

Identity, Diversity and Cohesion in Globalizing Nation-state

The Case of Turkey and Germany

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All countries in the world are changing in this Age of Globalization. This paper will discuss how Turkey and Germany are dealing with the question of maintaining diversity as well as cohesion in this process of change.

The history of Turkey's transformation and transition to development and real democracy under the impact of international dynamics is well-known. The beginnings of this process can be traced back to the ›Era of Tulips‹ in early years of the 18th century. When one focuses on our main topic, namely diversity and cohesion issues in Turkey and Germany, it is interesting to see that Germany, a much more developed State and nation is also trying, in exactly the same period, to cope with similar problems in dealing with these issues under the pressure of globalization. What makes the experiences and destinies of the two States and nations similar seems to be the problems caused by their nation-state genetic codes.

This article will start with a detailed section on theory and terminology relevant to the subject matter. It will then proceed to study first the situation in Turkey, then in Germany, and end with a table comparing the two experiences pinpointing the problem areas, and particularly certain vital issues and concepts.

Theoretical framework

The most visible phenomenon of our time is the process of multiplication, diversification and assertion of diverse identities¹ in any given State to a point never experienced before.

¹ Identity can first be categorized as individual identity and group identity. Other types of identity mentioned in this article are more important and can briefly be explained as follows:
– Infra identity: Identity inherited at birth from one's ethno-religious group. Religious identity can be later changed by the individual, but ethnic identity cannot. (However, an exception to this is possible when a hierarchy exists among infra identities. The member of an ethnic infra

This process no doubt is controlled both by internal and external dynamics. However, the external factors that transcend national borders seem to be more important, i.e., the global population movements and also the impact of international society and public opinion favoring diverse identities, in short, the effect of globalization. Globalization can be defined as the third and, for the moment, final stage of the West's global expansion through both its infrastructure (capitalism) and superstructure (Western culture). These three stages can be schematized as follows (Oran 2009: 11):

Fig. 1: *Western Expansion*

	1 st Expansion (1490)	2 nd Expansion (1830)	3 rd Expansion (1990)
Driving Force	Mercantilism (trade capitalism)	First Industrial Revolution	Third Industrial Revolution (Information Age) 1970s: Multinational corp. 1980s: Communications Revolution 1990s: Disappearance of the rival
Method	Conquistadores, explorers, military occupation	Missionaries and explorers, companies, military occupation	Cultural-ideological impact
Justification	»We carry God's religion to the pagans«	»White man's burden«, »mission civilisatrice«, racist theories	»The hidden hand of the market«, »The will of inter- national community«, »The highest stage of civilization«, »We carry democracy«
Result	Colonialism	Imperialism	Globalization

Recognition of and respect for those identities by the State (and also by the society) are considered more and more a *sine qua non* criteria of the level of contemporary civilization.

identity can choose another infra ethnic identity to be his/her subjective identity if the latter is a sort of »supra identity« for him/her. Pomaks of Western Thrace, Greece, claiming to be Turks are a case in point (Oran 2010: 28-29).

– Supra identity: Identity attributed by the State to its citizen for building cohesion. To achieve this aim, a supra identity must obtain the consent of the existing infra identities; otherwise it'll be divisive instead of cohesion-building, as in the case of Kurds in Turkey.

– Subjective identity: Identity that the individual chooses of his/her free will.

– Objective identity: Involuntarily gained individual identity; it is inherited.

But along with this process we are also confronted with a crucial question: »How cohesion is to be achieved in such radically diversified societies?»

Cohesion and Diversity

This question points out to the wide acceptance that cohesion in a society lies in the uniformity of identities, generally defined as ethnic and religious until today. This acceptance is not viable at least for the following reasons:

- 1) Such uniform societies, i.e., those having no or very few »diverse« identities (in other words, minorities) are extremely rare, not more than the fingers of one hand;
- 2) Those rare societies are in no way immune to global population movements that could bring in, anytime, diverse (and foreign!) identities;
- 3) Those ethnically and religiously »uniform« societies can well comprise minorities other than ethnic or religious: linguistic, gender, cultural, and especially, social class.

The Source of the Problem

What weakens cohesion in a society is not diversity, but an inadequate cohesion ideology unable to hold people together because it fails to answer societal needs. As a matter of fact, entities of the Middle Age were cases of diversity *par excellence*: The serfs spoke different languages that the feudal lord didn't even understand, but cohesion in them was assured by an ideology accepted by all: Religion. Therefore, especially in the world we live today; an archaic, non-reformed cohesion ideology that refuses to manage and respect diversity in the nation-state,² and

²Nation-state is a type of State that refuses to recognize identities other than that of the dominant ethno/religious group, with the aim to build a homogenous/monolithic nation. It appeared in the last quarter of the 19th century W. Europe, when some countries felt the need to rally the monolithic support of the people behind their foreign policies when imperialist competition stiffened. Nation-state should not be confused with »national state«, a type of State born in 1789, where sovereignty belongs not to a monarch but to a concept called »nation«.

To achieve its aim of building a »nation«, nation-state will use assimilation (resetting/erasing the social memory of the »different« groups) and/or ethno-religious cleansing (getting rid of an unwanted group by methods ranging from exchange of populations to genocide).

For our purposes here nation-states can be categorized in two main groups: 1) Those using an ethnic supra identity (Germany); 2) Those using a territorial supra identity (France, because this country contains no ethnic group called »Français« or »France«).

Of course, a third/hybrid-like category exists, actually very close to the first one: Turkey. The »Turk« in M. K. Atatürk's famous dictum »How happy is the one who says I am a Turk!« refers to an ethnic group, but the words »who says« (instead of »who is«) points to a subjective

resorts to hard power instead, should be considered the main source of cohesion crises.

The all-important concept of ›cohesion ideology‹ (CI) is the main instrument that a State uses to hold people together. This concept requires further study here.

Every socio-economic order (SEO) is organized in the area of an economic market that we commonly call ›Motherland‹, and creates its own CI. This CI, formulated by the dominant class/group with the condition that it must obtain the consent of the masses to be successful, uses for its purpose a central concept that can be called Focus of Supreme Loyalty (FSL).

For instance, feudal SEO was organized in a very limited economic market called ›Manor‹, its CI was ›Religion‹ (because the Church was the only surviving institution at the end of the Dark Ages), and its FSL was ›God‹. As the SEO evolved into National Capitalism in which economy was organized within the much larger territory of the ›Nation-state‹, the CI became ›Nationalism‹, and the FSL became ›Nation‹.

As the SEO evolves more and more towards Global Capitalism (=globalization) in our time, the economic market is again enlarged as to encompass the whole Globe. The Individual is rising in a manner to bring to mind the possibility that it may become the new FSL. For now, what the CI of this last stage will be is totally unknown. All this can be schematized as follows (Oran, 2001: 21):

Fig. 2: Cohesion Ideology / Focus of Supreme Loyalty

Focus on Supreme Loyalty	God	Nation	The Individual?
Cohesion Ideology	Religion	Nationalism	?
Economic Market (motherland)	Manor	Nation-state	The Globe
Socioeconomic Order	Feudalism	National Capitalism	Global Capitalism

identity in a way that can also be claimed by non-Turk Muslim citizens. As a result, ›Turk‹ here and elsewhere in this article will be used not only for ethnic Turks, but also for assimilated Muslims who call themselves Turk. (On the other hand, neither the State or the society at large, nor the non-Muslims themselves will consider non-Muslim citizens as Turks because of the remnants of Millet System, explained below).

Cases in Identity Between the Nation-state and Its Citizen

Relations between the nation-state and its citizen can be studied under three ›situations‹, two of them being rather theoretical, and the third much more actual.

- 1) The ›diverse‹ citizen can accept the supra identity as his/her subjective identity. This is called ›voluntary assimilation‹ and no problem arises.
- 2) In a completely opposite situation the citizen can refuse the supra identity. This will create great conflict.
- 3) Much more probable is the situation where the citizen accepts the supra identity, but in return he/she demands recognition and respect for his/her infra identity. Here, the ball is definitely in the playing field of the nation-state.

These situations can be schematized as follows:

Fig. 3: Citizen-State Relations and Identity

	Citizen	State	Result
Situation 1	accept supra-identity as subjective	satisfaction	Voluntary Assimilation
Situation 2	refuse supra-identity	harsh reaction	Trauma secession/ massacre
Situation 3	accept supra-identity, but insist on infra-identity	respect infra-identity and accept a territorial supra identity	<i>Social Harmony</i>
		insist on assimilation on blood-based supra-identity	<i>Social Conflict</i>

Source: [www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard\(6-Identities\).pdf](http://www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard(6-Identities).pdf) (last accessed 29 June 2014)

Turkey

Diversity was the basis of cohesion in the Ottoman Empire, as is the case in all empires. This was so because, first of all, the Millet System,³ while considering all Muslims as one single ›Millet‹ (religious community), accorded ›diverse‹ communities (non-Muslims) autonomy and also offered them appropriate opportunities for trade, although it considered them second class subjects of the Sultan. Secondly, the Empire's supra identity (›Ottoman‹) made no reference to any particular group. All infra identities in the Empire, including the dominant Turks and Muslims, were united under this supra identity.

Fig. 4: *Infra and Supra Identities (Ottoman Empire)*

Ottoman						
Turk	Kurd	Armenian.	Greek	Circassian	Syriac	Jewish, etc., etc.

Source: [www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard\(6-Identities\).pdf](http://www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard(6-Identities).pdf)
(last accessed 29 June 2014); also: Oran 2010a: 134.

From Empire to Nation-state: Building the Secular Monolithic Nation

This cohesion lasted until ›parallel‹ cohesion ideologies surfaced during the era of Nationalism in the 19th century first in the form of Balkan nationalisms. Unable to update/reform its cohesion ideology according to the new situation, the semi-feudal Empire disintegrated after WW I. Its heir was the Turkish nation-state.

Nation-state is the anti-thesis of Empire in that it hates diversity and interferes with every aspect of the life of its citizen. The Republic of Turkey adopted Turkish nationalism as its cohesion ideology and drastically changed the nature of the Focus of Supreme Loyalty by suppressing all other infra identities and positioning the Turks above them all.

³ *Millet* System was the backbone of the Ottoman Empire's social structure. It divided the subjects of the Sultan into two distinct categories: *Millet-i Hakime* (Dominant Muslims) and *Millet-i Mahkume* (Dominated Non-Muslims; autonomous but second class subjects). *De iure*, the system was applied between 1454 and 1839, and it is still the *de facto* ›operating system‹ of the Muslim mind in Turkey today, non-Muslims having lost their autonomy but continuing to be *de facto* second class citizens.

Fig. 5: *Infra and Supra Identities (Turkish Republic)*

Turk						
Turk	Kurd	Armenian	Greek	Circassian	Syriac	Jewish etc., etc.

Source: [www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard\(6-Identities\).pdf](http://www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard(6-Identities).pdf)
(last accessed 29 June 2014); also: Oran 2010a: 134

The fact that the most important infra identity had become the supra identity was to cause a cohesion problem, especially for the second most important identity: The Kurds.

To build its secular and ethno-religiously monolithic ›nation‹ this nationalism applied a policy of ethno-religious cleansing towards the non-Muslims, a policy of suppression towards Islam and the Islamists, a policy of assimilation towards the non-Turkish Muslims.

Ethno-religious Cleansing: The Non-Muslims

The main factor of identity in the Balkans and the Middle East is neither language nor ethnicity, but religion, and even religious denomination. Non-Muslims living in a Muslim land are impossible to assimilate (and *vice-versa*). Therefore, Kemalist nation-building did not attempt to assimilate the non-Muslim citizens (Greeks [*Rum*, from *Romios* meaning – eastern – Roman], Armenians, Jews, Syriacs, etc.) and embarked on cleansing them in successive waves from the start of the Republic. For example, through repressive measures Greeks (*Rum*) have been reduced from around 120.000 in 1927 (first census) to a mere 2.000 at the end of 20th century. The percentage of non-Muslims in 1927 was 2.5 percent, it's 1 per thousand in 2013.

Of course, this nationalism had disastrous effects on the Turkish nation-state itself: It delayed the socio-economic development (industrialization) of Turkey by at least half a century because non-Muslim citizens subjected to cleansing were the only bourgeoisie of the country; it destroyed culture and civilization in Anatolia; it made secularism very difficult to apply because Sunni Islam, now unrivalled, scared Kemalism into adopting an anti-Islam policy that in 2002 would finally result in bringing AKP to power. This Islamist party strongly supported by the Muslim capital accumulation in Anatolia (›Anatolian Tigers‹) was also backed up by democrats fed up with Kemalist and Military tutorship.

All this is true; but on the other hand the atmosphere at the end of WW I and also the *Zeitgeist* of the era in Europe itself had not left much choice to Kemalism.

Assimilation: The Non-Turkish Muslims, excluding the Kurds

Except for the Kurds, assimilation of non-Turkish Muslims (such as the Bosniaks, the Pomaks ...) to Turkishness was a natural and easy process: They considered Turkey a safe-haven because immigrating there especially from the Balkans had simply saved their lives; they mainly came from ex-Ottoman lands; they were Muslim.

The Kurds

Kurds were Muslim as well. But things turned very different concerning this eastern Anatolian people with a tradition of insurrection.

M. Kemal Pasha (Atatürk after 1934) had been extremely careful not to even mention ›Turk‹ in the period prior to, or during, or right after the War of Independence (1919-1922) when referring to the people of the country. Instead, he had always used the term ›Ottoman-Muslim peoples‹, and had declared that the delegation of the Great National Assembly (of Ankara) at the Lausanne Peace Conference (1922-23) was the representative of Kurds as well as of Turks. Furthermore, Kurds had always enjoyed a *de facto* semi-autonomy in the Empire, and had few intelligentsia at that time.

Kemalist attitude drastically changed after the Lausanne Treaty of 24 July 1923, which laid down the foundations of the Turkish State, and the declaration of the Republic on 29 October 1923, which founded the regime. The first constitution (20 April 1924) fully displayed the term ›Turk‹ now.⁴

The first Kurdish uprising in the Republic (February 1925) started ten months after this Constitution; here and there rebellions broke out continuing well until the end of 1930s.

How did this happen? Kurds were different from other non-Turkish Muslims: They were quite numerous and were densely populated in mountainous areas difficult to reach; they spoke a totally different language; their mode of production (feudal) differed from the rest of the population; their religious denomination (25 per cent Alevi and 75 per cent Sunni Shafi'i) also differed from that of the Turks who were overwhelmingly Sunni Hanefis. More importantly, they were autochthonous. Compared to immigrated peoples, autochthonous peoples are incomparably more attached to their identity.

Many Kurds were assimilated to Turkishness as a result of the educational policies of the State and also because Turks were more developed economically and culturally. But Kurdish ethnic consciousness soon surfaced as urbanized young Kurds started publishing extensively when more democracy was possible after the end of '50s. The consecutive military coups (1960, 1971, 1980) were

⁴ For a table showing the use of ›Turk‹ before and after 1923 see Oran 1999: 210–211.

mainly aimed at crushing the Kurdish movement, although they were officially declared to be for ›upholding the national unity‹. As a result of this anti-Kurdish policy and especially after the prison tortures of the 1980 coup Kurds took up arms under PKK, starting from 1984.

So, when the Turkish Republic, which had always liked to think of the Kurds as ›Prospective Turks‹, realized that they could not be assimilated, the Chief of the Turkish General Staff characterized them as »The so-called citizens« (Yeğen 2006: 49-88) when a couple of Kurdish children had reportedly stepped on a Turkish flag in March 2005 during Kurdish spring festivities (Newroz).⁵

Kemalist Nationalism as a Cohesion Ideology

Kemalism was a Jacobine (reformist ›from above‹) movement of Westernized civilians, and more importantly, military elites of Republican Turkey bent on practically ›cloning‹ Western European civilization in its entirety.

If evaluated against the values of the time Kemalism has to be regarded as progressive and successful. It transformed ›Sultan's property‹ into a modern Nation-state; the *Umma* (Islamic community) into a Nation, ›Sultan's subjects‹ into Citizens.

As concerns the supra identity, Kemalism transformed ›Ottoman‹ (a name and adjective denoting the ruling dynasty) into ›Turk‹, the name of the dominant ethno-religious element accepted as subjective identity by many Muslim non-Turks.

To repeat, all this was perfectly in line with the *Zeitgeist* of the time. It is true that Turkey transcended the semi-feudal Empire thanks to Kemalism.

But one cannot help noticing that, taken from a different angle, Kemalism's success was limited to its time, and that the socio-political system prevalent during the inter-war period in Europe which it ›cloned‹ was entirely monist, even dictatorial, and even pro-fascist or fascist: Salazar in Portugal, Franco in Spain, Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Horthy in Hungary, Metaxas in Greece ...

›Esteemed Citizen‹ and Its Fall

Looked at from this perspective, the most important point in this cohesion ideology was what Kemalism considered ›Esteemed citizen‹, an image that could

⁵ Here, one cannot help noticing the similarity: The Germans had always liked to consider foreign workers as a sort of visiting work force: *Gastarbeiter*. And later, they hoped the guests would be assimilated.

shortly be interpreted/perceived as ›Secular Muslim Turk‹. This image had five *sine qua non* qualifications: Secular (in world outlook), *Hanefi* (as theological school of jurisprudence), *Sunni* (as religious denomination), Muslim (as religion), Turk (as ethnicity or as subjective identity).

These qualifications were no doubt ›modern‹ then, but they proved to be more divisive than cohesive especially as time went by: Secular (*laik* in Turkish) disavowed pious Muslims, the bulk of the Anatolian people, because it suppressed heterodox/folk Islam along with orthodox Islam; Hanefi disregarded the Kurds who were overwhelmingly Shafi'i; Sunni rejected the Alevis (both Turkish and Kurdish Alevis); Muslim discarded the Non-Muslims; Turk discriminated against the Kurds.

Kemalist Nationalism in the 21st Century

In brief, what was the focal point of Kemalism as a cohesion ideology in the beginning of the 20th century became its focal fragile point: Kemalism refused to follow its role model (W. Europe) when the latter totally changed and transformed itself into a global pluralist society, becoming a mere anti-thesis of its own image of the '30s.

Kemalism's refusal to reform had disappointing results for its cohesion ideology: Non-Muslims (representing W. Europe, the ideal of Kemalism) disappeared all together or almost; the Alevis (natural allies of Kemalism against Sunni Islam) became alienated; the Kurds revolted; and, most striking of them all, the Islamists came to power after parliamentary elections with 50 per cent of the votes.

The outcome was a situation where Kemalism, which successfully contemporized the country in the 1920s and '30s, became an obstacle to contemporary civilization. Turkey had transcended the semi-feudal Empire thanks to Kemalism but now had to move ahead despite Kemalism.

Revolution from Above

Is there a short-cut for developing countries to reach contemporary civilization, without losing precious time through hundreds of years of evolution experienced by Western societies? Or, in more direct terms, could ›revolution from above‹ be a panacea?

Those who may answer this crucial question positively should bear in mind that this ›revolution from above‹ is a one-shot solution. It can be applied only once with certain satisfactory results in the short term; afterwards it is inevitable to struggle with its natural consequences through normal political means.

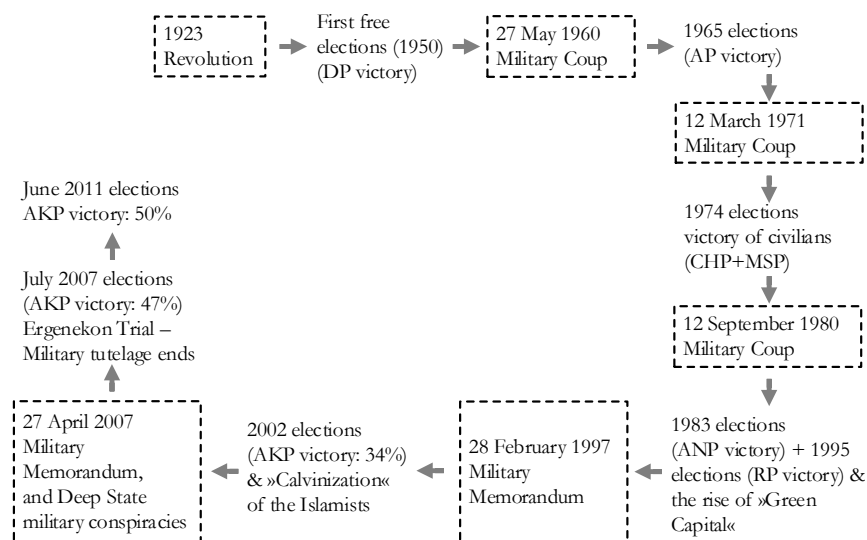
Kemalists after Kemal did not realize that this could only be a one-shot exercise. Turning it into a conservative ideology, the regime developed a ›Sèvres Syndrome‹⁶ thereby creating its own ›Zombies‹. Zombies, because Kemalism, unable to solve Turkey’s most pressing problems, swept them under the carpet, or, as the French say, stuffed the dead bodies into the closet instead of burying them properly, and they now are coming out of the closet like Zombies and scaring the hell out of the Turkish State and people: Armenian problem, Kurdish problem, Islamism problem, Alevi problem.

This syndrome exercised its most harmful impact on the Military. With the proclaimed objective of ›preserving the unity of the country‹ the Military staged a ›revolution from above‹ every ten years or so: 27 May 1960 coup, 12 March 1971 intervention/coup, 12 September 1980 coup, 28 February 1997 intervention, 27 April 2007 attempt for intervention.

Dialectics Created by the Military Coups

The outcome was a mere deception for all, except the Islamists: Every time the Military intervened, the popular/Islamist reaction became stronger. This process can be schematized as follows:

Fig.: 6: *Jacobinism and the Islamist Party*



Source: www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Tunis-17-06-2011.ppt (last accessed 29 June 2014)

⁶ Sèvres Peace Treaty (10 August 1920) was designed to dismember the Ottoman Empire at the end of WW I.

Impact of External Dynamics: EU Harmonization Packages

The impact on Turkey of the autocratic Europe of '20s and '30s continued unabated well until the end of the 20th century. Democratic Europe's influence started in earnest only in 2001 after Turkey was officially declared candidate to the EU in 1999. At the same time the civil society was recovering slowly and painfully from the ravages of the military coup of 1980 and gave great support to EU membership.

Between 2001 and 2004 a series of EU Harmonization Packages and constitutional reforms were enacted on five key issues: 1) More Freedom of Expression, Less »National Security State«;⁷ 2) Greater Freedom and Protection from the State; 3) Differentiation of »Thought« from »Violence«, and »Criticism« from »Insult«; 4) Containment of the Military's Political Power; 5) Fight Against Torture.⁸

Conservative Reaction

Implementation of these reforms has been painful. Civil and especially military bureaucracy strongly resisted against »foreign intervention«. For instance, when private courses to teach »local languages« (Kurdish) to adults were finally permitted, governorships closed some of them because the doors of the building they rented were 85 cm wide instead of 90 cm prescribed in the building code.

The Judiciary, the most conservative branch of the State machinery in Turkey, resisted particularly, treating very harshly the democrats and the Kurds, and very leniently the civil servants representing the Establishment (torturers from the police, the military, etc.). When in October 2004 the Prime Ministry's Consultative Council on Human Rights produced a Minority and Cultural Rights Report as a requirement of its own by-laws, two university professors, one of them the author of the Report and the other the president of the Council, were insulted by a parliamentarian at the Parliament: »One should ask their mothers to learn who their fathers are«. This person was acquitted in court on »freedom of expression«, and the two professors were taken to court for »spreading grudge and hate among the population« and for »humiliating the Judiciary«.⁹

Nevertheless these reforms meant a huge leap forward towards democracy. But at the end of 2004 they came to a standstill. The Establishment had had

7 National security State (as opposed to: human rights State): A type of state where fictitious security matters constitute a »valid« reason to violate human rights.

8 For more details see [www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard\(4-EUReform\).pdf](http://www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard(4-EUReform).pdf) (last accessed 29 June 2014).

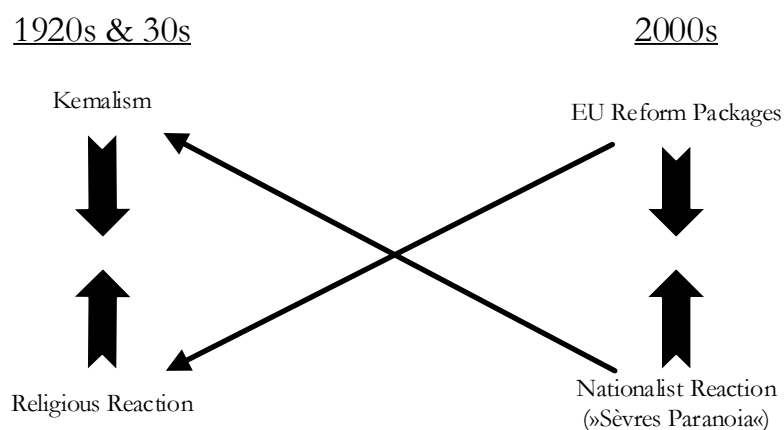
9 For more details see Oran 2007: 2–93.

enough, the Kemalist had developed a Sèvres Paranoia,¹⁰ and the government (moderate Islamist AKP) got scared.

At the same time, Islamophobia had risen in Europe: The Danish cartoons crisis erupted (Sept. 2005), ECtHR legalized the veil ban in Turkish universities (Nov. 2005), British politician Nick Griffin said: »Let's show these ethnics to the door« and called Islam »A wicked, vicious faith« (Jan. 2006), the Pope said: »Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new, and there you will find things only evil and inhuman« (Sept. 2006).

This reform movement constituted an irony of history: While the children/grandchildren of the Islamists who had opposed the Westernization reforms in the 1920s and '30s showing a religious reaction now supported EU Harmonization Packages, and the children/grandchildren of the revolutionary Kemalists of the 1920s and '30s opposed these Westernization measures showing a nationalist reaction under the influence of a Sèvres Paranoia. This irony can be schematized as follows:

Fig. 7: *Despair and hope*



Source: [www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard\(6-Identities\).pdf](http://www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard(6-Identities).pdf)
(last accessed 29 June 2014); also Oran 2006: 34.

¹⁰This paranoia gave birth to three main slogans: The Kurds and Western imperialists (the EU and the USA) are going to divide Turkey; the Islamists are going to force our girls to cover their heads; people keep voting for the wrong parties therefore secular order can only be protected by the Military.

Cohesion: The Actual Situation in Turkey

Since 2001 Turkey has worked hard to transcend the Nation-state. Islamic, Kurdish and Alevi identities were recognized officially. The long-standing practice of violation of non-Muslim rights came to an end to a large extent. Importantly, the practice of confiscation of the real estate belonging to their religious foundations was finally terminated.

The Problem of An Islamist Tutelage

Both as a State and a society Turkey was to make many zigzags in this process until the very day of this writing, but a much more serious situation developed: Islamists under AKP, after making important reforms and finally ending the Military's almost sempiternal tutelage on Turkish State and society by sending them to their barracks, they themselves started to build an Islamist tutelage.

Turkish foreign policy that was very successful until the end of 2010 fell in an undesirable situation as a result of AKP administration's ideological (Islamist) policy in the Middle East, concerning regimes in Syria and Egypt especially. By 2013 this policy has managed to have problematic or zero diplomatic relations with countries as different as Syria, Iraq, Israel, Iran, Armenia, Egypt, Russian Federation (RF), and the USA.¹¹

AKP has also alienated practically 50 per cent of the population in Turkey as it now seems determined to design political and societal life more and more according to Islamic principles:

This policy slowly started as early as 2004 when Prime Minister Erdoğan sued cartoonist Musa Kart for drawing him as a cat tangled around a bobble representing the religious high schools issue, a much discussed problem then (see cartoon). Later, he organized meetings with businessmen owning the media, after which the latter started firing the journalists opposing AKP. Alcohol sales were forbidden after 10 PM and its consumption made very difficult as it was banned on street sidewalks and in municipal and official restaurants, university campuses included. Abortion was made difficult to the point of being almost banned. Compulsory religion courses teaching Sunni Hanefi Islam prin-

11 As of December 2013 Turkey has no diplomatic relations with Cyprus and Armenia; it has no ambassador in Syria, Israel, and Egypt; the Turkish ambassador in Iraq has only been able to see Prime Minister Maliki once on a courtesy visit in the last two years; relations with the USA deteriorated after Turkey announced the purchase of Chinese missiles non-complying with NATO standards. Very good relations deteriorated with RF when Turkey supported Syrian rebel forces backed by Al-Qaeda to the point of letting them operate from Turkey (*Daily Telegraph*, in BBC Türkçe, 30 October 2013); treating their wounded soldiers and sending them arms and also mortar shells manufactured in Konya and Adana. 931 mortar shells were caught thanks to an information sent to the police concerning narcotics, not arms traffic.

ciples (thus, excluding Alevi beliefs) were introduced in elementary, secondary, and high schools. ›The Life of Prophet Mahomet‹ and ›Koran‹ classes were included among elective courses. Alevi *cemevi* was not recognized as a place of worship. Two ancient Orthodox churches used as museums, one in Izmit and one in Trabzon, were turned into mosques. Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç expressed his desire for the Santa Sofia Museum in Istanbul (originally an Orthodox church, the oldest cathedral in the world built in 537) to be turned into a mosque. On the other hand restoration of ancient churches, left to the destruction of time until then, continued.

Fig. 8: Erdoğan: »No panic. We promised to untangle this issue«



Daily Cumhuriyet, 9 May 2004;İHL: Religious high schools

As to the peace initiative concerning the Kurdish movement that Erdoğan started in 2009 (›Kurdish Opening‹) in tandem with the imprisoned PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, it was put in an awkward position when in November 2013 the prime minister invited to Diyarbakir Mesut Barzani with whom he conjointly pursued a policy against the Kurds of Syria. Barzani, leader of Kurdistan Democrat Party of Iraq, is the political rival of Öcalan who supports the Syrian Kurds.

Islamization policy gained special momentum when Gezi Park incidents¹² broke out in Istanbul and elsewhere. Male and female university students

¹² Gezi Park, a green space in the very center of Istanbul, was chosen by the government for the construction of a shopping mall under the pretext of re-building Ottoman military barracks demolished in 1940. When a passive resistance by university students and intellectuals mainly developed spontaneously, security forces set their tents afire on the night of 30 May 2013 and attacked the crowd with tear gas bombs and water canons for weeks, also using fire arms

staying in the same house were penalized; their neighbors were invited to spy on them. Some high school directors separated eating quarters of boys and girls. Male employees working in girl schools canteens were fired. Government subsidies to private theater companies were subjected to »staging decent plays« criterion. When parliament voted to end the headscarf ban for woman representatives, Erdoğan explained it not as a human right but as a »commandment of Islam«. Similarly, in his public speeches he always said: »We love you because of your Creator, Allah«.

A more serious situation developed when AKP government started to ask the Directorate of Religious Affairs, an official institution attached to the Prime Ministry, for opinion (*fetva*) on matters concerning secular everyday life. This included such questions as: »Can a woman and a man marry if, when children, they had sucked from the same wet nurse?« (concerning the foundation of an official Milk Bank); »Is (opening yoga schools, having a tattoo made, wearing an earring and growing long hair for man) consistent with Islam?« Concerning these questions the Directorate answered that such persons can not marry, that the yoga school would be consistent with Islam if it is for sporting purposes only, that earrings for men and tattoo are not consistent with Islam. Wearing long hair for man would be all right. This *fetva* issue got out of control. Recently the Directorate declared that bringing to discount a check was inconsistent with Islam because it involved interest on money.

In short, AKP, more precisely Prime Minister Erdoğan, have come to interpret Islam as a lifestyle and a cohesion ideology made of a mixture of Religion, Nationalism, and Conservatism. This mixture, instead of restoring a much shaken cohesion, excluded other infra identities just like the Kemalists had done before. It alienated Alevis, democrats, secular Muslims, Kemalists, non-Muslims, and the Kurds. By November 2013 this policy went up to the point of quarreling with the »Fethullah Movement, a very strong and rich Islamic order representing the rising Green Capital of Anatolia, that refused to be a vassal of AKP.

occasionally. On 21 June Association of Turkish Physicians announced the interim balance of casualties: 4 dead, 11 blinded eyes, 7832 wounded, 60 of which were critical cases (daily *Hürriyet*, 21 June 2013). When demonstrations spread all over the country police bullets, gas bomb shells and police brutality led to more deaths and injuries (8 deaths in total by June 2014). The government began to persecute every single person or association having had anything to do with Gezi Park incidents. Among those persecuted in court (or fired from work) were: Ordinary people, for banging their pots and pans on their balconies to support the demonstrators; Koç Holding, the most important business corporation in Turkey, for opening the lobby of one of its local hotels for treatment of the wounded; physicians, for treating the wounded; civil servants, for supporting the demonstrators on Twitter, etc.

What is to be done?

Today, Turkey seems more divided than ever between Islamists and secularists. On the other hand, cleavage between the Turkish State and the Kurds continues. Alevis are also very uneasy.

To repair a much shaken cohesion, Turkey needs to put forward a new supra identity to enable the people of Turkey to say: ›This is MY country!‹.

For this, a mentality should develop leading to the replacement of the actual supra identity based on ethnicity and religion (›Turk‹) with a supra identity based on secular AND territorial understanding of the term: ›*Türkiyeli*‹ (meaning: from Turkey).¹³ This change will enable those citizens who cannot say ›I am a Turk‹ to say: ›I am a Kurd of Turkey‹, or ›I am an Armenian of Turkey‹. Cohesion in Turkey can only be achieved by transcending Nationalism AND Religion, and acceding to a democratic stage where The Individual will be revered.

The table below schematizes the historic reform process in Turkey, with the last column showing its ideal target:¹⁴

Fig. 9: An Overall View of the Reform Process in Turkey

	Ottoman Empire	Turkish Republic 1 st wave of Mod. (1920s – 1930s)	Turkish Republic 2 nd Wave of Mod. (2001–)
State	Sultan’s Property (semi-feudal empire)	Nation-state (Nation security State)	Democratic State (Human R. State)
Society	Umma	Nation	Civil Society
People	Sultan’s subjects	Citizen (Compulsory)	Citizen (Voluntary)
Supra Identity	Ottoman (Muslim)	Turk (Muslim) (Ethno-religious)	<i>Türkiyeli</i> (Territorial)

13 It is true that *Türkiyeli* comes from *Türk*, but this does not change the fact that this land is called *Türkiye*, a name given by Venetians (*Turchia*) since the 14th century. Notwithstanding the fact that since August 1915 *Türkiyeli* is used as a territorial name, it’s true that, while recomforting 15 million Kurds cohesion can not be maintained by driving the rest of a population of 76 million into anxiety by changing the name of the country to ›Anatolian Republic‹, for instance. In this respect, *Türkiyeli* is no different than ›British‹, while *Türk* means ›English‹. On the other hand, Kurds have never objected to ›Turkey‹ as the name of the State.

14 See [www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard\(6-Identities\).pdf](http://www.baskinoran.com/konferans/Kokkalis-Harvard(6-Identities).pdf) (last accessed 29 June 2014). In this table ›compulsory citizen‹ means: An unhappy citizen because his/her infra identity is denied/suppressed. He/she continues to live in his/her country because he/she is not able to go to somewhere else. ›Voluntary citizen‹ is used to describe one who lives in his/her country because one is happy there.

Germany

Like Turkey, Germany has been going through a process of change and adjustment in dealing with its minorities since the beginning of the 21st century.

While Turkey treated unequally its autochthonous minorities such as Kurds, Alevis and non-Muslims by using ›indivisibility of the Turkish people‹ as its rationale, Germany shut its eyes (against out) to the reality of the influx of allochthonous minorities by using ›Germany is not an immigration country‹ as an official dogma until the end of the 20th century.

Efforts to transcend the Nation-state: SPD / Greens

As early as 1979 Heinz Kühn, then Commissioner for Foreigners, published the ›Kühn Memorandum‹ and objected to this official dogma by proposing a state-conceptual integration policy. But Germany then ignored the cries of alarm and failed to invest in the integration of immigrants at this early stage (Bade 1994: 17).

Almost 50 years have passed since the first recruitment agreement for the so called ›guest workers‹ was concluded in the 1950s (with Turkey in 1961) before Germany abandoned its denial of reality and took important steps in the integration policy.

The paradigm shift from the ›Fortress Germany‹ towards the recognition of Germany as a country of immigration in 1998 was slowly introduced by the SPD-Greens government of Gerhard Schröder and Joschka Fischer.

2000 Citizenship Law

The focus of migration policy reforms included the elimination of the citizenship law of 1913 originating during the time of the Empire. To this end, the old principle of descent based on *ius sanguinis* was to be modified as *ius soli*, i.e. one based on a modern territorial principle. In principle, acquisition of German citizenship would no longer to be dependent on the abandonment of a previous nationality.

This general acceptance of dual citizenship (*Doppelpass*) was innovative insofar as it was officially endorsed by a government in the Federal Republic for the first time. But the SPD-Greens coalition was reliant on a compromise with the opposing majority holding parties in the Bundesrat (second legislative house of the German Parliament, see below). The concession made by the government to the opposition was to adopt the option of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) model: In addition to the citizenship of their parents, children born in Germany of foreign nationals would obtain by birth the German citizenship

also, but after reaching the age of 23 they would have to choose one sole citizenship (option obligation model). This law became effective on 1 January 2000 and is still in force at the end of 2013.

This phase of German democratization was not influenced by globalization; it came about by internal dynamics when SPD-Greens moved ahead to finally get rid of the ›Germany is not an immigration country‹ label and introduced this long overdue safeguard to keep people in Germany together.

2005 Immigration Law

At the beginning of 2000, the debate on the issue of immigration flared up again. Making reference to the lack of highly skilled professionals in Germany, Chancellor Schröder (SDP) presented his Green-Card initiative and thus promised an industry-related opening of the labor market for foreign IT specialists.

Through this Green-Card discussion, the debate about immigration gained momentum again and incited the SPD-Greens coalition to find an agreement on a new immigration law. The immigration law was approved by the German Bundestag in 2002 where the SPD-Greens had the majority. The law, however, had yet to pass the Bundesrat.

This phase was accomplished thanks to a mixture of internal and external dynamics. On the one side there was a demographic phenomenon: The population of Germany was aging and also decreasing. On the other side was a sharp global competition to attract talented workforce and Germany was way behind in this field.

Thus, for the first time in the history of the Federal Republic the integration/ immigration issue was formally freed from taboos during the SPD-Greens coalition period (Vogel, Wüst 2003: 284). Important steps had been taken ›because the Federal Republic for the first time considered itself as an immigration country and elaborated this novel approach with appropriate (legal) regulations, such as promotional measures of integration and a selection procedure for the immigration of highly skilled professionals‹ (Butterwegge 2009:156). Hence the way was clear for further reforms in the field of integration and migration policy.

2006 Anti-discrimination Law

While Gerhard Schröder was still in power in 2005, an anti-discrimination law was also passed in the Bundestag despite intense criticism from business associations and the CDU-/CSU-Opposition. The law entered into force in 2006.

As can be imagined, this phase was not realized easily. Because of its recent past, the German people refused to think of themselves in terms of discrimina-

tion and racism, and strongly resisted this law. Business circles were also uneasy, fearing that their unhappy employees and the immigrants would continuously sue them. At the end EU Commission proceeded against Germany at the European Court of Human Rights in 2004. In 2005 the Court decided that Germany violated EU law. When CDU came to power that year, it put this law into effect with SPD support because otherwise Germany would have to pay a fine. Therefore, this phase owed a great deal to EU pressure.

Winds of Change in the CDU

When the government changed and Chancellor Angela Merkel (CDU) came to power in 2005 particular emphasis was placed on the immigration policy. For the first time an official Integration Summit was organized in 2006 in the Federal Chancellery to which representatives of migrants and migrant organizations were invited to create an integration plan.

In the same year the German Islam Conference was founded to promote a long-term dialogue between the German state and Muslims living in Germany. These two institutions have not only been of symbolic value, but also have contributed to the recognition and appreciation of immigrants in Germany.

In 2012, the ›Determination of Professional Qualifications Act for the Recognition of Foreign Professional Qualifications (BQFG)‹ entered into force as well as the ›EU Directive to Facilitate Highly Skilled Immigration‹ (the so-called ›Blue Card‹) (Steller 2013). These laws were milestones in establishing a liberal immigration policy in Germany.

Reaction from certain political parties and the society

1999 CDU Campaign Against Dual Citizenship, Hessen

The announcement of a reform of the citizenship law accepting multiple nationalities led to its rejection by the ›Union‹ of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) and the Christian Social Union of Bavaria (CSU). This CDU/CSU opposition organized a nationwide signature campaign against the dual passport in the run-up to the federal state election in Hessen in 1999 (Klärner 2000). CDU was successful because this campaign was supported by parts of the German population and had been instrumental in the CDU/FDP government change in the state of Hessen in 1999, and thus in the loss of the Bundesrat majority of the SPD. That's why the SPD-Greens coalition was reliant on a compromise with the opposing majority holding parties and agreed to the option obligation model of the FDP.

2002 Immigration Law Cancelled by Constitutional Court

The Union (i.e. CDU/CSU) ruled states filed a lawsuit at the Federal Constitutional Court against the Immigration Law. The Court cancelled this law taking note of a procedural error during the voting.

In May 2004, after a long dispute between the government and the parliamentary opposition, a compromise emerged and the law was re-adopted on 1 January 2005.

2010 ›Sarrazin Debate‹, Rising Xenophobia and Discrimination

Several studies pointed out to persistent discrimination of migrants at school, at work and at administrative bodies like Anti-Discrimination Agency (Antidiskriminierungsstelle: 2012; 2013). Xenophobia and anti-Semitism in Germany were alarming. A survey carried out by the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation showed that one out of four citizens in Germany (has) had xenophobic beliefs and almost 10 percent of the Germans (are) were manifest anti-Semites (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung: 2012).

Openly racist statements, made by the former German Federal Bank board member and SPD-politician Thilo Sarrazin in his book ›Germany abolishes itself‹, were shared by 56 percent of the interviewees according to a survey (Forschungsgruppe Wahlen, Politbarometer 2010). Sarrazin's book was a best-seller in Germany for months and sold 1.5 million copies.

Sarrazin's work became a target of negative reactions coming from all over the world as well as from Germany.

Germany: An Analysis

›Diverse society in Germany has not failed. Germany has just begun dealing with the integration problem. The arguments of some populist opinion makers like Sarrazin have not proved valid.

However, the bitter controversies over dual citizenship, the Immigration Act, and ›Sarrazin debate‹ clearly demonstrated how painful it was for Germans to accept Germany as an immigration country and as a diverse society.

In this process, different political camps in Germany underwent a learning process: On the one hand, the conservatives had to bid farewell to its ›the Federal Republic is not a country of immigration‹ slogan. On the other hand, the left-liberal spectrum in the country learned that it needed to get rid of its delusion that the multicultural society was a colorful folkloric event, and realized that there were problematic developments among immigrants as well.

It became clear that integration does not work automatically and that it is not self-perpetuating. It is a rather lengthy process, sometimes extending over several generations. Such getting together of the host society and the migrant population on mutual differences may need at least three generations (Brinkmann, Uslucan 2013: 399).

As Bade said, Germany finds itself at a stage of »a catch-up integration policy« (Bade 2005). In recent years Germany has begun promising initiatives towards a conceptually sound, actively shaped immigration and integration policy (Anderson 2013: 25). Even the much criticized option obligation formulated against dual citizenship is about to be discarded according to the coalition agreement signed by CDU/CSU-SPD, which means that, upon the implementation of this agreement all children born and raised in Germany may keep their dual citizenship for good. Hence, the multicultural society with its hybrid identities has become a reality in Germany, which needs to be developed jointly in the sense of a contemporary multiculturalism (Heins 2013). Due to globalization and the demographic realities, the decision makers in Germany feel now compelled to deal with their »old« and »new« immigrants more openly than before (Hochrangige Konsensgruppe 2011). As Pries and Westerholt aptly formulate, industrial capitalism was determined by »managing production processes«, but the knowledge-based service society depends on the »management of migratory flows of creative and qualified people« (Pries, Westerholt 2013: 66; cf. Florida 2005).

However, the creation of an attractive living and working environment for immigrants as well as for refugees requires a »welcome and recognition culture« in Germany (Copur, Steller 2013). With this new culture, migrants already living in Germany can also be offered access to chances of promotion by targeted support, and this will enable them to contribute more to the economic development of Germany (Laschet 2009).

In lieu of conclusion: a comparison

This table compares the experiences of and actual situations in Turkey and Germany separately under »State« and »society« because these two entities act differently on some issues.

	Turkey	Germany
Supra Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State: Ethno-religious ID: ›Türk. - Only a Muslim is considered a Turk. Only non-Muslims are considered minority, and the word minority has pejorative connotations. - Society: Subjective ID welcome for Muslims. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State: Ethnic ID: ›German. Despite the 2000 Nationality Law this ID will become territorial only after its name/mentality changes (see: Ideal Supra Identity below). - Society: Takes into account the objective ID, not the subjective ID. (Mesut Özil, star soccer player took the risk of being called a traitor by the Turks when he chose to play in the German national team, and many Germans criticized him for not singing the national anthem).
Recognition of and Respect for Infra Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State: Kurdish identity recognized in 1991 and 2009 but many zigzags in official practice (children names in Kurdish recognized but municipal park names overruled) - Alevi recognition started in 2008 but State does not recognize their worship places, imposes compulsory Sunni religion courses. - Society: Worse. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State: Generally, no problem concerning recognition or respect. Option obligation is about to be abolished, according to the coalition agreement signed by CDU/CSU-SPD in 2013. But some institutions still resist: Federal Criminal Police (BKA) destroyed evidence against the NSU on the very last day, 11 Nov. 2011 (NSU, National Socialist Underground is an organization responsible for killing 8 Turks and 1 Greek in 2000-2006) - Society: recognition OK, but respect is controversial. - Problem of tolerance when immigrant languages are spoken, especially Turkish and Arabic. - The Media was not sensitive over killings of the migrants, and Ms. Merkel apologized for them years later, only in 2012.
Existence of a Leading Culture (Leitkultur) against Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State: Yes. Kemalism closed the vocational religious schools, and now AKP re-produces them profusely.) - Society: Yes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State: Yes, but became weaker since 2005 although Ms. Merkel recently said: ›We need a leading culture, which looks more like an antidote to multiculturalism. - Society: Yes. Sarrazin sold 1,5 million. <i>Stern</i> reports: 60 per cent of Germans support Sarrazin at least partially.

	Turkey	Germany
		A F. Ebert opinion poll in 2010 reports: 1 out of 3 Germans says Germany became too alien, 1 out of 10 Germans wants dictatorship.
Claim of Homogeneity	<p>- State: Yes. - Recent efforts to write a new constitution failed mainly because conservatives wish to stick to the 1980 Junta's definition that declares everyone a Turk: »Anyone affiliated with the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk.</p> <p>- Society: Yes. Serious reaction to »Minority Report, to Kurds, Alevis, Armenian Conference, etc.</p>	<p>- State: No since 2005. Because: 1) Population is ageing; 2) Companies need to attract talented immigrants (effect of globalization); 3) Immigrants now have new means of impact: They take part in politics.</p> <p>- Society: Yes. Some people still firmly believe: »Germany is not an immigration country«.</p>
Discrimination	<p>- State: Much less now but until very recently non-Muslims were considered »foreigners«, Kurdish parties were closed, Alevi associations banned from carrying this name.</p> <p>- Society: Problems in housing and jobs in the Aegean and Eastern Black Sea regions.</p>	<p>- State: No since anti-discrimination law of 2006, but there are complaints about the education system</p> <p>- Society: Problems in housing, in job interviews, and when entering discos.</p>
Assimilation	<p>- State: Yes. Turkey assimilated non-Turkish Muslims, tried to assimilate Kurds.</p> <p>- Society: Yes.</p>	<p>- State: Germany never hoped to assimilate Turkish workers but hoped that the first generation would return, and now hopes that the second etc. will be integrated. But it is not willing to spend much effort for it: Ms. Merkel says that multiculturalism has failed; but Germany has never tried it yet. Here, the Judiciary seems even more problematic than the bureaucracy as the circumcision issue shows. How can one expect to integrate the immigrants if one waits for thousands of years and suddenly remember to interfere with the foreskin of the children in 2012 AD?</p> <p>- Society: Wants neither assimilation nor diversity. It wants homogeneity.</p>

	Turkey	Germany
Ideal Supra Identity	<i>Türkiyeli</i> (territorial)	A territorial supra identity in line with ›British‹ or › <i>Türkiyeli</i> ‹. This concept is totally absent in German language, a situation that reflects the state of mind of the Germans. In this situation one can think of hyphen-identities too long to be practical, like ›Deutsch-Türke‹ or ›Deutscher Staatsbürger türkischer Herkunft, ›türkeistämmige/r Deutsche/r‹, etc. The ideal supra identity would have surely been ›Deutschländer‹ if this had not already been in use as a well known commercial brand. ›Bundesbürger‹ could be an alternative.
Advantages	- Kurds are of the same religion, - Non-Muslims are too few in numbers.	- No fear of secession: Muslims are not autochthonous, - Minorities have no kin-state or kins in the neighborhood, - Democratic culture is established, - Germany is prosperous
Disadvantages	- Kurds are autochthonous, numerous, have a tradition of upheaval; - Kurds now have a kin-state over the border; - Democratic culture in Turkey not strong enough; - Turkey not prosperous enough.	- Religious, linguistic, ethnic, class differences are combined. - New laws too recent.

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