# New Minority Woman/Terrorism

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#### Abstract

In the first part of the article, generally the term minority and the factors determining being minority has been focused and within this framework the Treaty of Lausanne and the meaning of minority in Turkey have been mentioned. In the next part, the general perspective of EU toward the minority has been focused on, the agreements about minority rights that EU countries took side and the rights provided towards the minority in these agreements have been mentioned. After focusing on the comparison between the Treaty of Lausanne and The Copenhagen Criteria, special cases of Alevi and Kurdish in Turkey have been focused on and some information has been given in order to identify the groups. After focusing on the meaning of self-determination of people in purpose of explaining the minority rights, the stance of UK and Spain from EU towards the minorities and their legal regulations have been presented. On the other hand, the term patriotism has been defined and it has been supported that the patriotism is compassion and devotion to one's country. Today, in terms of universal values, national and ethnic minorities force the governments to reconstruct the linguistic and religious demands, developed and developing countries in the world. Within the framework of universal values and international agreements and in terms of European Union Turkey multicultural country recognized the cultural and human rights of its citizens. As a result of that Turkey led to its citizens to be "volunteer" and it caused to develop the term of "a common patriotism feeling" for its citizens. In the consideration of all these, it has been mentioned about Turkey's progression about being a secular and social constitutional state.

#### The Term Minority

As sociologically, the word "minority" expresses smaller communities compared to general population and the communities differentiated from general structure of community that they live, race, language, religion and nation. According to Türkdoğan minority means the sub groups that can be distinguished from the present group because of the differentiation in terms of physiognomy, language, general customs and cultural examples in a culture. But in terms of principles, a general definition for minority can not be given and the reason is based on the different cases in which the minorities are.<sup>(1)</sup>

While some of them live in clear cut separate regions, some of them are spread in national communities. While some minorities have strong collective identity thought, some of them have only different thought of their own common inheritance. In addition to that, there are criteria covering all minority cases such as number, not

being dominant, differences in ethnic or national identity, culture, language or religion. In summary, there is no universally valid statement about the term minority in international bill of human rights.<sup>(2)</sup>

#### **Determining the Minority Status**

EU defines the term minority as "everyone different from the majority and defining this difference as inseparable factor of their identity". The definition of minority in Turkey used in international platform is limited with non-Muslim minorities and it is mentioned in chapter of "Protection of Minorities" in 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne.<sup>(3)</sup> Since 1924, the citizens of Turkish

Republic, who are apart from minorities, have been named as Turkish and sufficient regulations have been conducted in constitutions and civil codes.

It is possible to say that in order to create a homogenous nation, a policy forcing Muslim rooted minorities to become Turkish has been followed with these regulations conducted in an oppressive ground.<sup>(4)</sup> Turkey alleges that there is no minorities apart from the minorities who were mentioned in the Treaty of Lausanne and Turkish-Bulgarian Non-Aggression Treaty and it opposes to the proposals of EU about according the cultural rights to especially the Kurdish and Muslim minorities by referring to the resolutions of Supreme Court.<sup>(5)</sup> But according to the Treaty of Lausanne, it is right to recognize only non-Muslims as minorities legally.<sup>(6)</sup>

# General Approach to Minority Rights in European Union

The protection of minorities against discrimination and suppression is one of the oldest point of interests in international law. Minority rights and protection of it is important also in EU considering itself as guard of law and human rights.

In chapter of political criteria of Copenhagen Criteria, the principle about recognition and protection of minorities is expressed with these quotes: <sup>(7)1</sup>

"To take precautions providing the integration of minority communities with the society is a prerequisite of democratic stability. That's why, to guarantee these rights are a prerequisite of EU membership in accordance with the texts, especially 'The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities' adopted by the Council of Europe, proposing the protection of minorities."

According to this main principle, in order to start the membership negotiations for EU, these countries have to sign all agreements and documents related to minority rights in process of UN, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris and OSCE.

## The Copenhagen Criteria and the Treaty of Lausanne

The third chapter of the Treaty of Lausanne titled The Protection of Minorities regulates the problems of minorities and different ethnic communities. In Lausanne, apart from Cypriot Greeks, Armenians and the Jewish there are three more holders of right. These rights are; the rights entitled to Turkish subjects belonging ton on-Muslim minorities, <sup>(8)</sup> exclusive rights entitled to all Turkish subjects no matter what their religions or origins are (the rights indicated in Art. 39/3 and Art. 39/4), the rights entitled to everyone inhabiting in Turkey (It is composed of provisions indicated in art. 38/1 and 38/2 of the treaty and indicating no discrimination of nationality, language, origin, religion; right to live and freedom and entitling the rights of equality.) <sup>(9)</sup> and the rights entitled to Turkish subjects speaking other languages than Turkish.

According to the articles of 38/1, 38/2, 39/4 and 39/5 of the Treaty of Lausanne, it is against making discrimination of nationality, language, origin and religion among Turkish subjects and the ones speaking other language than Turkish have liberty to use their language everywhere including press liberally.<sup>(10)</sup> However, the binding provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne explained above became controversial issue when the provisions about the protection of minorities and fundamental rights in the Copenhagen Criteria which Turkey has to comply with in order to be a member of EU became current issue.

#### The Kurdish and the Alevi

The understanding of nation based on religion has changed radically since the Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923. The religion factor plays a great role for not determining Muslim Kurdish as a different national community in Lausanne. Since the Kurdish problem became "international",<sup>(11)</sup> solving the problem became related to many issues both internally and externally. Within this framework, with clearing the Kurdish problem it is expected that there will be solutions in economical, political, legal, social problems and the reactions about human rights in foreign affairs will be slow down. Also, it is really problem for Turkey that every kind of problems becomes somehow related to the Kurdish and this problem is used successfully.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> <sup>(1)</sup>Erol ANAR, Öte Kıyıda Yaşayanlar: Azınlıklar, Yerli Halklar ve Türkiye, Belge Press, İstanbul, 1997, page.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(2)</sup>Naz Çavuşoğlu, Uluslararası İnsan Hakları Hukukunda Azınlık Hakları, 2.B, Su Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001, page.35.

Also see: Baskın Oran, Küreselleşme ve Azınlıklar, 4.B, İmaj Press, Ankara, 2001, s.151

<sup>3</sup> These minorities; Greeks, Armenians and Jewish people. Oran, a.g.e., s. 151-152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(4)</sup>Ekinci, a.g.e., s.34.

After the Republic period, there was not a radical transformation in terms of the Alevi. Via secularism, the Alevi support Kemalism and prolonged approaches based on exlusion of sheri'a from the process of ruling.<sup>(12)</sup> The Alevi were not accepted as national minority in Lausanne as well. This issue is considered as important because of the issues basicly based on human rights and reaction for the reports of development in the EU membership process of Turke<sup>3</sup>y. It is also important because of the hesitations about the characteristics of Turkey such as being secular and democratic country in the international platform.

# The Examples of England and Spain

#### 1. Spain

The example of Spain shows that giving more freedom to the minorities causes to absorb a multicultural structure and helps different identities live together instead of increasing separatist demands. Also it proves that while the regulations about right to self-government decreases the conflicts related to violence, the violation of this right increases the possibility of conflict. Spain accomplished to implement its approach about giving freedom to different identities with covering the immigrants in the country.

## 2. England

Within the framework of law, the minorities have right to litigate to Civilian Courts or Courts of Labour in case of being exposed to discrimination. In order to promote the equal opportunities and destroy the discrimination, Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) independent but supported by the government was founded. Therefore England conducted the internal regulations in order to prevent the discrimination and it put these regulations into practice.

## Patriotism

Patriotism is one's love and devotion for his country. All of us, lives in national borders, speak our national languages and mostly speak to our national society. Though, sometimes its meaning changes and it quite depends on environmental conditions, geography and philosophy. Patriotism is used related with the word patriotism used in Ottoman Empire.

There were important shifts in the meaning of patriotism in the later 19th and early 20th century patriotism " was extensively propagated by those in authority, and its political location was on the right. Its focus was sometimes the Empire or the United Kingdom rather than England, but even then it often resorted to the language and symbols of patriotism as they had developed in the eighteenth century. Yet in that century was the creed of opposition."

According to Alasdair MacIntyre,# patriotism is not to be confused with a mindless loyalty to one's own particular nation which has no regard at all for the characteristics of that particular nation. Patriotism does generally and characteristically involve a peculiar regard not just for one's own nation, but for the particular characteristics and merits and achievements of one's own nation.

The devotion of a patriot to his country is not because of us, it is also because of putting particular value on it and it is because of considering it with Republican virtue and a good design of society. Within the framework of universal values and international agreements and in terms of European Union Turkey multicultural country recognized the cultural and human rights of its citizens. As a result of that Turkey led to its citizens to be "volunteer" and it caused to develop the term of "a common patriotism feeling" for its citizens. In the consideration of all these, Turkey is progressing to be complete democratic, secular and a social constitutional state.

As a matter of fact that being patriotism, liberty and equality are significant concepts. The Great French Revolution has introduced these concepts, but to provide freedom of movement both personally and energy, such as raw material we should highlighted equality concepts. In this point Arabian rebellion is important case to understand the view of equality.

<sup>5</sup> For example look., The Constitutional Court's closing decision about Socialist Party at 29 August 1994 for taking place Curdish problem in their programmes. ECtHR has accepted that Curdish people's identity, language and education in mother tongue rights need to be recognized in the TBKP, HEP an DEP decisions which have been closed with the same reasons.

To conclude, to provide all of this values about patriotism there is a necessity to think globally, behave locally, prevent migration and being happy where you live. According to Luc Besson, think globally, kill local. :)

We think that there is a new definition for minority in local. There is a need for defining the brand new minority out of women in the example of Turkey, which is a typical Islamic country example, is our opinion. If we look at the status of women in Islamic countries;

# The Cunning of Keeping Woman Ignorant<sup>(14)</sup>

In the Middle East two classes of citizen has created. Woman is in the second class of citizen who doesn't have any assurance, on the other hand man is the administrator who decides everything. "in Iran, only a dead woman is a free woman" Erika Tried.

With converting the biological difference between man and woman to a social-cultural difference, the hypothesis of inequality and legitimizing rationale of man's hegemony reaches our present day from thousand years ago, so this situation is a comprehension which proves being the most enduring ideology model against time and change and this also develops the rationale of woman's sociologically suppression. It can be thought that it is in the monopoly of man's, how woman wears, how they need to behaves, deciding when they cross the frontier and punished and the implementation of the punishment. Mans, who are in an effort of destroying the woman's identity, to legitimize this inequality, with decorating "we are returning to our traditions" expressions, justifies woman's having no identity who they abstracted from society.<sup>4</sup>

It is one of the goal of Islamic regime to create anonymous womans. "A totalitarian regime" always afraids of someone who thinks different rather than crown the society who interrogates polyphonism and individuality. They afraid: because uniformity and single polyphonism are the components which feed Sharia system. So the society, which defends Sharia system, being populist and democratic is impossible. For as much as they are predicted on the God's power and the religion's rules rather than public's power and hegemony. In the Middle East womans are shaped according to the Sharia. This ideology shapes the woman convicted of exploitation who studies, qualified like "sin" even seeing themselves in the mirror with excluding the woman model equal to man, prohibited, taking care of home is being the only merit.

#### **Obeying Mother-Wife Status**

According to Sharia, woman should be not administrator but administrated, obeying, accepted the man's being the only sovereign, engaged with Islam. Thus desirable totalitarian society will created and man's hegemonian patriarchal society can develop as much as domination on woman. In a society like this, woman has to content themselves with the limited mother-wife role. Because second-class existence is foreseen for woman. The Middle Eastern women can not interrogate, criticize the society in which they live. They spend their lives between punishment and death. While woman couldn't go beyond from the limited mother-wife situation, man society, keeping the woman uneducated and exploiting, uses her as their ideologie's fork.

In the Middle East, two classes of citizen has been created. The man, who benefits from Islamic law and the woman who can not. Woman is in the situation of second class citizen who doesn't have any assurance. However the man is an absolute manager who decides everything.

This situation, which ignores the woman's individuality, is related to especially woman's having no economical role. Woman's only taking care of home put a role in man like breadwinner and causes woman being abstract from social arena. Because of the woman's status is limited with being obeying wife to his husband, they are totally far from political life. Therefore, to determine the woman's rights are in the iniative of man. Accordingly, by expanding their rights and with shrouding the woman under the black chador in physical and intellectual means, has impelled her to a deep ambiguousness. With the logic of "It was like that previously, this should be like that" general argues accumulates in layers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The first international minority treaty, The Poland Minority Treatie's and other treatie's about minorities which take this treaty as model, each part of them using "race, language and religion minorities" term has been changed as "non Muslim" term in the Treaty of Lausanne. Also at the third part of Lausanne consists of 37.th and 44.th matters, The subject of only non Muslim peoples creates obligations in international character justifies this situation.

In one hand woman is in the consistency of giving birth and bringing up a child, obeying the man's commands; on the other hand they are fighting for living under the laws, which ignores them and which they have to carry on their shoulders like bunch.<sup>5</sup>

Woman's no need to educated as mans. It is enough for woman to be educated for managing the kitchen-child-bed triangle. Their reasons are; the delaying of woman's taking part in the society as individual, inability of establishing herself to society. Because woman can not catch the dispensation of justice power, in other words the rulership.

# When Sharia Choose Woman as Target<sup>(15)</sup>

Sharia choosing woman as target is also geared to woman's having social function because of her fertility. So mans with using womans and their needs, head towards other womans, maids, in other words the future of society. Because the woman obliged with only taking care of child at home, with her own philistinism, brings up unconscious individuals as herself. After reaching their target audience once, by seeing womans, who they can direct, as political power, they are using them for their own purposes. If we can not survive from this social senses and from face shield and turbans in our mind, Democracy will continue stumbling by woman.

## The Women Rights in Islamic Countries and in Turkey

Woman's rights and the worth towards woman is a situation which focused on from the past to the present. Especially at the present day, in the global world, human rights is a very important matter. In the West, democracy keep an important place. The equality and human rights are the source of democracy. While Turkey, who wants to be a member of European Union since its inception, has so many cracks in the name of democracy, whether they are true or false can be discussed, woman's rights stiil keep its place as a major problem in Turkey.<sup>(16)</sup> Problems faced by womans in Turkey are; violence towards woman, sexual harassment and rape, honour killing and the uneducated maids. Turkey neither situated in West nor in East but is an Islamic country. The circumstances of woman in Islam and in Islamic countries are obvious. So we can say that Turkey is an Islamic country which is trying to approach to West because of this there is dilemmas about woman situation.

According to the recent research in Turkey, woman exposed to violence consists from all classes so there is no difference between educated and uneducated, working and non working, city-dweller or not.

Another problem faced by woman in Turkey is to find a job. According to 2012 data, even in parliament, there is only %14 percent of woman delegate. There is also cultural and social pressure on woman. For example; while a boy can do everything he wants, a girl can not because it generally seen as blot. While a boy's being circumcised celebrated with wedding, a girl's being a young woman hides from everybody.

The discrimination in the workplace and the income differential are another matter. A woman does the same job with man but is under charge or having trouble in promoted. The proportion of woman exposed to violence is %39 percent, after exposed to violence, the proportion of woman who doesn't talk about this situation with anybody is % 92 percent. Because there is pressure on woman, woman can not talk because of her shyness. I think this situation is an important pointer of woman being minority and having pressure on them. Another example for pressure is; when a girl want to go to school but her father doesn't let her, she can not reclaim against her father unfortunately she doesn't have this right. If she reclaim against her father she probably exposed to violence.

<sup>7</sup>Tarık Ziya EKİNCİ, Avrupa Birliği'nde Azınlıkların Korunması Sorunu, Türkiye ve Kürtler, Press, İstanbul, 2001,page.13. <sup>(8)</sup> Md. 38/3, Md. 39/1, Md. 40, 41, 42, 43, ve 44. Has been set with the whole matters. These rights has been set as; "freedom of movement, benefit from civil rights, by paying all costs build an institution, managing and monitoring, using language around there, religious freedom, education in mother tongue, to get assistance from official budget, to respect the traditions and customs, having no action against religious beliefs or ritual acts."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(9)</sup> It has been edited at the 39/5 matter of the treaty..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(10)</sup> Baskın Oran, Aydınlık Magazine, 02.08.1993 b, 7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(11)</sup>Onar, a.g.e., s.172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(12)</sup>Erdoğan Aydın, Kabustan Demokrasiye: Milliyetçilik, Şeriat ve Alevilik, Gendaş AŞ, İstanbul, 1999, s.301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(13)</sup>Fikret BAŞKAYA,Milliyetçilik,yurtseverlik ve sol

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(14)</sup> Burçak Cürül, Radikal newspaper, 20 November 2012, page. 22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(15)</sup> Burçak Cürül, Radikal newspaper, 20 November 2012, page. 22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(16)</sup> http://yerelce.wordpress.com/2012/05/23/turkiyede-kadin-haklari-resmen-ab-gundeminde/

Before most of the Western countries, in Turkey woman are given the right to elect and be elected but i have specified the proportion of woman delegates in the parliament above. Despite having such a large population, in Turkey there is so few number of women's shelter.

Although an accurate description can not be made about what minority means, it can be said that women are minority in Turkey which is dominated by Islam as the religion of the population's majority. Theoretically woman and man are equal but we can not see this practically.<sup>(17)</sup>

The circumstance of woman in Islamic countries is heartbreaking. For example in Saudi Arabia woman are not to be liberty to walk alone in street, drive a car, go to university. In Jordan, there is a common vision that "Hitting a woman doesn't harm her honour because woman inborn has no honour." These examples are the indicator of woman's being minority and also the pointer of their freedom's being limited.

As a result in our country, woman's rights stiil keeping its place as an important problem. Turkey is not openly but sneakingly patriarchal country. A simple example; in the east part of Turkey, families have babies until the baby is born boy. In such a patriarchal society, women are minority.

Turkey is sticking between two powers. On the one hand trying to keep up with the West on the other hand it is a Muslim society. Although there is studies about woman's rights in Turkey recently, it seems like it will take time for public accept this situation. I think this issue should be given weight in the studies of recent laws.<sup>6</sup>

Actually Turkey is a country which has signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women with United Nations in 1983 also in 1948 has accepted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If Turkey wants to be more democratic, should keep away religion from politics, should accept everyone, male or female, is equal individuals, should also accept everyone has their rights and should guarantee to protect these rights.

# Why Women Become Terrorist

When we say minority in Turkey, maybe the first thing comes to mind is "the minority of the Curds" and "the Curdish problem". Although there is so many different ethnic and religion origin minorities in Turkey like Alevian, Circassian and Laz people, the only thing which reaches terrorism is Curdish problem. This situation is also the most important problem come up against Turkey in the international arena.

Of course minorities should have rights and these should be protected but to acquire this right, make an armed conflict and terror can not be acceptable. When we look firstly at what Curdish minority want seems really innocent but the enforcement methods they are using to accept these requests can not be acceptable.

When we look at the requests of these ethnic group; education in mother tongue, media in mother tongue. Starting from using their own language freely, later these demends reaches having their own flag and also setting up their own autonomous region in our country.

The terrorist organization so-called PKK, in the Eastern and South Eastern Anatolian part of Turkey, deceiving people who live there under the pretext of they will have freedom. Also they kidnap children, no matter girl or boy, and they bring them up as terrorist in the mountains at their camps. Of course there is not only kidnapped and raised terrorists, also there are someone who join PKK with their own desires. There are considerable numbers of women between them. Moreover these women make themselves suicide bomber, stand at the forefront, conflicts like a man.

So why a woman become terrorist? Actually the reasons are same for man and woman. The reasons are; socialeconomical unequally, poorness, population, educational level, ethnic background and the policies implemented by state. On the other hand, there are also desires to belong somewhere, gaining social status and obtaining financial returns purposes. <sup>(18)</sup>

The arguments which the terrorist organization mostly put forward are; injustice, unfairness and inequality. The idea of injustice pushes a person to take revenge against the injustice person which can be the reason why they resorted violence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(17)</sup> Ayşe Füsun Gönül, *Küreselleşme ve GOKAP Coğrafyasında Gerileyen Kadın Hakları*, Atılım University, Political science and Public Administration

The reasons why women join terrorist organizations starts from this point because in Eastern and South Eastern part of Turkey, where terrorist events are common, generally girls and women are under pressure. They have no rights, they are not equal to men, they can not go to school and they are exposed to violence.

The brainwashed girls and women to run away from this situation, joins terrorist organizations, which they see as sign of hope for their freedom. Because they believe that when they participate there, they will seen precious as individual, they will be free there, they can take a grip on everybody, they will have same rights with men, they can gain statu and identity there. These are the thoughts of women.

That would not be wrong to say that women who became terrorist in order to escape from the pressure they exposed. Women are emotional nature beings. Actually they close reasoning but they can believe everything easily and it is easy to wash their brains. Because of this, in terrorist organizations, they are active as men and they stands at the forefront. Moreover they are thoughtless enough to accept even being a suicide bomber.

But the situation is not different inside these terrorist camps. Even there are especially sexual abuses towards women, they are being raped in the camps and exposed to violence. We can see news like that on TV and from newspapers. We can also reach in this direction confessions of woman who fled from terror camps. The problem doesn't come to an end after fleeing camps.

According to me, the main source of such problems is philistinism. An ignorant personcan not protect his/her rights or defend. First of all we should change the thoughts of men inside family. We should make them fair and forced them to react equally in the house then we should take more care about girl's education and keep them away from pressure so rather than running away from home, with education they can be useful citizens for their country. So terrorists cannot easily deceive these educated and wise people as ignorant ones.

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