

## Exploring the Kurdish Population in the Turkish Context

### Introduction

Accurate information about the demography and socio-economic circumstances of the Kurdish population in Turkey is scarce, although, their population, as an issue of international politics in the Middle East and recently in Europe attracts considerable attention.

Three recent developments caused a sharp increase in interest in the Kurdish question: first, the 15 year old struggle between the Turkish Army and Kurdish guerrillas since 1984; second, about 500,000 Kurdish refugees fled from Iraq into Turkey and Iran and then transferred to Western Europe and North America for resettlement after Saddam's brutal attacks on them between 1989-1991; and finally, in 1999 the arrest of the leader of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) by Turkish government forces in Kenya leading to street demonstrations as Kurdish immigrants in Europe protested against the Greek government's claimed involvement in the arrest and renewed unrest among Kurds.

This renewed interest notwithstanding, little detailed information is available on Turkey's Kurdish population. Most socio-demographic studies refer to Turkey as a whole, and not to particular ethnic and religious communities within the state territory. As the largest non-Turkish ethnic group in Turkey, there is a clear case for analysing the Kurds separately. This paper attempts to fulfil this need for Turkey by outlining the distinct and diverse characteristics of Kurds. In this regard this study is an initial attempt in this direction although there are some partial studies on the Kurdish sector of the population in Turkey (Özsoy et al 1992; Mango, 1994; TOBB, 1995; Mutlu, 1996; Yduygu et al, 1999).

The Kurdish population is spread over the heart of the Middle East, with the largest portion living in Turkey, the focus of this paper. According to several sources, the majority based on intuitive guesses since there are no reliable census data, more than 20 million Kurds live in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Armenia. There are also a considerable number of Kurdish

immigrants living in European countries, no less than 500,000 (Migration News, 1999; Van Bruinessen, 1998).<sup>1</sup>

In the first section of this paper, the context of the study is elaborated by referring to the Kurdish question, which is followed by a description of the data and methods employed in this study. Secondly, the estimates of the Kurdish population are discussed and an estimate based on TDHS data is presented. Thirdly, the demographic structure and socio-economic patterns of the Kurdish population are elaborated. Measuring and defining ethnicity regarding Kurds is a complex and difficult issue, which is beyond the scope of this descriptive study. However, there is no doubt about their distinct ethnicity, which made this study possible, and also there are other studies handling this question including a previous study by the author (Mutlu, 1996; McDowall, 1996; Van Bruinessen, 1998 and Ýçduygu, Romano and Sirkeci, 1999).

#### **A Brief Note on the Kurdish Question**

The Kurdish Question in Turkey has a long history (Barkey 1993; McDowall, 1996; Robins, 1993; Entessar, 1989; Van Bruinessen, 1992a). The main features of the Kurdish question as a threat to the “national unity of Turkey” arose from the establishment of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s since the Treaty of Sevres of 10 August 1920 prescribed a possible Kurdish state in the region comprising the Southeast of Turkey and some territories of Iran and Iraq (Robins, 1993:659). In this regard the primary historical causes of the Kurdish question in Turkey can be elaborated as state- and nation-building deficiencies in the early Republican period of the 1920s. Although detailed analyses of the Kurdish question in Turkey go back several centuries (McDowall, 1996), the solidification of Kurdish ethno-nationalism was a product of the 1980s and 1990s (Ýçduygu et al, 1999).

Concomitant to the world-wide upswing in ethnic nationalism over the last thirty years, there has been an upsurge in Kurdish nationalism in Turkey since the late 1970s, although, there were many previous influential Kurdish movements or rebels before (McDowall, 1996). In evidence, Cemal Gursel, when declaring himself president after the military intervention in 1960, in Diyarbakir, capital of the south-eastern region, stated that “There are no Kurds in this country. Whoever says he is a Kurd, I will spit in his face” (cf.

---

<sup>1</sup> Actually all these figures are coming from the information provided by German police authorities on the occasion of Newroz disturbances in 1996 (Van Bruinessen, 1998:51).

Muller, 1996:177). This was a naked expression of the denial for decades until 1991, the first time Kurdish “reality” was recognised in the speeches of some political leaders such as Ozal, the former Turkish president, and Demirel, the current Turkish president (Barkey, 1993:55; McDowall, 1996; Muller, 1996:181, Ýçduygu et al, 1999). Despite improvements allowing some freedom of expression of Kurdish ethnicity, the major impediments over these freedoms are still there. For instance the use of the mother tongue is still restricted through denial of Kurdish education. Political restrictions are also prevalent for any kind of Kurdish organisations as many Kurdish political parties were banned and parliamentarians arrested in the 1990s (Yavuz, 1996; Barkey, 1996; Beriker-Atiyas, 1997; Kirisci and Winrow, 1997; Ýçduygu et al., 1999).

The Kurdish question is based not only these ethno-nationalist demands and their denial but also on a striking underdevelopment of the region mainly populated by Kurds. As one of the root causes of the question, economic and social backwardness is still evident for the region and generally for the Kurds (White, 1998 and Ýçduygu et al., 1999). Consequently, the issue remains unsolved and is still a major problem for Turkey in terms of both the national “unitary” state structure and the internal chaos caused by ethnic confrontations among Kurdish and Turkish citizens and also as a problem of socio-economic under-development in a large part of the country.

### **Data and Methods**

Studying ethnic groups remains difficult because of the lack of information (Haug et al., 1998). The term ethnicity usually indicates a minority population in the boundaries of a nation-state and generally involved in some sort of challenge. Often under these political conditions, the information -registrations, censuses, counts, surveys- tend to be manipulated for or against that minority. Another difficulty lies in the ambiguity of defining ethnicity. There is no commonly adopted definition of ethnicity except some partial components of it such as language and common culture (Hutchinson and Smith, 1993). In the Turkish context, which is characterised by a long lasting denial of different ethnicities and an imposed official “catch all” Turkishness based on territorial unity, defining and measuring ethnicity becomes a more difficult task.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> This catch all idea of nationhood is based on Kemalist nationalism, that claims all people living within the boundaries of Turkish Republic are Turkish. Many examples of this expression can be seen in the actual media discussions, official press releases, etc. However, as obvious, this approach is also a part of denial of other ethnicities at least in the level of labelling it under the name of one of its components; “Turkish”.

Data availability is both a practical and a political problem in Turkey. Although an ethnicity question has been included in national censuses until 1990, results have not been publicised since 1965, because of political (or as officially said, “security”) concerns. There have been several very politically oriented, populist and low quality surveys conducted in recent years.<sup>3</sup> The problem of data availability on ethnicity is solved with the use of 1993 TDHS (Turkish Demographic Health Survey) data. Measuring ethnicity remains a complex issue of dispute whereas in this study, it is dealt with by using the mother tongue as an absolute measure of ethnicity.<sup>4</sup>

The data used in this study come mainly from 1993 Turkish Demographic Health Survey (TDHS), which is a nation-wide representative sample survey covering 8,619 households and 6,519 ever-married women aged 15-49. TDHS is a part of the world wide Demographic Health Surveys Program and was carried out by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, Turkey. Two main questionnaires were used to collect TDHS data at household and individual levels.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the Kurdish population is estimated through mother tongue questions asked in the individual questionnaire and also the language in which the interview was conducted, which is recoded as ethnicity in the household data. All substantial analysis of this research is based on the distinction made through these variables distinguishing ethnic groups of the population of Turkey. Each eligible woman in the households interviewed in the survey was asked about her mother tongue, mother’s mother tongue, father’s mother tongue, husband’s mother tongue, husband’s mother’s mother tongue and husband’s father’s mother tongue. For this study if the respondent replied to any one of these questions as “Kurdish”, she and her

---

<sup>3</sup> For instance two reports produced by TOBB (Turkish Chambers and Bar Associations) and Turk-Metal trade union in 1995 and 1996. On the other hand, it is to be noted here, Demographic Health Surveys have covered detailed information about ethnicity in terms of mother tongue but they have not ever been publicized because of political context, which imposing reluctance among researchers.

<sup>4</sup> Measuring ethnicity by mother tongue is not adequate after all complex discussions on definitions of ethnicity and has shortcomings. However, as a data-driven study, this paper is far from imposing new measurements and definitions on the data used here. Mother tongue data is the only potential indicator for ethnicity in the absence of any other alternative information other than intuitive guesses. Therefore, mother tongue is used as the absolute measure of ethnicity in response to the available information in the data set.

<sup>5</sup> The details of the design of the survey and contents of the questionnaires are available in the Report (MH, et al., 1994).

household are identified as “Kurdish” to have as many Kurdish households as one can.

This is a justifiable methodology since marital patterns shows that Turkish people do not marry Kurdish counterparts therefore there is very little overlap. Only about 1 per cent of Turkish women are married to Kurdish men and about 7 per cent of Kurdish women are married to Turkish men. Second and more importantly, the political context in Turkey is dominated by a strong Turkish nationalism which has repressed the Kurdish population for many decades since the establishment of the Republic in the early 1920s. Therefore it is difficult, even impossible in some cases, for Kurdish people to express their identity. This can be considered as a politico-contextual weight. Thirdly, when the same process is applied to all ethnic groups only a very small portion of households seemed to overlap. The analyses of this investigation are based on household data enriched with the ethnicity variables from individual data, which enables one to make reliable estimates for the entire Kurdish population in Turkey.

To identify Kurds in their natural context and to highlight their case, the results are presented as comparisons with general patterns of the population in Turkey. Finally, in this study of the Kurds, a sample comprising 5716 Kurdish people in 823 households have been analysed.

#### **A Transnational Population: Kurds**

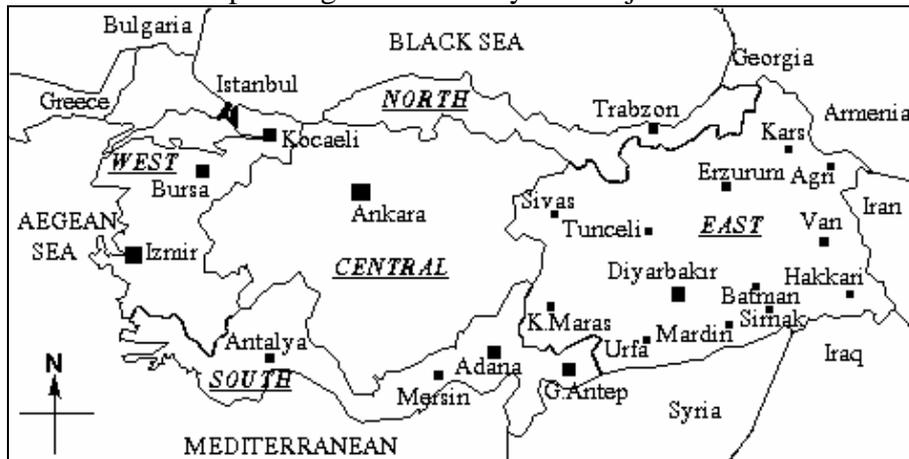
As an ethno-national community, Kurds are living in an area spread into territories of five countries in the Middle East, which are Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Armenia (see Map 1). Moreover, a considerable Kurdish immigrant population, estimated about 500,000, live in Western European countries, largely in Germany, Netherlands, France and Scandinavia (Franz, 1994 and Van Bruinessen, 1998). This aspect enables us to call them a transnational community.<sup>6</sup>

The distribution of the Kurdish population through these five Middle Eastern countries may be summarised as 45 percent in Turkey, 20 percent in Iraq, 20 percent in Iran, 5 percent in Syria, 5 percent in Armenia and last 5 percent in other countries although exact figures are not available and controversial (Gunter, 1988; McDowall, 1996; Van Bruinessen, 1998).

---

<sup>6</sup> For definitions and discussions on transnational and transnationalism see, Portes (1996); Wahlbeck (1998).

Map 1. Regions of Turkey and major cities



\* Map is designed according to TDHS regionalisation based on administrative borders of provinces (MH,HIPS, DHS, 1994).

*The Kurdish Population in Turkey: size and distribution*

The Kurdish population is elaborated here in terms of its size and distribution; structure; and socio-economic characteristics by referring to the age and sex structure; spatial distribution in terms of province, region and type of residence; fertility and mortality; housing and migration. The main aspects are presented in the form of comparative tables and figures.

The size of the Kurdish population in Turkey is rather controversial mainly because of the lack of census data since 1965. According to the 1965 census, almost 8 per cent of people said their mother tongue was Kurdish and another 6 per cent was recorded as people whose second language was Kurdish. However at this point, the poor quality of census data should be noted (Mutlu, 1996:520-1). According to Mutlu (1996) the 1965 census provides the most accurate data on ethnic distribution of the population and bases his estimations on that census. Finally, he concludes that the proportion of Kurds was 10 per cent in 1965 and 12.6 per cent in 1990. Another recent study estimated the Kurdish population as 6 per cent in 1992 by projecting census data from 1935 and 1965 (Özsoy et al., 1992). As Table 1 reveals, these estimates based on different assumptions and different sources range from 6 per cent to 23 per cent. There are also some intuitive guesses (often without acknowledging any source) and various contradictory estimates of the Kurdish population in Turkey in the early

1990s varying from 3 million (5 per cent) to 20 million (35 per cent) (Yçduygu et al., 1999).

Table 1. The Kurdish population as percentages of the total population, by different sources, 1965-1993.

	1935 Census	1965 Census	1990s
Buckley (1994)	--	--	23
Minority Rights Group (1991)	--	--	19
Mutlu (1996)	9.2	9.98 <sup>a</sup>	12.6
Özsoy et al, (1992)	9.2	7.6	6.2
Van Bruinessen (1998)	--	--	20
<b>Estimations of this study</b>			
TDHS (by ethnicity variable)	--	--	15.2 <sup>b</sup>
Mean of mother tongue questions in TDHS	--	--	15.8 <sup>c</sup>
Combination of 6 questions	--	13.1 <sup>d</sup>	17.8 <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Projection based on population growth rate. <sup>b</sup>For 5972 households with 31868 individuals. <sup>c</sup>Ranges between 15.2 to 16.3. <sup>d</sup>Includes second language also. <sup>e</sup>For 5970 households which have information on mother tongue questions and consist 32,130 people. The total size of individuals covered in TDHS is 38284.

Several estimates are possible using the TDHS data and here all of these are presented (Table 1) to avoid a politically biased approach. Another estimation, which counts women who answered “Kurdish” to at least one of these mother tongue questions and her household also counted as Kurdish, appears as 17.8 per cent. This gives the highest ratio one can could estimate through this survey. On the other hand, each questions of mother tongue also gives us an average of 15.8 percent (see Table 2) Among women interviewed in the survey, according to the recoded variable of ethnicity, Kurds constitute 15.2 percent (see Table 2). This study uses the highest ratio in the subsequent analysis of the Kurdish population using it as a politically weighted ratio by stressing on the difficulty of expressing ethnic identity for any survey with governmental involvement<sup>7</sup> and an ‘environment of insecurity’<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> HIPS is a state university and conducted the survey in collaboration with the Ministry of Health.

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed discussion on the concept of ‘environment of insecurity’ see Icduygu et al., (1999).

Table 2. The Kurdish population identified by mother tongue questions in the TDHS 1993.

Language	Mother Tongue Answers					
	Respondent's	Mother's	Father's	Husband's	Husband's mother's	Husband's father's
Turkish	81.58	79.48	79.22	80.56	78.81	78.58
<b>Kurdish</b>	<b>15.21</b>	<b>15.94</b>	<b>16.32</b>	<b>15.40</b>	<b>16.03</b>	<b>15.97</b>
Arabic	1.91	2.18	2.17	2.39	2.49	2.58
Other*	1.30	2.40	2.29	1.66	2.67	2.83
Total	% 100.0	% 100.0	% 100.0	% 100.0	% 100.0	% 100.0
N	31,908	31,911	31,899	31,899	31,924	31,904

\* Includes other sizeable ethnic groups such as Circassians, Georgians, Greeks, Armenians and Jews.

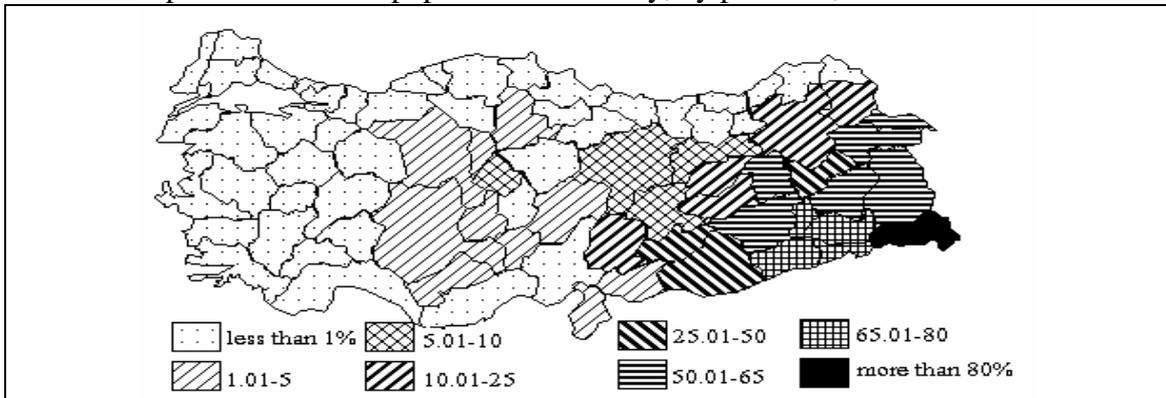
Table 3. The Distribution of the Kurdish population by region, %  
% of Kurdish Population, 1993

	households	Individuals
West	10.8	8.5
South	11.6	9.9
Central	12.5	11.2
North	0.1	0.2
East	64.8	70.1
N	823	5716

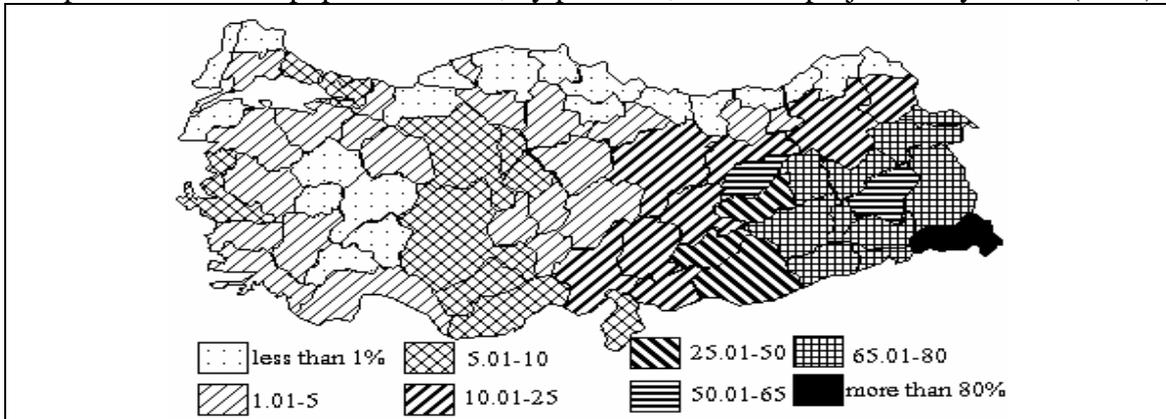
Kurdish people may still be identifiable with a region as they are amassed in the south-east part of the country as it was in the past (see Maps 2,3,4). This is evident in the findings of this study and in the detailed estimations of Mutlu (1996). According to Mutlu's estimations, which are supported by the analysis of TDHS data, the majority of Kurds live in the Eastern and South-eastern parts of the country. Their proportion in provincial populations ranges from 25 per cent to 90 per cent in the region and according to TDHS, 70 per cent of Kurds are living in the East (see Table 3 and Map 4). Besides, it is to be noted that the Kurdish population have experienced a dramatic dispersal throughout the second half of the century in terms of internal and international migration. The proportion of Kurds in all regions of Turkey have increased since 1965; in 1965, 0.9 percent of population in the West, 5 percent in the South, 4 percent in the Central, 0.5 percent in the North and 48 percent in the East was Kurdish. According to the TDHS 1993, these rates were 4 percent, 11 percent, 6 percent, 2 percent, and 60 percent respectively. This overall increase may be explained by the effect of migration from the East to other parts of the

country, but also it “must be due to high fertility, as well as declining mortality rates” (Koç and Hancioglu, 1999:4).

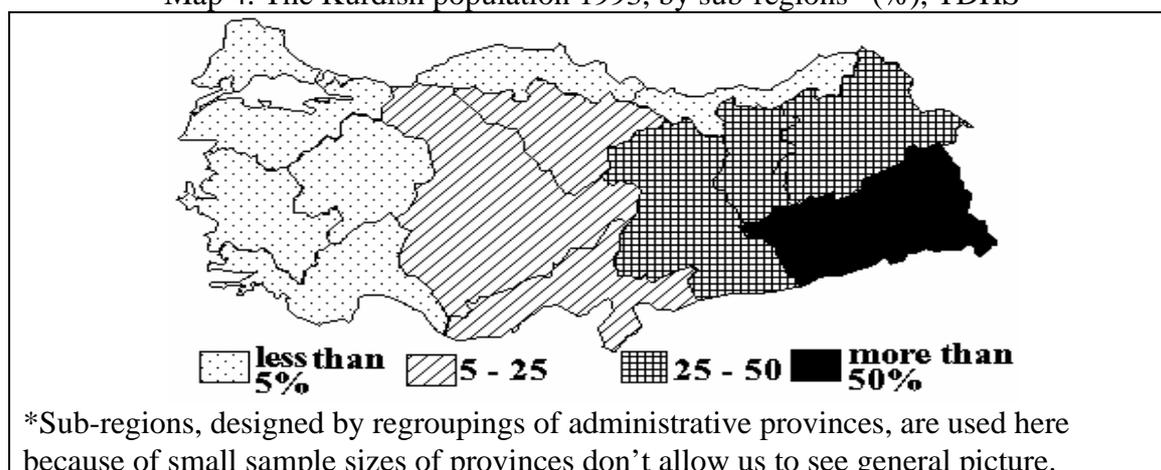
Map 2. The Kurdish population of Turkey, by province, the 1965 census



Map 3. The Kurdish population 1990, by province, based on projection by Mutlu (1996)



Map 4. The Kurdish population 1993, by sub-regions\* (%), TDHS



Another considerable feature of the Kurdish population is its concentration in rural areas as its lower urbanisation rates (55 percent) indicate; 61 percent for Turkey as a whole. However in the West, urban dwellers among Kurds (about 85 percent) are higher than their Turkish fellows (about 75 percent). A similar pattern is also obvious in the South; 75 percent of Kurds live in urban areas whereas the corresponding figure for Turks is 65 percent. This might be explained by massive rural-to-urban migration from the East to the urban centres of Turkey, which are located in the West and South with few exceptions in other regions. In the Central region, 75 percent of Kurds are living in rural areas, whereas this figure is only 45 percent in the East. On the other hand, these percentages might have been changed in the last decade because of massive evacuations (of villages and hamlets), which pushed hundreds of thousand to the urban centres of the country.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Following table is summarizing recent growth rates in selected cities in the region, which can indicate flows from rural to urban centers since 1990 as growth rates increased drastically. Annual growth rates have increased as much as 7 times as in Bitlis, and in total of these ten cities of the region growth per annum risen from 4.8 to 9.6 percent since 1990.

Table A. Urban populations and annual growth rate in selected cities, 1985-1997.

	Population			Growth Rate	
	1985	1990	1997	1985-1990	1990-1997
Adiyaman	71644	100045	285404	6.68	14.98
Bingol	34024	41590	107615	4.02	13.58
Bitlis	36073	38130	68308	1.11	8.33
Diyarbakir	305940	381144	641616	4.40	7.44
Hakkari	20754	30407	73221	7.64	12.55
Maras	210371	228129	440196	1.62	9.39
Mardin	44085	53005	97263	3.69	8.67
Sirnak	12141	25059	68153	14.49	14.29
Urfa	194969	276528	535412	6.99	9.44
Van	110653	153111	289081	6.50	9.08
Total	1040654	1327148	2606269	4.86	9.64

Source: SIS, 1999, DIE World Wide Web, <http://www.die.gov.tr>

### *Migration Trends of the Kurdish Population*

As Mutlu (1996) also indicated, in response to the general trends of internal and international migration, the Kurdish population in the western cities of Turkey have steadily increased<sup>10</sup>. In addition to that impact of general internal migration trends there is also a considerable flow, according to the UNHCR, of people who have fled because of the ongoing armed conflict in the region populated by Kurds.<sup>11</sup> For Kurds, forced migration became an integral part of the life in the 1990s because of the armed conflict in their region, South-east Turkey. According to recent figures there are about 400,000 displaced people because of the evacuation of villages in the region by government for “security reasons” (Radikal, 16 July 1998).

According to a survey conducted among migrant women in Istanbul (the largest metropolitan centre of Turkey with a population above 10 million), 35 per cent of migrant women migrated because of the lack of

---

<sup>10</sup> According to Mutlu’s (1996) estimations percentages of Kurdish population in big metropolitan centers have increased over last 30 years as follows: Ankara: from % 3.84 in 1965 to % 6.74 in 1990; Istanbul: from % 2.77 in 1965 to % 8.16 in 1990; Izmir: from % 1.04 in 1965 to % 6.91 in 1990 (pp.526-7 and 539-40).

<sup>11</sup> One of UNHCR (1997:4) Background Paper on Turkey reports that “the number of forcibly displaced people in the Southeast is estimated to be between 2 to 3 million.” Another UNHCR (1998) report on Turkey pronounce a figure of 350,000 as migrated to the western cities of the country. Graham-Brown and Sackur (1995:17) also states that almost 1.7 million Kurds have been displaced in between 1992-94.

security (Ilkkaracan and Ilkkaracan, 1999: 311).<sup>12</sup> In the same survey, it was indicated that 65 percent of those who migrated for security reasons had no education and their socio-economic conditions got worse after migration (1999: 317). Several other small scale surveys also present similar results about migration from the region (Aksit and Akcay, 1999; CHP, 1999; TMMOB, 1999).<sup>13</sup> The conclusion to be drawn from these studies is the striking effect of the conflict environment that surrounded them for two decades, which has forced people to move westwards. When the general socio-economic underdevelopment of the Kurdish region meets with forced migration, a large community of unskilled people desperately seeking employment in the big cities of Turkey appears an unsolved question.<sup>14</sup>

All of these surveys outline similar aspects of Kurdish internal migration by emphasising the effect of conflict in the region which makes their movement an example of a large scale forced migration. Nevertheless, there are no surveys which investigate the international aspect of their migration from the region although there are some intuitive guesses based on recent movements which have made visible the Kurdish component in the Turkish migratory regime, such as refugee arrivals on the shores of Italy and Kurdish demonstrations shook the European capitals (Migration News, 1999; Van Bruinessen, 1998). However, we have no objective means for measuring Kurdish involvement in international migration flows from Turkey although it is expected that they have been major participants of refugee and asylum-seeker flows to Europe in the last decade (Van Bruinessen, 1998:44-45 and UNHCR, 1997). Maps 5 and 6 present the emigration rates by provinces for 1970 and 1990.

Accordingly, it is obvious that in the core Kurdish population region in the South East of the country, the emigration rate was less than four per thousand in both 1970 and 1990. However, it is hard to say much more about their emigration because of the lack of data. As Van Bruinessen underlined there are a large number of Kurdish immigrants in Western Europe, especially in Germany, France and Sweden, who have discovered their Kurdishness over the last two decades along with the rise of armed conflict between the Kurdish guerrilla movement and the Turkish army (1998:45). Recent increase in the volume of asylum seekers from Turkey to Europe can be considered mainly as Kurdish flow, which has been about 30,000 per annum since 1990 (Eurostat, 1996:4-5).

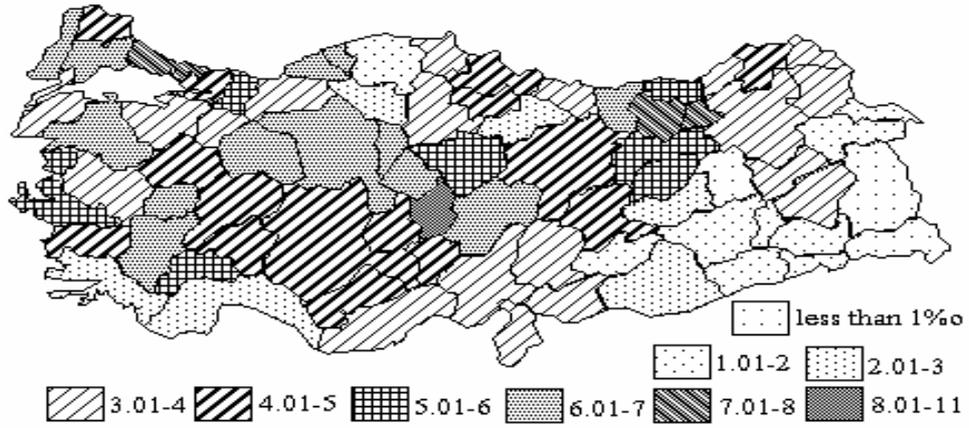
---

<sup>12</sup> The survey is a part of a world wide survey series "Women and Law" organized by the foundation of Women Living Under Muslim Law in Turkey in 1996-7.

<sup>13</sup> See for instance, 1993-4 GAP Regional Population Movements Survey (by Ayata, S. et al) of GAP Regional Development Directorate; RPP (Republican People's Party) 1998 Dogu ve Guneydogu On Raporu; 1997 Diyarbakir Zorunlu Goc Arastirmasi (Survey of Forced Migration in Diyarbakir) and 1998 Diyarbakir Industrial Research.

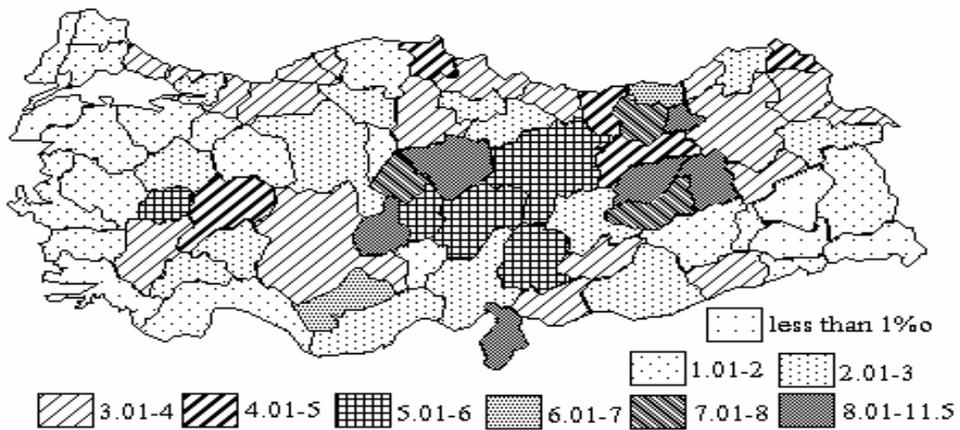
<sup>14</sup> Icduygu et al (1997) presents a good account of the relation between socio-economic development and migration in Turkey and Icduygu et al (1999) introduces the concept of environment of insecurity to explain Kurdish question in relation with the overwhelming underdevelopment, armed conflict and ethnic revival.

Map 5. Emigration from Turkey by province, 1970



Source: Ýçduygu et al, 1997

Map 6. Emigration from Turkey by province, 1990



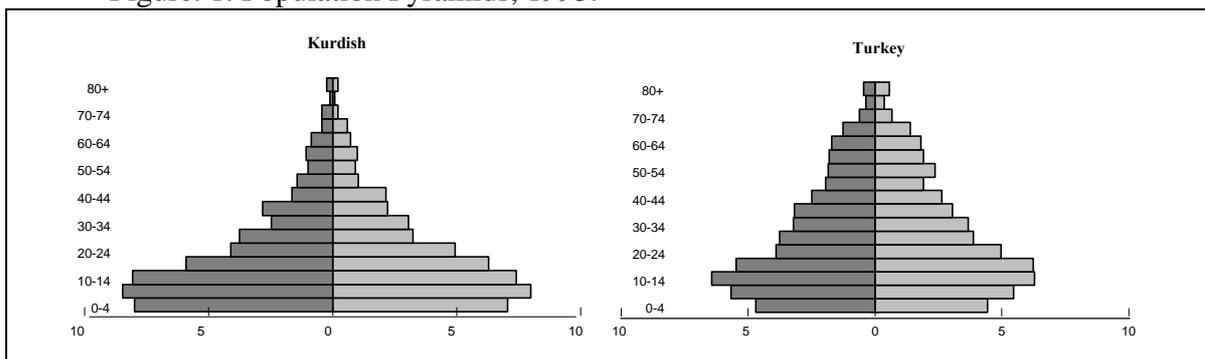
Source: Ýçduygu et al, 1997

### *Demographics of the Kurdish Population*

The Kurdish population is composed of a large proportion (24.6 males and 22.5 females) of young people aged between 0 to 15, a large proportion of people in the economically active ages (of 15 to 65) (25.1 per cent of males and 25.6 of females) and a very slight proportion of people are in their older ages of 65 and over (1.2 males and 1.1 females). However, the entire picture for Turkey differs with its smaller proportion in the younger age groups (16.8 and 16.2); and a larger proportion of people in the working age groups (29.4 and 32.4); and a small proportion in the older age groups respectively 2.7 and 3 for males and females respectively. Age dependency ratios are 97.3 for Kurds reflecting the 92.7 child dependency and 4.6 old-age-dependency. These figures deviate from those of Turkey which are 62.6, 53.4 and 9.2, respectively. Kurdish old age groups are small as opposed to Turkish counterparts. Among the latter, obviously more people have reached to those later ages, which can be explained in terms of declining mortality and improvements in health care facilities in Turkey.

Recently, a considerable trend in declining fertility has been seen in Turkey represented by the narrowing of the base of the pyramid (see Figure 1), but this is the case also for Kurds even though these declining ratios are 50 per cent higher than those for Turkey. Dundar (1998) calculated a general declining trend in fertility and estimates a higher decline among Kurds. However, even declined fertility rates for Kurds are double those for Turkey (see Table 4).

Figure. 1. Population Pyramids, 1993.



The population growth rate for Kurds is almost double that of Turkey (see Mutlu, 1996:520 and Koç and Hancioglu, 1999:4). It is accompanied by high Kurdish fertility and mortality. The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) for Kurds is 6.2 whereas the corresponding figure is only 2.7 for Turks and 3.1 for Turkey as a whole. Another point to note here is the gradual decrease of fertility by age among Kurdish women compared to the steep decline observed to their Turkish counterparts after the age of 25 (see Table 4). Kurdish women will have 3 more children than Turkish women as their age specific fertility is higher for all age cohorts (Table 4).

Table 4. Age Specific Fertility Rates for Kurds

Age Groups	Kurds	Turks	Turkey
15-19	0.126	0.067	0.078
20-24	0.284	0.196	0.207
25-29	0.319	0.145	0.167
30-34	0.262	0.075	0.100
35-39	0.167	0.045	0.057
40-44	0.076	0.012	0.017
TFR	6.2	2.7	3.1

Source: Koç and Hancioglu, 1999

Child and infant mortality rates also significantly differ between Kurds and Turks; for Kurds the Infant Mortality Rate is about 74 and the Child Mortality Rate is 11 whereas corresponding figures for Turks are 46 and 8 respectively. The Under-five Mortality Rate is 84 for Kurds and 54 for Turks (Koç and Hancioglu, 1999:8). Reproductive health parameters also indicate disadvantaged conditions for Kurds. Only one quarter of the Kurdish women gave birth in medical centres while almost three-fourth of Turkish women enjoying these facilities according to the TDHS 1993 data. In terms of total number of prenatal care visits, Turks have slightly more visits (32 percent) as opposed to Kurds (29 percent) (Cindoglu and Sirkeci, 1999:17). Accompanied by the lack of health-care facilities in the areas Kurds live, the differences are in child and maternal health understandable.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Dincer, 1995, Icduygu et al, 1997 and 1999 for statistical comparisons of socio-economical differences

Inter-ethnic marriage is not a common phenomenon in Turkey. Both Kurdish and Turkish women overwhelmingly prefer to marry with a man of the same ethnic group, only 3 percent of Turks and 10 percent of Kurds are married to men of another ethnic group. Only about 1 percent of Turkish women are married to Kurdish men whereas about 7 percent of Kurdish women are married to Turkish men (Dundar, 1998:54). Consistent rates between age cohorts indicate a stable endogamy preference. These percentages are however influenced by the limitations of the marital market which is dominated by Turks as they constitute 80 percent of the population and also by ethnic segregation -Kurds live in the Eastern region and Turks in the Western region. In addition these, one could add the effect of ethnic preferences such as those of parents and women's reluctance to marry people from other ethnicities, which is a common phenomenon in the Turkish context (Lievens, 1997:3).

Kurdish families live in relatively large households, one quarter of which have 9 or more members, and 80 percent of them have 5 or more members (Table 5). Corresponding figures for the whole of Turkey are 6 per cent and 43 percent respectively. In urban areas, only 28 per cent of Kurdish households have less than five members, and 28 percent of them have 8 or more. In rural areas corresponding figures are 13 percent and 47 percent. On the other hand, Turkey's averages show that 61 percent in urban areas and 45 percent in rural areas have less than five members; and only 5 percent in urban and 17 percent in rural areas have more than 8 members. The mean household size is 4.55 for Turkey and 6.8 for Kurds; the average size of urban households is 4.2 for Turkey and 6.2 for Kurds it is 5.1 among all rural households and 7.8 for Kurdish ones (see Table 5).

Household headship indicates another difference; 94 percent of Kurdish households are headed by males whereas it is 90 per cent for the whole population. However, interestingly, more Kurdish households in rural areas are headed by females; 5.2 per cent in cities and 7.6 in the countryside as opposed to general pattern in Turkey (see Table 5).<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Household headship information has been collected through a question asking "what is the name of household head?". The underlying reasons for that might be found in sex selectivity in rural-urban migration and also in the high death toll during the armed conflicts during last two decades. However, for such analysis we need more certain and in-depth information about interacting factors.

Table 5. Household composition of the Kurdish population

Household headship	Kurdish			Turkey		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Male	94.8	92.4	93.8	89.3	91.4	90
Female	5.2	7.6	6.2	10.7	8.6	10
Number of usual members						
1	0.2	0.0	0.1	4.3	4.6	4.4
2	5.9	2.6	4.6	13.6	14.7	14
3	8.7	4.2	6.9	18	10.9	15.5
4	13.2	6.4	10.5	24.5	15.5	21.3
5	16.7	13.7	15.5	17.3	14.5	16.3
6	14.3	11.4	13.1	9.6	11.1	10.1
7	14.6	13.7	14.2	5.5	8.6	6.6
8	8.9	13.5	10.7	2.6	6.7	4
9+	17.2	33.8	23.8	3.2	11	6
Mean size	6.16	7.76	6.80	4.26	5.06	4.55
Relationship structure						
One adult	0.5	1.2	0.8	5	5.2	5
Two related adults						
Of opposite sex	43.9	34.0	39.9	44.4	32.6	40.2
Of same sex	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.7	1	1.5
3 or more related adults	53.9	62.8	57.5	46.6	58.6	50.9
Other	0.8	1.1	1.0	2.3	2.6	2.4
Number of households	495	328	823	5563	3056	8619

A final difference in household structure appears in its composition. Kurdish households more often comprise families of two or more. The proportion of households with single member or two of the same sex is only 1.7 for Kurds whereas they are 6.5 per cent of all households in Turkey.

#### *Socio-economic characteristics*

As Turkey's Kurdish population lives predominantly in the least developed part of the country, their accesses to many facilities including health, education and employment are limited. This underlies many differences in such as educational attainment and pre-natal care observed between Kurdish and Turkish segments of the population.<sup>17</sup> The TDHS data do not permit the analysis of the structural influences affecting socio-economic levels but sources such as the State Planning Organisation's Development Index by district gave some clues about the overall situation in

<sup>17</sup> Here I should refer to our previous work delineating environment insecurity in terms of material and non-material circumstances (Icduygu et al, 1999). Since simultaneous to those infrastructural factors political factors are also playing an important role in terms of educational attainment and access to public services, because with a mother tongue officially not recognized, those people who don't speak Turkish have very little chance to access any facilities even once they offered.

Turkey (Y cduygu et al, 1997). For instance, per capita gross national product was US \$ 700 in the Eastern region, mainly populated by Kurds yet over US \$ 2000 for the West; the number of health personnel per 1000 people was 2 in the East while it was 3.2 in the West in the mid-1990s (Y cduygu et al, 1999:1002). This section identifies social and economic differences in terms of housing conditions and educational attainment, which are the only two groups of variables available in the TDHS data. These are however, reflections of the broader environment of insecurity shaped by socio-economic underdevelopment and political (and military in last two decades) pressures mentioned above. The regional breakdown adopted by TDHS reflects “to some extent differences in socio-economic development levels” (Y cduygu et al, 1999:1008) providing a ranking of regions from the most developed to the least developed; West, South, Central, North, East (see Map 1 for regions).

Two extremes of educational attainment levels, those with no-education and those with secondary education, can be analysed according to ethnic differences, sex, region, and of residence place. Almost half the Kurdish population have no education compared to 25 percent for Turkey as a whole, although gender differences are prevalent. This asymmetry between the two populations is also apparent for those who graduated from secondary school and/or further education; only about 5-6 percent of Kurds have a secondary degree or entered higher education whereas the corresponding figure for Turkey as a whole is about 25 percent.

From West to East, the proportion of Kurds with no-education range from 28 to 40 percent for males and from 48 to 66 percent for females (Table 6). For the country as a whole these figures are drastically reduced; ranging from 8 to 23 percent for males and from 20 to 48 percent for females. The proportion of those with secondary and higher education range from 10 percent in the West to 3 percent in the Central region among Kurdish males whilst they range from 29 percent in the West to 19 percent in the East among Turkish males. The corresponding uneven distribution for females ranges respectively from 3 percent in the West to 1.6 percent in the East compared to 20 percent in the West to 6.6 percent in the East for Turkey as a whole (see Table 6).

A gradual decrease in percentages of people who have no education is common in both populations but remarkable differences are still there. For instance, one in two Kurdish women and one in eight Kurdish men aged 25 or more have no education while corresponding figures for Turkey as a whole are one in five for women and one in thirty-two for men.

The contrast between the two populations is also prevalent with regard to their place of residence. The proportions of urban females and males with no education are respectively 57 percent and 34 percent for Kurds

Table 6. Educational Attainment by age, sex, region, and residence.  
*(Based on de facto household population age six and over by highest level of education attended, 1993.)*

MALE POPULATION													
	No Education		Primary Incomplete		Primary graduate		Secondary incomplete		Secondary graduate+		Total	Number	
	Kurds	All	Kurds	All	Kurds	All	Kurds	All	Kurds	All		Kurds	All
<b>Age</b>													
6-9	44.1	29.2	52.9	69.0	1.0	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	399	1801
10-14	7.4	2.1	43.3	34.9	23.3	26.3	26.1	30.1	0.0	6.5	100.0	460	2480
15-19	6.0	1.7	6.3	2.2	38.3	34.8	37.7	11.9	11.7	49.2	100.0	334	2100
20-24	8.1	2.5	1.7	1.5	52.3	39.7	20.0	9.5	17.8	46.7	100.0	235	1498
25+	33.9	17.2	3.0	5.0	43.4	46.7	9.6	4.2	9.2	26.5	100.0	923	8671
<b>Region</b>													
West	28.5	8.6	12.0	13.7	34.5	38.9	14.2	9.4	10.1	29.1	100.0	267	5620
South	33.9	10.7	15.5	15.8	32.5	40.8	12.0	9.6	4.6	22.6	100.0	283	2591
Central	38.1	11.9	14.2	15.5	31.6	35.9	12.9	9.3	3.3	27.1	100.0	310	3628
North	*	13.3	*	16.6	*	36.1	*	9.4	*	24.0	100.0	*	1360
East	39.9	23.0	16.8	19.2	23.7	30.0	13.2	7.9	6.0	19.5	100.0	2041	3358
<b>Residence</b>													
Urban	34.3	9.7	15.8	14.1	24.3	32.9	16.4	10.3	8.8	32.7	99.9	1591	10201
Rural	42.8	18.2	16.1	18.4	28.7	42.4	9.3	7.1	2.5	13.4	100.0	1315	6356

<b>FEMALE POPULATION</b>													
6-9	53.9	32.6	44.5	65.4	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3	100.0	371	1719
10-14	21.4	5.8	33.7	31.1	32.5	35.5	12.1	21.4	0.2	6.1	100.0	421	2398
15-19	29.9	7.4	3.4	2.2	48.0	53.7	14.0	4.3	4.7	32.4	100.0	358	2364
20-24	52.9	14.2	9.0	3.4	29.1	51.7	5.4	3.3	3.6	27.4	100.0	278	1872
25+	79.8	43.2	5.9	8.1	10.8	34.7	1.1	1.5	0.3	12.2	100.0	883	9170
<b>Region</b>													
West	47.7	20.1	18.9	13.9	19.4	39.8	10.4	6.0	3.6	19.9	100.0	222	5776
South	51.1	26.8	16.5	15.9	23.2	37.5	6.7	5.0	2.5	14.6	100.0	284	2697
Central	56.4	25.9	16.7	17.5	19.4	37.1	5.2	4.4	2.4	14.8	100.0	330	4048
North	*	33.3	*	14.8	*	36.7	*	3.9	*	11.1	100.0	*	1614
East	66.1	48.1	12.9	16.3	15.8	25.9	3.4	2.8	1.6	6.6	100.0	1968	3393
<b>Residence</b>													
Urban	56.8	23.7	14.6	14.5	19.0	34.1	6.5	6.1	3.1	21.4	100.0	1530	10449
Rural	68.0	37.1	13.6	17.2	15.2	38.5	2.0	2.5	0.6	4.4	99.8	1280	7079

\* less than 7 cases.

whereas they are 24 percent and 10 percent for the entire population of Turkey. In rural areas, as it might be expected for structural reasons, both Kurdish males and females are less educated than their urban counterparts; 43 percent of males and 68 percent of females have no education. However ethnic differences are again evident; the percentages of non-educated males and females in rural areas for the total population are 18 percent and 37 percent.

At the other extreme, comparative percentages for secondary graduates and those with higher degrees are 9 and 33 percent for urban males and 3 and 21 percent for urban females, respectively. The traditional values of people about education of females in Turkey and regional differences in terms of services provided might be sufficient to explain these general differences but do not explain ethnic distinctions which need further studies paying more attention to these ethnic differences.

Given the paucity of other data, housing characteristics provide some indication of socio-economic conditions. In Table 7, four measures of housing conditions for Kurdish households are compared with averages in Turkey by the type of place of residence (urban/rural): the source of drinking water, sanitation facility, flooring and persons per sleeping room.

In urban areas roughly three-quarters of all households, (both Kurdish and Turkish) have piped water supplies. However the secondary source of drinking water is the public tap (10 percent) for Kurds and bottled water (13 percent) for the total population.<sup>18</sup> In rural areas, differences are considerably greater; only 25 percent of Kurds have drinking water piped into their residence whereas this proportion is 42 for Turkey. This difference has been compensated by wells (25 percent) and spring water (20 percent) by Kurds as well as public tap (20 percent), which is the third most common source of drinking water in rural Turkey.

Lack of modern sanitation facilities (only 6 percent with own flush toilet) for rural Kurds is compounded by a large portion of households with no toilet facility (15.4 per cent) in rural areas. In urban centres, nearly one third of Kurdish households either use pit or shared toilets or have no facility while the majority (73 per cent) use their own flush toilets. Overall Turkey presents a totally different picture; urban populations have their own sanitation facilities inside (84 percent flush toilet and 12 percent closed pit) while rural residents also having own sanitation. The households with no facility (1.4 percent) and shared facility (1.4 percent) comprising only a tiny

---

<sup>18</sup> Public tap is a common source in *gecekondular* (Turkish equivalent of over-populated semi-urban areas around the cities) areas in big cities, which are hosting a large proportion of Kurds migrating from the region to the urban centers.

Table 7. Housing characteristics, Kurds and Turkey

	Kurdish			Turkey		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
<b>Source of drinking water</b>						
Piped into residence	77.6	25.0	56.6	74.5	42	62.9
Public tap	10.4	20.4	14.4	3.8	16.3	8.2
well in residence	1.1	10.0	4.7	0.6	3.8	1.7
Public well	0.2	15.3	6.2	0.1	4	1.5
Spring	6.7	20.6	12.3	5.7	27.4	13.4
River, stream	0.0	5.8	2.3	0	1	0.4
Pond, Lake	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0.2	0
Dam	0.2	0.0	0.1	0	0.2	0.1
Rainwater	0.0	1.8	0.7	0	0.3	0.2
Tanker truck	1.7	0.2	1.1	1.5	0.2	1.1
Bottled water	1.6	0.4	1.1	12.7	0.6	8.4
Other	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2
Stationary tank or pool	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.7	3.7	1.8
Missing don't know	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
<b>Sanitation facility</b>						
Own flush toilet	73.2	6.4	46.5	83.8	11.1	58.0
Shared flush toilet	4.3	0.8	2.9	1.9	0.5	1.4
Closed pit	16.2	49.6	29.5	12.3	60.5	29.4
Open pit	3.6	27.9	13.3	1.5	24.5	9.7
No facility	2.7	15.4	7.8	0.4	3.3	1.4
Missing	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
<b>Flooring</b>						
Earth	4.3	37.1	17.4	2.2	20.1	8.6
Wood planks	4.4	5.2	4.7	18.9	37.2	25.4
Parquet, polished wood	0.7	0.0	0.4	7.7	0.4	5.1
Cement	66.6	55.6	62.2	31.7	37.7	33.9
Carpet	0.2	0.0	0.1	2.2	0.6	1.6
Marley	6.1	0.4	3.8	20.3	2.1	13.8
Mosaic	14.5	0.9	9.1	13.5	1.2	9.1
Square flagstone	1.9	0.0	1.1	2.1	0.5	1.6
Other	0.8	0.2	0.6	1.3	0.3	0.9
Missing/Don't know	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1
<b>Persons per sleeping room</b>						
1-2	19.7	10.4	14.2	56.9	42.6	51.8
3-4	55.4	42.0	50.0	37.2	42.8	39.2
5-6	18.7	25.7	21.5	4.7	10	6.5
7+	6.0	21.6	12.3	1.2	4.6	2.4
Missing/Don't know	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Mean persons per room	3.5	4.6	4.0	2.4	2.9	2.6
Number of households	495	328	823	5563	3056	8619

proportion in the entire population as opposed to those Kurdish ones (2.8 percent).

Flooring also indicates a poor living condition for Kurds as two thirds of them live in cement floored houses in urban centres and nearly two fifths of their houses have no floor (earth) at all in rural areas. Poor and traditional flooring (i.e. earth, cement) is common in Kurdish households as opposed to modern flooring (i.e. polished wood, marley) in their Turkish counterparts. On the other hand, the general texture of household flooring in Turkey is characterised by manufactured, more affluent flooring materials such as marley, wood planks, parquet (45 per cent) rather than poor-quality cement (34 percent).

Another distinguishing feature of Kurdish households is the level of crowding measured in terms of the number of persons per sleeping room. The mean number of people per sleeping room is 4 among Kurds while it is 2.6 for all Turkey. For the total population, more than half of all households have sleeping rooms for singles and couples, whereas this percentage falls to 14 percent for Kurds. Kurds live in more crowded conditions; in one of every two Kurdish household 3 or 4 people have to share one sleeping room, and in another 35 percent, 5 or more have to share one sleeping room. This is very rare for other groups, as only 9 percent of Turks live in overcrowded households (5 and more per sleeping room) (see Table 7).

Finally, it is worth looking at consumer goods as another indicator of well-being. Consumer goods are telling about Kurds' different story: 30 percent of Kurdish households have no fridge; another 40 percent have no radio-cassette player; 77 percent have no telephone; 91 percent have no vacuum cleaner; 90 percent have no car. Corresponding figures for all households in Turkey are 12 percent without refrigerator; 12 percent without a radio-cassette player; 40 percent without phone; about 45 percent without vacuum cleaner; 60 percent without car. Additionally, about 6 percent of Kurdish households have no consumer goods including a TV, washing machine, video while this proportion is less than 1 percent for the entire population.

### **Concluding Remarks**

This study is one of initial attempts to understand ethnic populations from a demographic point of view to highlight diversity in unity. The Kurdish population has been overlooked until very recent times, and differences cross cutting the demographic and socio-economic texture of Turkey has been considered as a matter of regional development. However, it is obvious that ethnicity is important beyond socio-economic and

demographic differences which distinguish a sector of the population in Turkey from the others: the Kurds. In this regard, examination of this particular ethnic population highlights differences ranging from age and sex structures, educational attainment, to household composition and housing conditions.

All these indicators analysed and summarised here convincingly identifying a population which may be differentiated from the broader Turkish population. These differences can be explained in terms of social, cultural, economic and also political regimes imposed on Turkey. However the ethnic component must be taken into account in any sort of analysis on Turkey and policy makers should be informed about these differences and set preferences accordingly.

Demographic trends displayed by the Kurds resemble those of Turkey but lag a few steps behind, for instance their fertility rates are double that of Turkey. Similar patterns are evident in education also as still a large majority of Kurds has no education. All these findings provide a comprehensive picture of relative deprivation prevalent among the Kurds of Turkey.

### **References**

- Aksit, B. and Akcay, A.A. (1999) "GAP Bolgesinde Nufus Hareketleri", in Baydar, O. (ed.) 75 Yilda Koylerden Sehirlere, Tarih Vakfi , Istanbul, pp. 323-333.
- Barkey, H.J. (1993) "Turkey's Kurdish Dilemma", Survival, 35(4): 51-70.
- Barkey, H.J. (1996) "Turkey, Islamic Politics and the Kurdish Question", World Policy Journal, Vol.13, No.1.
- Behrendt, G. (1993) Nationalismus in Kurdistan, Deutsches Orient Institut, Hamburg.
- Beriker-Atiyas, N. (1997) "The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey: Issues, Parties and Prospects", Security Dialogue, 28(4): 439-452.

- Buckley, R. (1994) "The Kurds: caught between nations", Understanding Global Issues, No.94/3, European Schoolbooks Publishing Limited, Berlin.
- Caldwell, J. (1976) "Towards a Restatement of Demographic Transition Theory", Population and Development Review, 2(3-4): 321-366.
- CHP (1999) "Somut Politikalar Calisma Grubu On Raporu, Dogu ve Guneydogu Bolgesinden Goc", in Baydar, O. (ed.) 75 Yilda Koylerden Sehirlere, Tarih Vakfi , Istanbul, pp. 334-341.
- Cindoglu, D. and Sirkeci, I. (1999) "A Story of Competing Variables in Explaining Pre-natal Care in Turkey; Social Class, Education and Ethnicity Re-visited", paper presented at the EAPS-IUSSP European Population Conference: Unity in Diversity, Den Haag, The Netherlands, 30 Aug.-3 Sept. 1999.
- Courbage, Y. (1998) "Survey of the Statistical Sources on Religion, Language(s), National and Ethnic Group in Europe" in Haug, W., Courbage, Y. and Compton, P. (eds.) The Demographic Characteristics of National Communities in Certain European States, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg, pp.23-74.
- Dinçer, B. (1996), Ýlçelerin Sosyo-Ekonomik Gelişim İndeksi [Socio-Economical Development Index of Subprovinces], DPT Bölgesel Gelişme ve Yapısal Uyum Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara.
- Dundar, S.E.T. (1998) "Some Social and Demographic Characteristics and Fertility Behaviour of Language Groups in Turkey", unpublished M.A. thesis submitted to Hacettepe Institute of Population Studies, Ankara, Turkey.
- Entessar, N. (1989) "The Kurdish Mosaic of Discord", Third World Quarterly, 11(4): 83-100.
- Eurostat (1996) Statistics in Focus, Population and Social Conditions, No:1996/1.
- Franz, E. (1994) Population Policy in Turkey, Deutsches-Orient Institut, Hamburg.
- Graham-Brown, S. and Sackur, Z. (1995) "The Middle East: The Kurds -A Regional Issue", Writenet Country Papers, [http:// www.unhcr.ch/ refworld/ country/ writenet/ wrikurd.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/country/writenet/wrikurd.htm).
- Gunter, M.M. (1988) "The Kurdish problem in Turkey", Middle East Journal, Vol.42 No.3.
- Haug, W., Courbage, Y. and Compton, P. (eds.) (1998) The Demographic Characteristics of National Communities in Certain European States, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg.
- Hirschman, C. (1993) "How to measure ethnicity: an immodest proposal", in US Bureau of Census (ed.) Statistics Canada, pp.541-554.

- Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A.D. (eds.) (1993) Ethnicity, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York.
- Ýçduygu, A., Sirkeci, Ý. and Muradođlu, G. (1997), "Socio-Economic Development and Mobility: Facilitating or Restricting the Emigratory Flows from a Country - A Turkish Study", paper presented at both the IUSSP conference on International Migration at Century's End: Trends and Issues, Barcelona, Spain, 7-10 May 1997 and the EAPS Conference on European Population, Cracow, Poland, June 10-13, 1997.
- Ýçduygu, A., Romano, D. and Sirkeci, Ý. (1999), The ethnic question in an environment of insecurity: the Kurds in Turkey, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22(6): 991-1010.
- Ýlkkaracan, Ý. and Ýlkkaracan, P. (1999) "1990'lar Turkiye'sinde Kadın ve Goc", in Baydar, O. (ed.) 75 Yilda Koylerden Sehirlere, Tarih Vakfi , Istanbul, pp. 305-322.
- Kirisçi, K. and Winrow, G. W. (1997) Kürt Sorunu: Kökeni ve Gelişimi [The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of a Trans-state Ethnic Conflict], Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayinlari, Istanbul.
- Koç, Ý. and Hancioglu, A. (1999) "Demographic Differentials and Demographic Integration of Turkish and Kurdish Populations in Turkey", paper presented at the EAPS-IUSSP European Population Conference: Unity in Diversity, Den Haag, The Netherlands, 30 Aug.-3 Sept. 1999.
- Lievens, J. (1997) "Interethnic Marriage: Bringing in the Context through Multilevel Modelling", University of Gent and Free University of Brussels, IPD-Working Paper, 1997-6.
- Mango, A. (1994) "Turks and Kurds", Middle Eastern Studies, 30(4): 975-997.
- McDowall, D. (1996) A Modern History of the Kurds, I.B. Tauris, London and New York.
- MH, HIPS and DHS (Ministry of Health, Hacettepe Institute of Population Studies, and Demographic Health Surveys), 1994 Turkey, Demographic and Health Survey-1993, Ankara.
- Migration News (1999) "Turkey, Greece, Cyprus", Migration News, 6(3): 13-14.
- Minority Rights Group (1991) The Kurds, London.
- MRGI (Minority Rights Group International) (1997) World Directory of Minorities, Minority Rights Group International, London.
- Muller, M. (1996) "Nationalism and the Rule of Law in Turkey", in Olson, R. (ed) The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in the 1990s, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, pp.173-199.
- Mutlu, S. (1996) "Ethnic Kurds in Turkey: A Demographic Study", International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol.28, pp.517-541.

- Nash, M. (1989) The Cauldron of Ethnicity in the Modern World, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London.
- Olson, R. (ed.) (1996) The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in the 1990s, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Özsoy, A. E., Koç, I. and Toros, A. (1992) “Turkiye’nin Etnik Yapısının Anadil Sorularına Gore Analizi [Ethnic Structure in Turkey as Implied by the Analysis of Mother Tongue Data]”, Turkish Journal of Population Studies, Vol.14, pp.87-115.
- Portes, A. (1996) “Globalization from Below: The Rise of Transnational Communities”, in Smith, W.P. and Korzenwicz, R.P. (eds.) Latin America in the World Economy, Greenwood Press, Westport, pp.151-168.
- Radikal, 16 July 1998.
- Robins, P. (1993) “The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue”, International Affairs, 69(4): 657-676.
- SIS (State Institute of Statistics, Turkey), DIE World Wide Web, <http://www.die.gov.tr>.
- Teitelbaum, M. (1975) “Relevance of Demographic Transition Theory for Developing Countries”, Science, 188(4187):420-425.
- TMMOB (1999) “Zorunlu Gocun Diyarbakir Orneginde Arastirilmesi”, in Baydar, O. (ed.) 75 Yilda Koylerden Sehirlere, Tarih Vakfi , Istanbul, pp. 342-352.
- TOBB (1995) Dogu Sorunu; Teshisler ve Tesbitler, TOBB, Ankara.
- UNHCR (1997) UNHCR Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum Seekers from Turkey, [http:// www.unhcr.ch/ refworld/ country/ cdr/ cdrtur.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/country/cdr/cdrtur.htm).
- UNHCR (1998) UNHCR Country Profiles - Turkey, [http:// www.unhcr.ch/ world/ euro/ turkey.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/world/euro/turkey.htm).
- Van Bruinessen, M. (1992a) Agha Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan, Zed Books, London.
- Van Bruinessen, M. (1992b) “Kurdish Society, Ethnicity, Nationalism and Refugee Problem”, in Kreyenbroek, G. and Sperl, S. (eds.) The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview, Routledge, London.
- Van Bruinessen, M. (1998) “Shifting National and Ethnic Identities”, Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 18(1): 39-52.
- Wahlbeck, Ö. (1998) “Transnationalism and Diasporas: the Kurdish Example”, paper presented at the International Sociological Association XIV World Congress of Sociology, July 26 - August 1, 1998, Montreal, Canada.
- White, P.J. (1998) “Economic Marginalization of Turkey’s Kurds: The Failed Promise of Modernization and Reform”, Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 18(1): 139-158.
- Yavuz, H. (1996) “Turkey’s Imagined Enemies: Kurds and Islamists”, The World Today, April, 1996, pp.99-101.