



Dr. Salih AKYÜREK

**WHAT ARE KURDS AND ZAZAS
THINKING ABOUT?
A LOOK TO THE SHARED VALUES AND
SYMBOLS**



**WISE MEN CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

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Prepared By: Dr. Salih Akyürek

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FOREWORD

Making predictions for the future by closely following developments at home and abroad, conducting scientific research on bilateral and multilateral relations and the security strategies of Turkey, as well as on domestic problems in political, economic, technological, environmental and socio-cultural areas, providing also decision-makers with practical recommendations, policy options, and proposals in line with the national interests are all included in the foundation purposes of Wise Man Center for Strategic Studies (BILGESAM). BILGESAM, with regard to the resolutions taken in Wise Man Board's first meeting, is preparing reports to fulfil the purposes quoted above.

Recently, the claim of rights in eight main topics of a confederative nature, has been introduced to the public on behalf of the Kurdish people under the name of "Democratic Autonomy" and it is still the item on the agenda. This report, prepared by Dr. Salih Akyürek, is based on the findings of the research, "**Sociological Analysis of Southeast Problem**" which has been prepared by BILGESAM's Ankara Branch. It will substantially help in basing the current arguments on a sound ground. The report is currently on <http://www.bilgesam.org/tr>.

Hoping that this report will contribute to the discussions, researches and strategy/policy makers in this field, I send my acknowledgements to Dr. Salih Akyürek and all BILGESAM personnel who put their efforts into this process.

Assoc. Prof. Atilla Sandıklı
President of BILGESAM

INTRODUCTION

Today, it is not the demands and choices of the people who are personally at the heart of the problems in southeastern Anatolia that have come to the agenda, but instead the thoughts and demands of the third-persons or people speaking on behalf of people. This, in turn, results in the issue losing its essence, a high tension between different ethnic groups and drags Turkey into a struggle and a polarization period. The easiest way to overcome this problem is to directly search the opinions of the people in the region, not the people who speak on behalf of them. Therefore, taking a fresh look at the existing problem with field researches and direct knowledge from the local community will provide more realistic information for the accurate strategies and solution proposals of the future.

Recently, a confederative proposal of rights called “Democratic Autonomy” (collected under eight main topics) has come onto agenda and has been discussed as a claim for the Kurdish people’s views and demands. According to some estimates, this proposal of rights is useful to be discussed but also there are other considerations believing that it just establishes a ground for the separation of the country. Before arguing on the current demands, one has to prove whether or not these demands are really the Kurdish demands. Another issue is to find out what are the real Kurdish demands and expectations and to generate some solution strategies concerning this problem. At this point, once more, one needs to underline the importance of field work which designate the problems and set the expectations.

BILGESAM has prepared an analysis of a survey on about 8,607 people (applied in 17 provinces in eastern and southeastern Anatolia and districts formed by migration in Istanbul and Mersin) and turned it into a 600 pages report and an extensive summary of this report has been published at www.bilgesam.org/tr under the name of “**Sociological Analysis of the Southeastern Problem.**” A qualitative work demonstrating the region’s ethnic and sectarian structure on a village and district basis has been conducted in the same region including 19 districts and it was turned into a report in 2010 but has not yet been published . Additionally, interview and group interview studies have been held in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia by BILGESAM in the last two years and preparations for the publications of these studies are still continuing. The findings of these studies and the findings coming out in this report are different in methodology but still complement and support each other in terms of their results.

In this study, the general findings of the report that has revealed the ethnic and sectarian structure of the population in 19 districts (not yet published) are given and by using the data coming out from the survey of 8,607 people, the study exhibits the social tendencies towards shared values and symbols.

In the study, answers to 12 questions below (the percentage of those accepting the expression as true) and the differentiation of these answers on the basis of ethnicity, sect and region have been analyzed.

- “Turkish Flag belongs to all of us.”
- “Turkish National Anthem is my anthem.”
- “Turkish Army is our army.”
- “Turkish History is our history.”
- “Every place in Turkey is my homeland.”
- “Turkish and Kurdish people have a shared future together.”
- “Speaking Turkish does not constitute a problem for me.”
- “I am proud of being a Turkish citizen.”
- “Does granting federative rights to Kurdish population constitute a permanent solution to the Kurdish problem?”
- “Does giving independence to the Kurdish people in Turkey constitute a solution for the Kurdish problem?”

Social tendencies revealed by the data that rely on the survey results have been shown in a table in this report concerning the variables of ethnicity, sect and region. The study does not include much interpretation over the issues, but instead it has the characteristics of a technical report. At the results section of the study, only the important tendencies and the differentiations of these tendencies on the ethnic, sectarian and regional basis have been summarized and some suggestions have been offered for the needs pointed out by these tendencies.

In the report, some negative tendencies on the ethnic and sectarian basis regarding the national flag and national anthem have no intention to label or otherize particular groups or to deepen the existing polarizations. On the contrary, they aim at attaining some hints for the right diagnosis and causality of the problems that date from the past and are still alive today. Therefore, the purpose of the study is to pinpoint the problem with its causes and contribute to the solution of the problem.

It is hoped that the results and social tendencies that came out in this study will positively contribute to place the recent arguments under the name of “Democratic Autonomy” on the basis of more sound knowledge and also contribute to the reconciliation process of the society.

ETHNIC STRUCTURE IN EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA*

ETHNICITY	REGION I (12 PROVINCES) AĞRI-BATMAN-BİNGÖL BİTLİS-DİYARBAKIR HAKKÂRİ-MARDİN-MUŞ SİİRT-ŞIRNAK-TUNCELİ VAN		REGION II (7 PROVINCES) ADİYAMAN-ELAZIĞ ERZURUM-G.ANTEP K.MARAŞ-MALATYA Ş.URFA		SUM OF 19 PROVINCES IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA	
	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
KURDISH	4.987.068	80,49%	2.191.819	32,62%	7.178.887	55,59%
TURKISH	243.037	3,92%	3.701.857	55,10%	3.944.894	30,55%
ZAZA	550.018	8,87%	319.065	4,75%	869.083	6,73%
ARABIC	372.117	6,00%	488.353	7,27%	860.470	6,64%
OTHER	42.971	0,69%	16.256	0,24%	59.227	0,45%
TOTAL	6.195.211	100,0%	6.717.350	100,0%	12.912.561	100%

In the region that includes 12 provinces which intensively live in terror (Ağrı-Batman-Bingöl-Bitlis-Diyarbakir-Hakkari-Mardin-Mus-Siirt-Sirnak-Tunceli-Van), while 80.48% of the total population (6,195,211 people) is comprised of Kurdish people, the Zaza rate is 8.87 %, the rate of people with Arabic origin is 6% and that of Turkish is 32% in the same region. Furthermore, in the region which consists of 7 villages (Adiyaman-Elazig-Erzurum-G.Antep-K.Maras-Malatya-S.Urfa) where they are mostly the neighbour towns to the first group of provinces and where the Kurdish origin population is settled as well, of the 6,717,350 total population, 32.62 % is formed by Kurdish, 4.75% by Zaza, 7.27% Arabic and 55.1% Turkish people.

Considering the whole of the 19 provinces in the eastern and southeastern regions where Kurdish origin people have more settlements than any other province, of the 12,912,561 total population, 55.59% is formed by Kurdish, 6.73% Zaza, 6.64% Arabic and 30.55% by Turkish people. While the total Kurdish origin population in the region is 7,718,887, the Zaza population is 869,083 and the Arabic origin population is 860,470. While 76.02% of the Kurdish origin population (5,457,390 people) is Shafi'i, the 22.54% (1,618,121 people) is Hanafi and 1.44 % (103,376 people) is Alevi. As for the Zazas, while 61.72% of the population (536,455 people) is Shafi'i, 21.12% (183,622 people) is Hanafi and 17.14% (149,006 people) is Alevi.

* The findings above are transferred from the data of a qualitative study of BILGESAM made in 2008-2009, which covers 19 provinces and reveals the ethnic and sectarian structure based on village and districts. The study is prepared by a fieldwork guided by Onur Okyar and İlhan Kocamaz and reported by İlhan Kocamaz in 2010 with the supervision of Dr. Salih Akyürek. The report has not yet been published due to some drawbacks but it is planned for future publication.

KURDISH AND ZAZA SECTARIAN STRUCTURE IN 19 PROVINCES					
ETHNICITY		HANAFI	SHAFI'I	ALEVI	TOTAL
KURDISH	POPULATION	1.618.121	5.457.390	103.376	7.178.887
	PERCENTAGE	22,54%	76,02%	1,44%	100%
ZAZA	POPULATION	183.622	536.455	149.006	869.083
	PERCENTAGE	21,12%	61,72%	17,14%	100%

THE STATUS OF “SECOND-LANGUAGE USED AT HOME” IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA

NATIVE LANGUAGE	SECOND-LANGUAGE USED AT HOME [*]				
	DOES NOT USE SECOND-LANGUAGE AT HOME	KURDISH	ZAZAISH	ARABIC	TURKISH
KURDISH	19,1 %	-	3,2 %	3,8 %	79,0 %
ZAZAISH	7,6 %	25,4 %	-	1,1 %	86,2 %
ARABIC	10,6 %	29,1 %	0,5 %	-	84,0 %
TURKISH	72,3 %	20,7 %	1,9 %	3,2 %	-

In the survey[†], the people had been asked the question about the possible usage of a different language at home besides their native language. In the region, the rate of the people who have Kurdish as their native language but also use Turkish as a second language at home is 79%. The same rate is 86.2% for native Zazaish speakers and 84% for the Arabic native speakers.

Taking into account the second language used at home for the people who have a native language apart from Kurdish, of the people who speak Zazaish as native language, the rate of those using Kurdish as second language is 25.4%. On the other hand, for Arabic native speakers, this rate is 29.1 % and for those whose native language is Turkish, it is 20.7%.

The findings quoted above show that about 4 out of every 5 people who have another native language besides Turkish use Turkish as a second language at home. Moreover, about one in five people who have a native language apart from Kurdish use Kurdish as a second language at home. These could be evaluated as the cohesive existence for language among the people of the region as well as for other cultural values.

^{*} Within the same native language, the total percentages of the second language used at home (based on the sum of lines) could exceed 100% due to the existence of the families which use more than one second language.

[†] The findings under this topic and the following topics as well depend on a survey study conducted by BILGESAM in 17 provinces in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia and districts formed by migration in Istanbul and Mersin, which uses a ten thousand people sample. (Number of surveys in the analysis is 8,607). The basic analysis of the study has been turned into a 600 pages report and an informative summary of this report has been published on www.bilgesam.org/tr with the title of “**Sociological Analysis of Southeastern Problem.**” The findings in this research include a detailed analysis of some questions evaluated from a certain dimension (like the dimension of “belonging” which is measured by more than one question) in the main report.

VIEWS ON TURKISH NATIONAL FLAG

Turkish Flag Belongs to All of Us				
Region	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	82,7	90,3	97,9	96,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	94,3	94,7	99,3	99,0
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	80,5	*	*	97,9
Total	86,7	90,4	98,6	98,6

Turkish Flag Belongs to All of Us					
Religious Sect	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	Total
Hanafi	92,5	93,1	99,0	98,9	96,5
Shafi'i	84,2	92,7	98,8	96,3	87,0
Alevi	72,5	71,4	*	96,3	80,7
Total	86,7	90,4	98,6	98,6	91,7

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turkish Flag Belongs to All of Us (Kurdish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	86,0	82,6	61,4	82,7
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz- Ant-K.Mr -Mal-Ş.Urf)	95,5	92,2	89,2	94,3
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	84,3	80,6	66,7	80,5
Total	92,5	84,2	72,5	86,7

Turkish Flag Belongs to All of Us (Zaza Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	90,0	93,5	73,5	90,3
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-El -Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	97,9	90,9	*	94,7
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	93,1	92,7	71,4	90,4

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turkish Flag Belongs to All of Us (Arabic Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	96,7	98,7	*	97,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant- K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	100,0	98,7	*	99,3
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	99,0	98,8	*	98,6

Turkish Flag Belongs to All of Us (Turkish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	98,6	95,4	92,3	96,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz- Ant-K. rş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	99,0	97,8	100,0	99,0
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	98,7	*	*	97,9
Total	98,9	96,3	96,3	98,6

The above given values on the six tables indicate that perspective on such shared symbols as Turkish flag and acceptance rate of these symbols are highly positive with rates of 87% among the Kurds, 90% among the Zazas and 99% among the Arabs.

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

When the variable of region is added to the results besides that of ethnicity, such a finding comes out in which the values are still positive with a slight decrease in the regions of provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. Views on the Turkish flag as a shared symbol is positive with the rate of 94% among the Kurdish people living in the provinces with rare acts of terror, whereas that rate is relatively lower in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration (83% and 81%). As for the Zaza population, the rate is about 95% in provinces with rare acts of terror and 90% in provinces with intensive terror. The study was not able to attain sufficient numbers of Zaza samples in the districts formed by migration in order to make an accurate sampling.

When one looks at these values from the point of the variables of ethnicity and sect, such a finding comes out: while the views on Turkish flag as a shared symbol is highly positive among the Kurdish/Zaza Hanafis and Shafi'is, the values are relatively lower among the Kurdish Alevi and Zaza Alevi (73% and 71%).

The differentiation of views on the Turkish flag as a shared symbol with respect to the sect and region among the Kurdish and Zaza people is shown on the table below by summarizing the values above and by starting from the most positive value. The views on the Turkish flag as a shared symbol is positive in general, and relatively the lowest rate is in the Kurdish Alevi with 67% in provinces with intensive terror and 61% in districts formed by migration. On the other hand, the rate, with 89%, is quite high for Kurdish Alevi living in provinces with rare acts of terror. These results indicate that the tendency of negative views about the Turkish flag as a shared symbol could not be explained on the ethnic and sectarian grounds. But instead, the results show that the traumatic factors of the past besides the regional conditions are important factors for the formation of these perceptions.

Turkish Flag Belongs to All of Us			
Ethnicity	Sect	Region	Percent(%)
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	97,9
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	95,5
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	93,5
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	92,2
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	90,9
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	90,0
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	89,2
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	86,0
Kurdish	Hanafi	Districts formed by migration	84,3
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	82,6
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Districts formed by migration	80,6
Zaza	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	73,5
Kurdish	Alevi	Districts formed by migration	66,7
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	61,4

VIEWS ON TURKISH NATIONAL ANTHEM

Turkish National Anthem is My Anthem					
Region	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	80,8	90,2	96,9	96,9	
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş- Mal-Ş Urf)	93,6	92,9	96,6	99,3	
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	73,8	*	*	97,9	
Total	85,0	89,7	96,8	98,8	

Turkish National Anthem is My Anthem					
Religious Sect	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	Total
Hanafi	90,9	93,4	96,9	99,2	95,9
Shafi'i	82,5	93,5	96,8	96,7	85,7
Alevi	67,3	58,5	*	97,4	76,7
Total	85,0	89,7	96,8	98,8	90,8

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turkish National Anthem is My Anthem (Kurdish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	83,8	80,8	56,8	80,8
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	94,1	93,2	86,1	93,6
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	82,4	72,0	57,1	73,8
Total	90,9	82,5	67,3	85,0

Turkish National Anthem is My Anthem (Zaza Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	92,0	94,5	62,5	90,2
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mr -Mal-Ş.Ur)	96,0	90,9	*	92,9
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	93,4	93,5	58,5	89,7

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turkish National Anthem is My Anthem (Arabic Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	96,7	96,9	*	96,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.An -K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	96,9	96,2	*	96,6
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	96,9	96,8	*	96,8

Turkish National Anthem is My Anthem (Turkish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	98,2	95,4	96,0	96,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K. rş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	99,3	98,9	100,0	99,3
Districts made by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	98,7	*	*	97,9
Total	99,2	96,7	97,4	98,8

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some subgroups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

The values given above on the six tables indicate that views on shared symbols like Turkish National Anthem and acceptance rate of these symbols are highly positive with rates of 85% among the Kurds, 90% among the Zazas and 97% among the Arabs.

Considering the results on the basis of the variables of ethnicity and region, the values are relatively lower but still positive in provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. Views on the Turkish national anthem as a shared symbol are positive with the rate of 94% among the Kurdish people living in provinces with rare acts of terror, whereas the rate is relatively lower in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration (81% and 74%). As for the Zaza population, the rate is 92% in provinces with rare acts of terror and 90% positive in provinces with intensive terror.

When one looks at these values on the basis of the variables of ethnicity and sect, such a result comes out: while views on the Turkish national anthem as a shared symbol is highly positive among Kurdish/Zaza Hanafis and Shafi'is, the values are relatively lower among the Kurdish Alevi and Zaza Alevi (67% and 59%).

The differentiation of views on the Turkish national anthem as a shared symbol with respect to sect and region among the Kurdish and Zaza people is given on the table below by summarizing the results above and by starting from the most positive value. The views on the Turkish national anthem as a shared symbol are positive in general, the relatively lowest rate going for the Zaza Alevi with 63% in provinces with intensive terror. The rate is 57% for Kurdish Alevi in districts formed by migration and again 57% for Kurdish Alevi living in the provinces with intensive terror. On the other hand, just like the views on the Turkish flag, the value is quite high for Kurdish Alevi living in the provinces with rare acts of terror (86%). These results indicate that again, just like the views on the Turkish flag, the tendency of negative views about the Turkish national anthem as a shared symbol could not be explained on ethnic and sectarian grounds. But instead, the traumatic factors of the past besides the regional conditions are important factors for the formation of these perceptions.

Turkish National Anthem is My Anthem			
Ethnicity	Sect	Region	Percent (%)
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	96,0
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	94,5
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	94,1
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	93,2
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	92,0
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	90,9
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	86,1
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	83,8
Kurdish	Hanafi	Districts formed by migration	82,4
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	80,8
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Districts formed by migration	72,0
Zaza	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	62,5
Kurdish	Alevi	Districts formed by migration	57,1
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	56,8

VIEWS ON TURKISH ARMY

Turkish Army is Our Army					
Region	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	76,3	84,8	95,8		97,4
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K. Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	90,5	89,1	97,9		99,0
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul- Mersin)	69,9	*	*		99,0
Total	81,0	84,9	96,8		98,7

Turkish Army is Our Army					
Religious Sect	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	Total
Hanafi	89,0	90,1	94,8	99,0	95,1
Shafi'i	77,2	88,7	97,6	96,7	81,5
Alevi	64,4	47,4	*	100	74,5
Total	81,0	84,9	96,8	98,7	88,4

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turkish Army is Our Army (Kurdish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	84,2	75,4	54,5	76,3
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	91,7	88,5	81,6	90,5
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	78,6	67,7	52,6	69,9
Total	89,0	77,2	64,4	81,0

Turkish Army is Our Army (Zaza Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	87,5	90,3	46,7	84,8
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	93,6	83,3	*	89,1
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	90,1	88,7	47,4	84,9

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turkish Army is Our Army (Arabic Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	89,7	96,9	*	95,8
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K. rş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	97,0	98,7	*	97,9
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	94,8	97,6	*	96,8

Turkish Army is Our Army (Turkish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	98,6	95,4	100,0	97,4
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	99,0	98,9	100,0	99,0
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	98,7	*	*	99,0
Total	99,0	96,7	100,0	98,7

Values given above on the six tables indicate that views on Turkish Army and acceptance rate of Turkish Armed Forces as the common army of the society is highly positive with rates of 81% among the Kurds, 85% among the Zazas and 97% among the Arabs.

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some subgroups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

When we look at these results with respect to the variables of ethnic background and region, we can see that they are positive in general, but of a bit lower rate within the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. The acceptance rate of the Turkish Armed Forces as a common army is positive with the rate of 91 % among the Kurdish people living in the provinces with rare acts of terror, whereas this rate is relatively lower in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. (76 % and 70 %) For Zaza population, the rate is positive with 89 % in provinces with rare acts of terror and 85 % in provinces with intensive terror.

Taking into consideration these values on the grounds of ethnicity and sect, such results come out: while views on Turkish Army are positive among the Kurdish/Zaza Hanafis and Shafi'is, the values are lower among the Kurdish Alevi and Zaza Alevi. (64 % and 47 %)

The differentiation of views on Turkish Army on the basis of sect and region among the Kurdish and Zaza people was given below by starting from the most positive one and by summarizing the results above. The acceptance rate of the Turkish Armed Forces as the common army is positive in general, the relatively lowest rate goes for these: with 68% Kurdish Shafi'is living in the districts formed by migration, with 53 % the Kurdish Alevi in the provinces with intensive terror and with 47 % the Zaza Alevi in the provinces with intensive terror. Among the Kurdish Alevi living in the provinces with rare acts of terror, this value is still very high with 82 %, just like in the questions related to Turkish Flag and Turkish Anthem. As it is in the values and symbols, these results also suggest that the tendency of negative views about Turkish Armed Forces are much more likely to be explained by real life conditions and factors rather than the ethnicity or sect.

Turkish Army is our army			
Ethnicity	Sect	Region	Percent(%)
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	93,6
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	91,7
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	90,3
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	88,5
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	87,5
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	84,2
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	83,3
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	81,6
Kurdish	Hanafi	Districts formed by migration	78,6
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	75,4
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Districts formed by migration	67,7
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	54,5
Kurdish	Alevi	Districts formed by migration	52,6
Zaza	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	46,7

VIEWS ON TURKISH HISTORY

Turkish History is our history					
Religious Sect	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	Total
Hanafi	84,6	88,8	95,8	98,8	93,4
Shafi'i	73,4	88,3	95,1	95,4	78,2
Alevi	59,4	56,8	*	94,9	71,3
Total	76,9	84,6	94,7	98,3	85,9

Turkish History is our history (Kurdish Population)					
Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total	
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	77,7	71,1	47,5	71,7	
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	87,8	87,4	88,2	87,7	
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	77,6	61,4	36,4	63,9	
Total	84,6	73,4	59,4	76,9	

**Turkish History is our history
(Zaza Population)**

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	88,6	88,7	58,8	84,7
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Ur)	90,0	88,1	*	89,4
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	88,8	88,3	56,8	84,6

**Turkish History is our history
(Arabic Population)**

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	89,7	93,1	†	91,5
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	98,4	98,6	*	98,5
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	95,8	95,1	*	94,7

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8607, in some sub-groups this number may fall under 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness, However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

† Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness, However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turkish History is Our History (Turkish Population)				
Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	97,6	94,5	96,2	96,3
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz- Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	99,0	96,6	100,0	98,9
Districts formed by migration (Istanbul-Mersin)	97,3	*	*	94,7
Total	98,8	95,4	94,9	98,3

The acceptance rate of Turkish history as a common history among the people of other ethnic origins is 95% among the Arabs, 85% in Zazas and 77% in the Kurds.

When one looks at these with respect to the variables of ethnic background and region, one can see that they are generally positive, but slightly lower within the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. The acceptance rate of Turkish history as the common history is positive with the rate of 88% among the Kurdish people living in the provinces with rare acts of terror, whereas that rate is relatively lower in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration (72% and 64%). As for Zaza population, the rate is positive, with 89% in provinces with rare acts of terror and 85% in provinces with intensive terror.

Considering these values on the grounds of ethnicity and sect, the findings are as follows: while the acceptance of Turkish history as a common history is positive among the Kurdish/Zaza Hanafis and Shafi'is, the values are lower among the Kurdish Alevs and Zaza Alevs (59% and 57% respectively).

The differentiation of values with respect to sect and region among the Kurdish and Zaza people was given below by starting from the most positive one and by summarizing the results above. The acceptance of Turkish history as a common history is with 48% the lowest for the Kurdish Alevs living in the districts with terror and is 36% in districts formed by migration. As it is in the other shared symbols and values, this value is highly positive with 88% for the Kurdish Alevs living in the provinces with rare acts of terror. Like the other values and symbols, these results indicate that the tendencies of negative views about commonality of Turkish history are much more likely to be explained by real life conditions and factors rather than the ethnic and sectarian grounds.

Turkish History is Our History			
Ethnicity	Sect	Region	Percent(%)
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	90,0
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	88,7
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	88,6
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	88,2
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	88,1
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	87,8
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	87,4
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	77,7
Kurdish	Hanafi	Districts formed by migration	77,6
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	71,1
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Districts formed by migration	61,4
Zaza	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	58,8
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	47,5
Kurdish	Alevi	Districts formed by migration	36,4

REGARDING ENTIRE TURKEY AS HOMELAND

Every Place in Turkey is My Homeland

Region	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	80,2	91,5	97,3	94,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal- S.Urf)	92,5	92,8	97,9	98,5
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	83,8	*	*	99,0
Total	84,8	91,1	97,7	97,9

Every Place in Turkey is My Homeland

Religious Sect	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	Total
Hanafi	89,8	91,4	98,9	98,5	95,1
Shafi'i	82,6	93,3	97,6	94,3	85,6
Alevi	73,6	79,6	*	92,7	81,2
Total	84,8	91,1	97,7	97,9	90,4

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

**Every Place in Turkey is My Homeland
(Kurdish Population)**

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	81,7	80,6	56,3	80,2
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mr - Mal-Ş.Urfa)	93,0	91,9	86,8	92,5
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	87,7	81,0	87,5	83,8
Total	89,8	82,6	73,6	84,8

**Every Place in Turkey is My Homeland
(Zaza Population)**

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	88,5	94,8	79,5	91,5
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş. rf)	95,9	88,6	*	92,8
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	91,4	93,3	79,6	91,1

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

**Every Place in Turkey is My Homeland
(Arabic Population)**

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	96,4	98,1	*	97,3
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Er -G.Ant- K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	100,0	96,2	*	97,9
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	98,9	97,6	*	97,7

**Every Place in Turkey is My Homeland
(Turkish Population)**

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	98,2	92,3	84,6	94,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	98,5	97,7	97,7	98,5
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul- Mersin)	100,0	*	*	99,0
Total	98,5	94,3	92,7	97,9

The six different tables above concerning the rate of regarding the whole Turkey as homeland show that values are highly positive, with 85% for the Kurdish, 91% for Zazas and 98% for Arabs.

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

When one looks at these results from the variable point of ethnic background and region, one can see that they are positive in general in the provinces living with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. The rate of regarding entire Turkey as homeland is positive, with 93% among the Kurdish people living in the provinces with rare acts of terror, whereas that rate is relatively lower in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration (86 % and 84 %). As for Zaza population, the rate is positive with 92-93% in the provinces with rare acts of terror and provinces with intensive terror.

Considering these values on the grounds of ethnicity and sect, one can see that while the rate of regarding entire Turkey as homeland is positive among the Kurdish/Zaza Hanafis and Shafi'is, the results are lower among the Kurdish Alevi and Zaza Alevi (74% and 80%).

The differentiation of values with respect to sect and region among the Kurdish and Zaza people was indicated below by starting from the most positive value and summarizing the results above. The rate of regarding entire Turkey as homeland is the lowest for Kurdish Alevi living in the provinces with intensive terror (56%).

Every Place in Turkey is My Homeland			
Ethnicity	Sect	Region	Percent (%)
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	95,9
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	94,8
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	93,0
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	91,9
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	88,6
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	88,5
Kurdish	Hanafi	Districts formed by migration	87,7
Kurdish	Alevi	Districts formed by migration	87,5
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	86,8
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	81,7
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Districts formed by migration	81,0
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	80,6
Zaza	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	79,5
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	56,3

VIEWS ON THE SHARED FUTURE OF TURKS AND KURDS

Turks and Kurds Have a Shared Future Together				
Region	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	81,0	92,0	94,9	89,3
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mr -Mal-Ş.Urf)	89,0	79,8	89,7	89,7
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	81,2	*	*	88,3
Total	83,9	88,5	92,9	89,6

Turks and Kurds Have a Shared Future Together					
Religious Sect	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	Total
Hanafi	86,9	86,0	93,7	89,9	88,8
Shafi'i	82,6	92,4	93,8	87,2	84,4
Alevi	75,0	75,6	*	88,0	79,6
Total	83,9	88,5	92,9	89,6	86,5

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall under 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turks and Kurds Have a Shared Future Together (Kurdish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	82,3	81,3	58,5	81,0
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	89,0	89,4	84,8	89,0
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	82,4	78,4	94,4	81,2
Total	86,9	82,6	75,0	83,9

Turks and Kurds Have a Shared Future Together (Zaza Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	91,7	95,8	75,0	92,0
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant- K. Mrş-Mal- S.Urf)	77,5	80,0	*	79,8
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	86,0	92,4	75,6	88,5

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall under 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Turks and Kurds Have a Shared Future Together (Arabic Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	95,2	95,5	*	94,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Ur)	92,9	86,4	*	89,7
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	93,7	93,0	*	92,9

Turks and Kurds Have a Shared Future Together (Turkish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	92,4	86,9	78,3	89,3
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-El -Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş- Mal-Ş.Ur)	89,7	88,2	92,7	89,7
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	88,3	*	*	88,3
Total	89,9	87,2	88,0	89,6

While the Arab population accepts the idea that “Turks and Kurds have a shared future together” with the highest rate of 93%, the Turks, Zazas and Kurds in the region agree with this idea with considerably high rates as well (90 %, 89 % and 84 % respectively).

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

When one looks at these results with respect to the variables of ethnic background and region, one can see that they are generally positive, but highlight a slightly lower rate in the provinces with intensive terror and in the districts formed by migration. The view that “Turks and Kurds have a shared future together” is positive, with 89% among the Kurdish people living in the provinces with rare acts of terror, whereas this rate is relatively lower in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration (81 %). For Zaza population, the rate is positive with the rate of 80% in provinces with rare acts of terror and 92% in provinces with intensive terror.

When one looks at these values from the variables of ethnicity and sect, such a picture emerges: while the view that “Turks and Kurds have a shared future together” is much more positive among the Kurdish/Zaza Hanafis and Shafi’is, the results are relatively lower among the Kurdish and Zaza Alevi (75%). One of the most important and remarkable finding here is the Kurdish and Zaza Alevi’s much more positive views about the issue of living together compared to other common values and symbols.

The differentiation of values with respect to sect and region among the Kurdish and Zaza people was given below by starting from the most positive value and by summarizing the results above. The view that “Turks and Kurds have a shared future together” is the lowest among the Kurdish Alevi living in the provinces with intensive terror (59%). It is a highly remarkable and pleasing finding that the view “Turks and Kurds shared future together” is especially positive for Kurdish Alevi living in the provinces with rare acts of terror (85%) and Kurdish Alevi living in the districts formed by migration (94%).

Turks and Kurds Have a Shared Future Together			
Ethnicity	Sect	Region	Percent (%)
Zaza	Shafi’i	Provinces with intensive terror	95,8
Kurdish	Alevi	Districts formed by migration	94,4
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	91,7
Kurdish	Shafi’i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	89,4
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	89,0
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	84,8
Kurdish	Hanafi	Districts formed by migration	82,4
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	82,3
Kurdish	Shafi’i	Provinces with intensive terror	81,3
Zaza	Shafi’i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	80,0
Kurdish	Shafi’i	Districts formed by migration	78,4
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	77,5
Zaza	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	75,0
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	58,5

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT SPEAKING TURKISH

Speaking Turkish Does Not Constitute a Problem for Me

Region	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	82,9	94,8	94,2	97,8
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	93,1	93,3	98,6	99,0
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	81,9	*	*	99,0
Total	86,4	93,6	96,2	98,8

Speaking Turkish Does Not Constitute a Problem for Me

Religious Sect	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	Total
Hanafi	90,9	92,0	97,9	98,9	95,7
Shafi'i	84,2	95,5	95,9	98,1	87,2
Alevi	81,8	87,2	*	98,8	88,5
Total	86,4	93,6	96,2	98,8	91,6

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Speaking Turkish Does Not Constitute a Problem for Me (Kurdish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	83,4	83,1	70,6	82,9
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	93,9	91,2	94,4	93,1
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	89,4	77,2	87,0	81,9
Total	90,9	84,2	81,8	86,4

Speaking Turkish Does Not Constitute a Problem for Me (Zaza Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	92,0	97,0	87,5	94,8
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	95,6	90,5	*	93,3
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	92,0	95,5	87,2	93,6

* Even though the sample number of the analysis is 8,607, in some sub-groups this number may fall below 30. Within the groups having sample number fewer than 30, the tendency average of the question was not given in the tables due to their lack of representativeness. However, the answer values of the group members were added to the calculation of total scores. Consequently, some total scores were formed outside of the value limits (greater than the greatest value or smaller than the smallest value) within the group.

Speaking Turkish Does Not Constitute a Problem for Me (Arabic Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	93,3	94,9	*	94,2
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	100,0	97,4	*	98,6
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	97,9	95,9	*	96,2

Speaking Turkish Does Not Constitute a Problem for Me (Turkish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	98,1	97,1	100,0	97,8
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	99,0	100,0	100,0	99,0
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	100,0	*	*	99,0
Total	98,9	98,1	98,8	98,8

While the Arab population accepts the idea that “speaking Turkish does not constitute a problem for me” with the highest rate at 96%, Zazas and Kurds in the region join them in this opinion with reasonably similar high rates, at 94% and 86% respectively. These percentages indicate that both of these groups are, to a large extent, in agreeance with that idea.

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When one looks at these values with respect to the variables of ethnic background and region, one can see that they are positive in general in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. Yet, especially the Kurdish people have relatively lower rates. The view that “speaking Turkish does not constitute a problem for me” is positive, with the rate of 93% among the Kurdish people living in the provinces with rare acts of terror, whereas that rate is relatively lower in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration (82-83%). For Zaza population, the rate is positive with 93-95% in the provinces with intensive and rare acts of terror.

Taking into account these values from the perspective of ethnicity and sect, the result is as follows: unlike all different values and symbols asked in other questions, the view that “speaking Turkish does not constitute a problem for me” is above the rate of 80% in all ethnic-sectarian sub-groups. The important and remarkable finding here is the positive views of Kurdish/Zaza Alevi (82% and 87%) on this question, while the rate was much weaker in other questions about shared values and symbols.

The differentiation of values with respect to sect and region among Kurdish and Zaza people was given below by starting from the most positive value and summarizing the results above. The view that “speaking Turkish does not constitute a problem for me” is generally positive, and the relatively lowest amount is seen among the Kurdish Alevi with 71% in the provinces with intensive terror. It is a highly remarkable finding that both Zaza and Kurdish Alevi have positive views about the question (88 % and 94 % respectively).. This suggests that the people in the region do not perceive speaking Turkish as a problem.

Speaking Turkish Does Not Constitute a Problem for Me			
Ethnicity	Sect	Region	Percent (%)
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	97,0
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	95,6
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	94,4
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	93,9
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	92,0
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	91,2
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	90,5
Kurdish	Hanafi	Districts formed by migration	89,4
Zaza	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	87,5
Kurdish	Alevi	Districts formed by migration	87,0
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	83,4
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	83,1
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Districts formed by migration	77,2
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	70,6

TURKISH CITIZENSHIP AND SENSE OF BELONGING

I am Proud of Being a Turkish Citizen				
Region	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	75,2	84,2	96,3	97,0
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	90,4	83,0	96,6	99,2
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	71,2	*	*	96,9
Total	80,4	82,8	96,6	98,8

I am Proud of Being a Turkish Citizen					
Religious Sect	Kurdish	Zaza	Arabic	Turkish	Total
Hanafi	88,6	85,8	94,1	99,2	94,9
Shafi'i	76,8	86,8	97,6	96,8	81,1
Alevi	59,4	52,4	*	93,9	71,1
Total	80,4	82,8	96,6	98,8	88,0

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**I am Proud of Being a Turkish Citizen
(Kurdish Population)**

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	82,5	74,4	47,6	75,2
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	91,1	89,3	84,2	90,4
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	84,8	69,4	38,1	71,2
Total	88,6	76,8	59,4	80,4

**I am Proud of Being a Turkish Citizen
(Zaza Population)**

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	88,2	88,4	53,1	84,2
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	83,7	81,0	*	83,0
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	85,8	86,8	52,4	82,8

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I am Proud of Being a Turkish Citizen (Arabic Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	90,6	97,4	*	96,3
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	95,5	97,5	*	96,6
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	*	*	*	*
Total	94,1	97,6	*	96,6

I am Proud of Being a Turkish Citizen (Turkish Population)

Region	Hanafi	Shafi'i	Alevi	Total
Provinces with intensive terror (Ağr-Bat-Bin-Bit-Diy-Hak-Muş-Siirt-Tun-Van)	98,6	95,6	92,6	97,0
Provinces with rare acts of terror (Adı-Ela-Erz-G.Ant-K.Mrş-Mal-Ş.Urf)	99,3	98,9	97,7	99,2
Districts formed by migration (İstanbul-Mersin)	98,7	*	*	96,9
Total	99,2	96,8	93,9	98,8

While the Arab population agrees with the statement that “I am proud of being a Turkish citizen” with the highest rate at 97%, the Zazas and Kurds also agree with the expression at 83% and 80% respectively. These rates show that all of these ethnic groups accept this statement with remarkably high rates.

When one looks at these results with respect to the variables of ethnic background and region, one can see that they are generally positive, but of a slightly lower rate in the

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provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. Especially among the Kurdish people, relatively lower rates have been recorded. The rate of accepting the statement “I am proud of being a Turkish citizen” is positive, with 90% among the Kurdish people living in the provinces with rare acts of terror, whereas the rate is relatively lower in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration (75% and 71%). As for Zaza population, the rate is positive with 83% - 84% in the provinces with rare acts of terror and intensive terror. Differences on the basis of the region do not exist.

When one looks at these results taking into account the variables of ethnicity and sect, the finding is as follows: while accepting the statement that “I am proud of being a Turkish citizen” is much more positive among the Kurdish/Zaza Hanafis and Shafi’is, the results are relatively lower for Kurdish Alevi and Zaza Alevi (59% and 52%).

The differentiation of values with respect to sect and region among Kurdish and Zaza people was indicated below by starting from the most positive value and by summarizing the results above. The rate of accepting the statement that “I am proud of being a Turkish citizen” is the lowest among these groups: Zaza Alevi living in the provinces with intensive terror (53%), Kurdish Alevi living in the provinces with intensive terror (48%) and Kurdish Alevi living in the districts formed by migration (38%). For Kurdish Alevi in the provinces with rare acts of terror, the value is fairly high at 84%.

I am Proud of Being a Turkish Citizen			
Ethnicity	Sect	Region	Percent (%)
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	91,1
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	89,3
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	88,4
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	88,2
Kurdish	Hanafi	Districts formed by migration	84,8
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	84,2
Zaza	Hanafi	Provinces with rare acts of terror	83,7
Kurdish	Hanafi	Provinces with intensive terror	82,5
Zaza	Shafi'i	Provinces with rare acts of terror	81,0
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Provinces with intensive terror	74,4
Kurdish	Shafi'i	Districts formed by migration	69,4
Zaza	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	53,1
Kurdish	Alevi	Provinces with intensive terror	47,6
Kurdish	Alevi	Districts formed by migration	38,1

VIEWS ON THE FEDERAL RIGHTS FROM THE POINT OF THE SOLUTION OF KURDISH PROBLEM

Does Granting Federative Rights to Kurdish Population Constitute a Permanent Solution to the Kurdish Problem?		
ETHNICITY	NO	YES
Kurdish	92,7%	7,3%
Zaza	94,1%	5,9%
Arabic	98,0%	2,0%
Turkish	98,6%	1,4%
TOTAL	94,9%	5,1%

Concerning the rates of accepting the idea that “granting federative rights to Kurds will constitute a permanent solution to the Kurdish problem”; while the rate is 7.3 % among the Kurdish people, the rate is 5.9 % among Zazas, 2% among the Arabs and 1.4 % among Turks. This rate is 16.1% for the Kurds who both advocate the federative rights and voted for DTP (later replaced by BDP, Peace and Democracy Party). The rate for the same situation is 10.5% for the Zaza population. The answers given to this question clearly indicate, without any further debate, that the Kurdish people have no intention to demand for a federation.

Does Granting Federative Rights to Kurdish Population Constitute a Permanent Solution to the Kurdish Problem? (Kurdish and Zaza Population)			
POLITICAL VIEW	ETHNICITY	NO	YES
PEOPLE VOTED FOR OTHER PARTIES	Kurdish	96,5%	3,5%
	Zaza	97,1%	2,9%
	Total	96,6%	3,4%
PEOPLE VOTED FOR DTP (BDP) AND THEIR INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES	Kurdish	83,9%	16,1%
	Zaza	89,5%	10,5%
	Toplam	84,3%	15,7%

VIEWS ON ESTABLISHING AN INDEPENDENT STATE FROM THE POINT OF THE SOLUTION OF KURDISH PROBLEM

Does Giving Independence to the Kurds in Turkey Constitute a Solution for the Kurdish Problem?		
ETHNICITY	NO	YES
Kurdish	90,1%	9,9%
Zaza	92,2%	7,8%
Arabic	99,4%	0,6%
Turkish	99,3%	0,7%
TOTAL	93,7%	6,3%

Concerning the rates of saying “yes” to the question of “does giving independence to the Kurds in Turkey constitute a solution for the Kurdish problem?”; while the rate is 9.9% among the Kurds, the rate is 7.8% for Zazas, 0.6 % for Arabs and 0.7 % for Turks. That rate is 23.4% for Kurds and Zazas who both believe in independence and who voted for DTP (BDP). The rate is 3.4 % for Kurds and Zazas who believe in independence but voted for the other parties. The answers given to this question clearly indicate that the Kurdish people have no intention of establishing an independent nation.

(Does Giving Independence to the Kurds in Turkey Constitute a Solution for the Kurdish Problem (Kurdish and Zaza Population))			
POLITICAL VIEW	ETHNICITY	NO	YES
PEOPLE VOTED FOR OTHER PARTIES	Kurdish	96,5%	3,5%
	Zaza	98,0%	2,0%
	Total	96,6%	3,4%
PEOPLE VOTED FOR DTP (BDP) AND THEIR INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES	Kurdish	76,6%	23,4%
	Zaza	76,3%	23,7%
	Total	76,6%	23,4%

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

Of the 12,912,561 population (considering the whole of 19 provinces in the eastern and southeastern region where Kurdish population is higher than any other region) 55.59% is made up of the Kurdish, 6.73% by Zaza, 6.66% by Arabs and 30.55% by Turkish population. While the total Kurdish population in the region is 7,178,887, Zaza population is 869,083 and the Arab population is 860,470. Of the Kurdish population, 76.02% is (5,457, 390 people) Shafi'i, 22.54% (1,618,121 people) is Hanafi and 1.44% (103,376 people) is Alevi. As for the Zaza people, 61.72% (536,455) of them are formed by Shafi'is, while 21.12% (183,622) is by Hanafis and 17.14% (149,006) by Alevi.

In the region encompassing 12 provinces (Agri-Batman-Bitlis-Diyarbakir-Hakkari-Mardin-Mus-Siirt-Sirnak-Tunceli-Van) with intensive terror rates, of the total population - being 6,195,211 people-, 80.49% is made up of Kurds, 8.87% by Zazas, 6% by Arabs and 3.92% by the Turks.

In the provinces of eastern and southeastern Anatolia, the rate of people who have another native language apart from Turkish and say they speak Turkish as a second language at home is 80% and above. Moreover, the study shows that people from different ethnic origins have accepted Turkish as a common language and to a large extent, do not perceive using Turkish as problem in their daily lives.

The views on the country's shared symbols, such as the Turkish flag and the Turkish national anthem, and the acceptance of these symbols, are highly positive with 85-95% among the Kurdish, Zaza and Arabic ethnicities living in the provinces with rare acts of terror. The study suggests that Turkish Alevi have a strong sense of belonging to the Republic of Turkey. This fact is indicated by the strong support of Turkish Alevi for the country's shared symbols: the rate of Alevi who say the "Turkish flag is ours" is at 96.3 % and that of Alevi who say "Turkish national anthem is my anthem" is 97.4 %. These results are nearly the same as those of Sunni Hanafi and Shafi'is and this clarifies their strong sense of belonging. As can be seen from the answers given to the other questions in the study, given the fact that the Kurdish Alevi have a weak sense of belonging to the country, it has been concluded that the source of the problem is not based on religion. Rather, it is the traumatic life experiences of both the Kurdish and the Alevi -because of their origins- which, in turn, lead to strengthen their negative views on the sense of belonging to the country.

Another fact coming out from the questions related to the Turkish flag and the Turkish national anthem is the notable differentiation in the sense of *belonging* rates in the provinces with intensive terror and rare acts of terror. It is crystal clear that the sense of belonging in the provinces with intensive terror is quite weak. This fact proves that the security forces find it difficult to gain the support of the community in their fight against terrorism. Likewise, the sense of belonging rates fall to the lowest levels in the districts formed by migration. Looking at data concerning the low rates of sense of belonging in the districts formed by migration, both the impacts of socio-economic conditions and the role of mandatory migration practices in combating terror could be analyzed.

Likewise, views on the Turkish military and acceptance of the Turkish Armed Forces as the common army is highly positive, with 80-95% among people of Kurdish, Zaza and Arab ethnicities. However, it is also a fact that the rate of accepting the Turkish army is relatively weak in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration. Much higher declines among the Kurdish and Zaza Alevi citizens identify the problem and clarify the need for further deliberation on it and for solutions to this problem.

The rate of accepting Turkish history as a shared history among people coming from other ethnic origins is the highest in Arabic citizens with 95%. The other rates for the groups are as follows: 85% amongst the Zazas and 77% amongst the Kurds. In terms of embracing Turkish history, this rate is, in general, low among Kurdish citizens and in particular, low among Kurdish Alevis. While the Kurdish Alevi rate of accepting Turkish history stays firm at 47.5% in the provinces with intensive terror, that rate declines to 36.4% in the districts formed by migration. With regards to the findings of the study, it seems clearly evident that the Turkish Ministry of Education should exhibit an appreciation for the contributions of Kurdish and Alevi citizens to Turkish history, culture and civilization by placing these contributions into the current syllabus with the emphasis on shared cultural norms and historical values.

The rate of regarding every place in Turkey as homeland is the highest among Arabic citizens with 98%. The rate is also high for Zaza citizens with 91% and for Kurdish citizens with 85%. It is evident from the study that the rate of regarding every place in Turkey as homeland is especially low among Kurdish Alevis (56.3%) living in the provinces with intensive terror.

The idea that "Turkish and Kurdish people have a shared future together" is highly accepted among the Arabic citizens with the rate of 93% where the Turkish (90%), Zazas (89%) and Kurdish (84%) in the region agree with this idea. Attention has to be made to the problem of the low percentage among the Turkish and Kurdish Alevis on the shared future of the two groups. This rate is lower among Turkish Alevis (78.3 %) and Kurdish Alevis (58.5 %) compared with the other sects.

The expression that "I am proud of being a Turkish citizen" has the highest support from Arabic citizens by 96% while Zaza (83%) and Kurdish (80%) citizens are also giving positive answers. The answers given to one of the most crucial questions of the study- "I am proud of being a Turkish citizen"- indicate that there is an important problem with an urgent need to be solved. This is due to the fact that it is not possible for a community to be peaceful and live in harmony unless the citizens are proud of their states.

In the paragraphs above, there is a mutual consent and enthusiasm among Kurdish, Zaza and Arabic citizens to live with Turkish people in the lands of Turkey. This consensus (in total) is above 80% and even above 90% in some cases. It is also possible to say that many people have no problem with shared values and symbols.

As for the issues of accepting the shared values and symbols and living together in Turkish lands; the enthusiasm and positive results (85% and above) in the provinces with rare acts of terror (Adiyaman-Elazig-Erzurum-G. Antep-K.Maras-Malatya-S.Urfa) can be seen within the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration but of relatively lower rates.

The tendencies on viewing the shared symbols and values do not differ on a regional basis among the Arabic citizens (who have the highest positive percentage in every question) and Zaza citizens (who have a little differentiation rate with regard to the region), varying according to the intensity of terror. Inter-regional differences in terms of shared symbols and values have been clearly observed in Kurdish ethnic nationals. The perceptions of the people living in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration are highly negative compared to the people living in the provinces with rare acts of terror. It is also important to note that the tendencies and behaviours of the people living in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration are remarkably similar to each other.

Considering the issues of shared values and symbols and living together in Turkey on the grounds of the variables of ethnic background and sect, it is evident that the most negative attitude in these issues come from the Kurdish Alevis and Zaza Alevis. However, given the fact that the Kurdish Alevi tendencies are higher than 80% in the provinces with rare acts of terror and Turkish Alevi tendencies are positive with an amount of 90% and above, it is also clear that the negative attitude among the people could not only be explained on the grounds of ethnicity and sect, but instead on the conditions of the region and effects of the traumatic past, as these are also critical parameters for the formation of this attitude.

Compared to the shared values and symbols, much more positive tendency (about 75%) have been recorded for the expression of "Turkish and Kurdish people have a shared future together" among the Kurdish Alevis and Zaza Alevis. This suggests an implication of vital importance that even the most negative groups are willing to live together. Besides, this result underlines the need for the application of the rules that could better facilitate living together as such. It also indicates the importance of sustaining the "Alevi Opening" with wide-ranging contributions and support.

For the solution of Kurdish problem, many people consider that a more democratic republic with enlarged cultural rights would be sufficient. Even the demands for federative rights and independence are lower than 10% among the Kurdish citizens. Besides, the rate of federative rights demands among the Kurdish citizens who voted for DTP (BDP) are 16.1 % and it is 23.4 % for the independence demands within the same group. Since many people regard federative rights and independence demands alternative to each other, the total rate is around 30% for the people (voted for DTP (BDP)) who demand at least either federative rights or independence.

Pinpointing a vital problem, a dire need for outlining and seeking the underlying reasons of the negativenesses in terms of belonging to the country's shared symbols among some ethnic and sectarian groups (living in the provinces with intensive terror and districts formed by migration).

As a result, the findings pointed out in this study highlight some important problems in terms of the sense of belonging among some ethnicities and sects. However, the results also suggest that a great number of Kurdish, Zaza and Arabic citizens have no problem with the sense of belonging and living together. That's why it can be quite explicitly said that the

demands presented in various platforms today do not reflect the real demands and requests of the Kurdish population.

Bringing to light the contributions of Kurdish and Alevi citizens in the Turkish common history, culture and civilization, along with redefining the social ties within the context of shared values, will essentially enhance the social peace. Sustaining the democratization process without any disruption and continuation of finding answers to the Kurdish and Alevi Problem will strengthen the perceptions of social togetherness and the sense of belonging among the Kurdish and Alevi citizens. Otherwise, social polarization will be getting deeper and deeper in almost each and every dimension.

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