2010: 2).

Countries, containing societies from different ethnicities, usually face with languages as many as the number of those ethnicities and have troubles in building up homogeneous national identities (Sadoğlu, 2010: 36). In addition to this, government has to establish a shared-standard language, which can be used in political, social and cultural life, to organize the whole of the demographic population (Sadoğlu, 2010: 36).



This is the reason why almost every country has a language policy and the most important part of this policy is education (Arraiza, 2011: 128).

Political regime, official ideology, status of language and international relations are the components affecting language policy (Virtanen, 2006: 149).

According to an approach based on language communities or status of language communities in the official borders of a country, there are 4 different variations (Sadoğlu, 2010: 40-41):

- Singular language society in one country, e.g. Iceland. The Icelandic language is the only language spoken in the borders of Iceland. In this case there is no need to employ a language policy there. Thanks to the singularity, no other languages are spoken in the country and thus no attention required for other languages.

- Multiple language societies in one country. Languages spoken by minorities in a country are not used to interact with other societies. Welsh (UK), Sardinian Language (Italy) and Corsican Language (France) can be given as examples. In this case, either language policies that warrant the existence of these minority languages or aim to adopt official language of the country will be employed.

- One language as official language of multiple countries such as German which is official language of both Germany and Austria.

- A language spoken as a minority language in a country is an official language of another country. For example, French is spoken as a minority language in Canada but official language in France. Similarly, Dutch is spoken as a minority language in Belgium but official in Netherlands.

- **2.2. The Concept of Education in Mother Tongue**

The concept of education in mother tongue means using mother tongue as a medium of education. That is, all or most of the subjects in syllabi are carried out in mother tongue. On the other hand, education of mother tongue means teaching of mother tongue and its literature by means of elective courses in schools (İnceoğlu, 2012: 152). Bearing these definitions in mind, Kurdish language policy of Turkish government can be understood as education of mother tongue in the first place, it is completely different because both concepts refer to minorities (Tezcan, 1985: 113). However, minorities in Turkey are acknowledged in the Lausanne Peace Treaty and there is no mention for Turkish citizens from Kurdish origin. This is the reason why recent democratic initiatives regarding Kurdish language are approached under the headings of "traditional daily life usages of different languages and dialects by Turkish citizens".

### **3. PKK Terrorist Organization's Decisions on Education in Kurdish Mother Tongue**

**3.1. The 1<sup>st</sup> Congress (02-27, November, 1978):** In this congress the establishment of PKK terrorist organization was declared and the manifesto titled "Organization Program- Duties of Kurdish Upheaval" was accepted. In the manifesto, 5 main duties and 30 items were defined (Özcan, 1999: 367-369). These duties are the main objectives of PKK terrorist organization but none of them consists of anything about education of Kurdish mother tongue. In addition to these main principles, following 2 items may be pronounced related to language issue mentioned among other items which has secondary priority and should be applied based on the main principles:

- Undertaking the economical, culture, education and health services to fight against the destructive effects of colonialism on the people...

- Establishing the national institutions of education and culture instead of colonialist institutions of education and culture. Encouraging one of the Kurdish dialects to become a national language... (Özcan, 1999: 367-369).

These items in "Organization Program- Duties of Kurdish Upheaval" were the first Kurdish decisions made by PKK terrorist organization. These decisions which were made within the scope of regulations as to national education institutions, Kurdish national language, Kurdish language, literature and history and Kurdish literate society put forth the approach towards education in Kurdish mother tongue.



**3.2. The 5<sup>th</sup> Congress (08-28, January, 1995):** The Kurdish Language, which was used as an abuse to prove the hypothesis “Kurdistan is a colony” at the foundation period by PKK terrorist organization, has begun to be used as a political tool since 1995. The most important reason for this is not gaining the desired outcomes of intensive terrorist attacks (Laçiner, 2010) and losing huge manpower in 1994 attacks. In this context, the most obvious indicator of using Kurdish as a political tool is the latter of two items in the first congress (mentioned above) accepted as main duties. Thus, a main duty on the matter of Kurdish has been defined for the first time ever; Kurdish policy has become privilege and this main duty carries an approach towards education in Kurdish mother tongue by its very nature. Along with this main duty, the first of two items (mentioned above) takes part in its previous place.

Another decision made in this congress was “using Kurdish language in the educational process which is based on primary education system and built in suitable places” (Okul ve Eğitim Sistemi Üzerine Karar, 1995).

**3.3. 7<sup>th</sup> congress (02-23, January, 2000):** There is no objective defined for education in the Kurdish mother tongue in the main duties part of “Organization Program-Duties of Democratic Revolution” which was accepted in this congress organized after Abdullah Ocalan’s arrest. In addition to this, there is an item that must be done along with the main duties and again has secondary importance stating: “education in Kurdish mother tongue must be secured by laws and every effort must be shown to improve it” (PKK Programı, 2000).

A shift in objectives of PKK terrorist organization can be seen in this congress. While looking at the words used to declare previous decisions taken in past congresses, the emphasis on taking the responsibility of the issue was transmitted by relevant words, the expression “education in Kurdish mother tongue education must be warranted by laws...” was used for the first time in this congress. The expression “warranted by laws” was indeed an indicator of objective shift even if it happens only at the discourse level. At the establishment phase, PKK terrorist organization declared its objective as “Independent United Kurdistan” and it can be understood that they have given up this objective and changed it towards the adoption of “Democratic Republic” at discourse level. This circumstance directly effects the decisions on the Kurdish language. Since it has brought into the forefront that education in Kurdish mother tongue should be improved in its current boundaries and secured by laws.

**3.4. 8<sup>th</sup> Congress (04-10, April, 2002):** The item accepted in this congress referring to the Kurdish language that “continuing the campaign of Mother Tongue, which has been carried out in the light of second peace movement, with the democratic versatile arguments and effective use of public support gained from this ground in the diplomatic relations to put every effort to make the international powers accept the freedom of Kurdish people” (KADEK I. Kongre Kararları, 2002) is compatible with the items stated in the “Organization Program- Duties of Democratic Revolution” and to be applied along with the main duties accepted in the 7<sup>th</sup> congress and emphasizes the legal status.

**3.5. 1<sup>st</sup> Extraordinary General Assembly of PKK (24<sup>th</sup> October- 06<sup>th</sup> November, 2003):** There is no main duty definition of education in Kurdish mother tongue in the “PKK Program- Duties of Democratically Establishment” accepted in this meeting. Along with this, there are 2 items which must be carried out by staying dependent on main duties.

The below stated items are compatible with the decisions made in previous congresses:

- “Education in Kurdish mother tongue must be warranted by laws,..., and employing all of the entire national powers and tools to achieve this goal,
- To move beyond the education and culture systems which does not help people be independent individuals and societies and to create a democratic education system which serves for the improvement of independent individuals and society” (Kongra-Gel Programı, 2003)

**3.6. 3<sup>rd</sup> Extraordinary general Assembly of PKK (04-21, May, 2005):** In this meeting, the aim was to organize campaigns to secure education in Kurdish mother tongue by laws with the item “fostering protests which uses the motto “I want my mother tongue”” to secure the education in Kurdish mother tongue by laws” (KONGRA-GEL III. Genel Kurulu Kararları, 2005).



#### 4. Education in Mother Tongue

PKK terrorist organization and its political extensions have always been in the effort to keep education in Kurdish mother tongue a permanent hot topic. The ideas around this subject were explained in the program of Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (Peace and Democracy Party) as such (Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi, 2012):

“Every prohibition before the education in mother tongue will be demolished. Mother tongues will be approached like a cultural legacy and conditions to improve the society in terms of art, literature and education will be created. Education in Kurdish Language which attracts great interest will be supplied with a program by the help of the experts’ suggestions and the experience of the countries where education in mother tongue takes place in. Conditions for education in Kurdish mother tongue will be supported in the regions, cities and districts where needed.”

According to this item, there are demands both for acceptance of Kurdish education in mother tongue status and applying this education in certain regions of Turkey by the help of other countries’ experiences. In this context, the current education system in Turkey and noteworthy education models and applications with regard to education in mother tongue are analysed.

##### 4.1. The Current Education System

In the forthcoming analysis, considering the scope of current education system, only first 8 years of the compulsory education are included due to opportunities to complete the rest of secondary education out of formal institutes. In this framework, general principles of education system are mentioned; frameworks of compulsory education system are explained and some evaluation of primary education is stated.

The general frameworks of education system are defined in the 42nd articles of the constitutional law (T.C. Anayasası, 1982) and its general structure is organized in the “National Education Basic Law” (no: 1739 of 14.06.1973) (MEB Mevzuat, 2012). The 2nd article of the same law explains the general objective of education system. These items:

**Table 1.** (Constitutional Law of Turkish Republic, 1982), (MEB Mevzuat, 2012)

Constitutional Law of Republic of Turkey	National Education Basic Law
<b>Name of the Article:</b> Right and Duty of Training and Education	<b>Name of the Article:</b> “General Objectives”
<p><b>Article 42:</b> “No one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education.</p> <p>The scope of the right to education shall be defined and regulated by law</p> <p>Training and education shall be conducted along the lines of the principles and reforms of Atatürk, on the basis of contemporary science and educational methods, under the supervision and control of the state. Institutions of training and education contravening these provisions shall not be established.</p> <p>The freedom of training and education does not relieve the individual from loyalty to constitution.</p> <p>Primary education is compulsory for all the citizens of both sexes and is free of charge in state schools.</p> <p>The principles governing the functioning of private primary and secondary schools shall be regulated by law in keeping with the standards set for the state schools.</p> <p>The state shall provide scholarships and other means of assistance to enable students of merit lacking financial means to continue their education. The state shall take necessary measures to rehabilitate those in need of special training so as to render such people useful to society.</p> <p>Training, education, research, and the study are the only activities that shall be pursued at institutions of training and</p>	<p><b>Article 2:</b> “The main objective of Turkish National education is to bring up all of the citizens of Turkish Nation as follows,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Loyal to Atatürk’s revolutions and principles; loyal to Atatürk’s nationalism stated in the constitutional law; adopting, protecting and improving the Turkish Nation’s national, moral, humanistic, ethical and cultural values; loving and enhancing his or her family, homeland, nation; knowing his/ her responsibilities to Turkish Republic which is -based on the principles in the beginning of constitutional law and on human rights- secular, democratic and a social state of law; internalizing all these patterns of values as behaviour.</li> <li>2. Having a balanced and healthy character in terms of body, mind, moral, psychology and mental states; having the power to think freely and scientific; having an open world view; being respectful to human rights; valuing personality and enterprise, feeling responsible to the society, being constructive, creative and useful to society</li> <li>3. Preparing them to the real life and in terms of gaining the knowledge, ability and habit of teamwork by developing their interests, talents and abilities and training and educating them to have a job for their own happiness and to contribute to the happiness of the society.</li> </ol> <p>Therefore, in one hand, enhancing the happiness and welfare of Turkish nation and Turkish citizens; on the other</p>



education. These activities shall not be obstructed in any way. No language other than Turkish shall be taught as a mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of training or education. Foreign languages to be taught in institutions of training and education and the rules to be followed by schools conducting training and education in a foreign language shall be determined by law. The provisions of international treaties are reserved.

hand, supporting and accelerating the economic, social and cultural progress to eventually make Turkish nation privileged, constructive and creative partner of contemporary civilization.

These articles emphasize that no other languages can be used to train and educate Turkish citizens to reach the objectives via training and education; they must be carried out in national unity and coalescence.

The compulsory education span in Turkey is 12 years. Compulsory education which is defined as 4+4+4 involves 8-year primary education and 4-year secondary education. In the first 4 years of education, standardized syllabi are used whereas different options are possible in the next 4-year period. The primary education procedure of compulsory education takes place in education institutions, but secondary education part can be completed by distant learning.

The following table shows the weekly schedule of compulsory course hours of primary education institutions:

Table 2. (MEB Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı, 2013)

Grades							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Compulsory Course Hours							
26	28	28	30	29	29	29	29

The 8-year compulsory primary education is the biggest part of Turkish institutions in terms of its time, length and financial size:

- The time a student spends on compulsory courses equals to 228 daytime (time of a course is calculated 40 minutes and academic year is calculated as 36 weeks).
- The budget of Ministry of National Education including secondary education is 55.704.817.610 TL (Official Gazette [web] 2013a). It takes the lion's share in the annual budget of Turkish Republic (MEB Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müşavirliği, 2013).

#### 4.2. Models and Form of Applications of Education in Mother Tongue

Bilingual education means that training and education take place both in the mother tongue and in the official language of that country (Kaya & Aydın 2013: 20-21).

Applications of bilingual education differ in every country; however there are 3 types of bilingual education model:

- Preparation Model
- Perpetuity Model
- Enrichment model (Pacific Policy Research Center, 2010: 3).

In the preparation model, the aim is to enable student to be educated in the official language. Therefore, the language of education is partly in mother tongue, partly in the official language in kindergartens, in pre-school education institutions or in the first 1 or 2 years of education syllabi. After this process, the official language is used for the compulsory education throughout the rest of the education. This is also called as "90-100 model" (Pacific Policy Research Center, 2010: 3-4; Christian et.al., 1997: 16). This is the weakest bilingual education model (Pacific Policy Research Center, 2010: 3-4).

The perpetuity model aims to enable student to protect his/ her mother tongue and cultural identity at a certain level. For this reason, at least half of the first 4 or 6 years of education in schools (the time amount of education in mother tongue is reduced gradually) is in mother tongue and the rest is in the official language. This is also called as "50-50" model (Pacific Policy Research Center, 2010: 3-4; Christian et.al., 1997: 16).



The goal of the enrichment model is the dissemination of mother tongue and culture in the society. For this reason, a syllabus similar to perpetuity model is carried out in an extended way. This is the most powerful bilingual education model (Pacific Policy Research Center, 2010: 3-4).

Generally, in the education institutions employing these education models, there are two basic bilingual education applications which can be defined as mono-directional and bi-directional. In the mono-directional application model, students are separated as for language differences and students who speak the same language gather in the same classroom. When students are ready to be educated in the official language, the class distinction is no longer employed in accordance with the bilingual education model. In the bi-directional application model, no distinction is made to group students and same education is given in two different languages (Thomas and Collier, 2002: 5). In this case some subjects are lectured in mother tongue, some are lectured in the official language and in some occurrences lectures can take place in both languages simultaneously (Kaya and Aydın, 2013: 24).

### 4.3. Kurdish Language Education Initiative of Turkey

As the Kurdish educational initiatives in Turkey differ from education in Kurdish mother tongue, they are analysed in this chapter under the heading of "different languages and dialects that Turkish citizens use traditionally in their daily lives".

The process of Kurdish training and education has started with the initiation of the law (no: 4771 of 03.08.2002) related to "doing changes in various laws" which is promulgated in 09th of August, 2002. A series of legal regulations related to Kurdish training and education has been made since its beginning. These regulations and applications are as follows:

The name of the act (no: 2923 of 14.10.1983) has been altered from "teaching and education of foreign language" to "teaching and education of foreign language and the act about learning different languages and dialects of Turkish citizens" by the act (no 4771 03.08.2002) related to "doing changes in various laws" which is promulgated in 09th of August, 2002. Also, the clause that "however, private courses to learn languages and dialects which are traditionally used by Turkish citizens" (Official Gazette, 2002a) is added to the article of the first subsection of the second article and thereby, the process of teaching and education of the Kurdish language has started.

Table 3. (Official Gazette, 1983), (Official Gazette, 2002a)

Comparison Table	
Before the Change	After the Change
<b>Name of the Act:</b> "The Act of Teaching and Education of Foreign Language"	<b>Name of the Act:</b> "Teaching and Education of Foreign Language and the Act about Learning Different Languages and Dialects of Turkish Citizens"
<b>Article 2(1)(a):</b> "Their mother tongue shall not be taught in any other languages to Turkish citizens except the Turkish language."	<b>Article 2(1)(a):</b> "Their mother tongue shall not be taught in any other languages to Turkish citizens except the Turkish language. However, as be tied to the Law of Special Teaching Institutions, private courses to learn languages and dialects which are traditionally used by Turkish citizens. This courses shall not be against the main essence defined in Constitutional Law of Turkish Republic and the unitary entity of the state by it homeland and nation. Ministry of Education organizes the principles and methods to open these courses by the regulations."

With "the regulation about Turkish citizens traditionally using different languages and learning dialects in their Daily routine" published in the official journal 05.12.2003 dated and no 25307, the regulation with the same name published in the official journal 20.09.2002 dated and 24882 numbered was repealed (MEB Legislation, 2003). On 1st of April, 2004, the first private Kurdish Course was opened. In the following terms, similar courses were successively opened in Sanliurfa, Van, Diyarbakır, Adana, Mardin and Istanbul.

On 1st of December 2009 with the council judgement (Official Gazette 1, 2009) relating the foundation of institute of languages living in Turkey, depending on the Artuklu University of Mardin and





under the Ministry Department of Kurdish language and culture, the first institute was founded on 10th of December, 2009 (University of Artuklu, Mardin, 2011).

Later, under the Institute of Living Languages at the University of Bingöl, the Department of Kurdish Language (University of Bingöl, 2013a); under the Faculty of Science and Literature at the same university, The Department of Kurdish Language and Literature; under the Institute of Social Sciences at the Muş Alparslan University, the Department of Kurdish Language and Culture (Muş Alparslan University, 2013); under the Institute of Social Sciences at Diyarbakır University, the department of Kurdish Language and Culture (University of Dicle, 2012) were founded. The council judgement of founding an Institute of Living Languages at the University of Siirt inured on 25th of June 2013 has not been realized yet. Also, with regard to the elective Kurdish courses for the 5th, 6 th, 7 th and 8 th grades, a syllabus was issued by MEB in 2012. In this syllabus the words "Kurdish", "Kurmanish" and "Zazaish" were handled together and development of basic communication abilities for students was the purpose.

### 5. General Evaluation

Implementation of Kurdish education in the mother tongue doesn't only mean that the whole education syllabus or a limited part of it will be carried out in Kurdish. This would bear some legal consequences and serious social reactions for sure.

As for legal consequences; because the right in the mother tongue is provided for the minority living in that country (Tezcan, 1985:113), it can be concluded that Turkish Citizens of Kurdish origin will be seen or argued to be seen as a minority group. With reference to this, it is inevitable that the demands relating to the minority rights will arise successively.

It is possible to express the social impact of education in the mother tongue based on certain factors. One is related to application of education in Kurdish. It should be seriously taken into consideration that how possible it is to maintain peace and security environment in classes either in the one-way application referring to Turkish and Kurdish education in different classes but at the same building or two-way application referring to implementation of Turkish and Kurdish education in the same. Besides, as Akyol stated, if this means different schools, then social separation will be much more comparatively (2013). Another factor is that latent functions of education expressed as "wife-choosing" and "friend providing" will lose their functions (Tezcan, 1985:75). In the case of mother tongue education in different classes or schools, these two functions which help the society cooperate are most likely not to be realised.

### 6. Conclusion

The demands regarding Kurdish education in the mother tongue which is intensely struggled to be kept up-to-date make up the final stage of "Kurdish Nation Building Process". As pronounced many times, education is one of the most effective tools of nation building (Birch, 1989:41). The spread of national language helping construction of national identities, (Arraiza, 2011:128) transmission of common cultural values (via national history and national geography lessons), formation of national consciousness are mostly possible through education (Sadoglu, 2010: 23). Provided that Kurdish mother tongue is taught according to a syllabus, the idea of teaching of Kurdish history will be brought to agenda as well, which means that Turkish Citizens of Kurdish origin will face a separation in terms of language together with abonnement of historical unity. According to a survey conducted by BILGESAM in 2009 Turkish Citizens of Kurdish origin mention 'having a shared culture history and fate' as the second most important commonality connecting them to Turkey (Bilgiç and Akyürek, 2009: 43). Therefore, the integrative nature of shared history will be at risk with Kurdish mother tongue education. Additionally, Hobsbawn emphasises the importance of a standard and general primary school system as a requirement for providing unification in language and preserve the national language (2006: 71). It has to be pointed out that, a policy preventing teaching of Kurdish Language will nurture enmity among the society and provoke social reactions when possible. It should be acknowledged that, in Turkey, citizens who do not know Turkish would probably be deprived of equality of opportunity and could not have the chance of having a proper profession, which will negatively influence their standard of living. Therefore, families will automatically wish their kids to learn Turkish and efforts to teach Turkish will be granted as in the case of English.



In the above mentioned survey, language is evaluated as the third most effective unifying factor together with common living area. (Bilgiç and Akyürek, 2009: 43). The fact that the application of education in Kurdish mother tongue is based on different classes and different schools directly means separation of shared living areas. As a natural result of this process latent factors of education namely "wife-choosing" and "friend providing", will not be present at all, which means that "intermarry" described as the fourth most effective integrating factor in the survey will be eliminated (Tezcan, 1985: 75), (Bilgiç and Akyürek 2009: 43). The implications of education in Kurdish Mother Tongue may lead loss of these unifying factors which are defined by Turkish Citizens of Kurdish origin themselves.

Another subject to be emphasized here is the variation of Turkey's perception on Kurdish. In previous years before Turkey's expansion of Kurdish, it was seen as a threat and no steps were taken on Kurdish education, but with the Kurdish expansions some taboos were eliminated and the first private Kurdish course was opened in Batman on 1st April, 2004 (Report 2007: 16). Having a capacity of 480 students, in the first term of the course only 76 students graduated whereas for the second term only 80 students registered (Arslan, 2004). Later, courses in Sanliurfa, Van, Diyarbakır, Adana, Mardin and İstanbul were successively opened (Report, 2007: 16). Süleyman Yılmaz, the founder of Diyarbakır Kurdish Language Course, reported that these 7 courses were closed because of the lack of demand (Sabah Paper, 2005).

This process relating to Kurdish reveals that Turkey's perception of Kurdish has changed and Kurdish is no longer seen as a threat. So, it can be said that within the scope of individual rights a new approach of Kurdish has emerged.

Kurdish language courses demonstrate advantages of Turkey's initiative on Kurdish case. The fact that high expectancy towards Kurdish course attendances has been proved to be illusive with the closure of the courses due to low demands, shows us how the "forbidden" may be attractive as well. From now on, opening of Kurdish courses is neither seen as a taboo nor a great development.

However, education in Kurdish mother tongue entails the construction of "Kurdish Nation Building" because education in the mother tongue plays the key role to spread national language. In parallel with this approach, further steps must be taken to encourage teaching and learning of Turkish language. Rather than imposing an obligation such that everybody has to learn Turkish, the fact that people who are proficient in Turkish will have better opportunities in terms of quality of life, should be emphasized. The same kind of efforts showed in teaching English should be made for Turkish as well. In Turkey, compulsory education course hours for primary education are equivalent to 228 full days. This time span provides the environment and opportunity for a Kurdish child who doesn't know any Turkish and new at school to develop proficient skills in Turkish.

It is clear that people sharing the same language are more willing to live together. Counting on this basic detection, it is possible to have an evaluation that the desire gets stronger in the societies with a common, shared language to live together. Strengthening the relationships between Turkish citizens living in the Southeast and Eastern sides is vital for the union of the country.

The judicial regulations and implementations put into practice within the scope of Turkey's Kurdish Initiative can be appreciated from the perspective of personal freedom. To a great extent, they constituted effective obstacles in the way of PKK terrorist organisation to use Kurdish as a political tool. However; what is crucial at this point is that any regulation or attempt preventing Turkish Citizens of Kurdish origin from learning Turkish will trigger dangerous formations for the unity of the society in the long term.

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