

**THE MEANING OF A DISCOVERY: TOURIST GAZE AND TOURIST
NARRATIVES IN SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA**

by
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Submitted to the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Cultural Studies

Sabanci University

Spring 2008

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ABSTRACT

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Keywords: Southeast Anatolia, Tourism, Identity

The Southeast of Turkey, shaped by decades of violent clashes between the Turkish military and Kurdish rebels, represents a region of utmost military and political interest and thus is usually regarded with precaution and reservation. The encounter during culture tours in this otherwise troubled region that nevertheless presents a part of the Turkish Republic, serves here to scrutinize how Turkish tourists from the western part of the country perceive themselves and negotiate their belonging within Turkey.

Given the tourist guide's focus on culture as historical past, his silence about cultural plurality in the Southeast today and the lack of tourists' inquiry, the personal narratives mirror a struggle with socio-cultural "otherness" within the group and within oneself.

Due to this difficulty and felt restriction to articulate oneself in public, the examination of tourist behavior and their anecdotes disclose two individual agencies: the first one is the use of stereotypes to articulate control and moral superiority vis-a-vis the "other" in particular inside oneself. The second channel is produced by the core of social imagination: the membership of communities structured in terms of patriarchal kinship-like networks whose condition is again based on the silencing of individual "deviations". The channels chosen serve furthermore to articulate other issues such a gender through Anti-Kurdish resentments as an otherwise "acknowledged" channel.

The intertwining of highly individualized and isolated visions of oneself in society and society itself, produced by the lack of communication and the fear of being detected as “the other”, with the primary effort to secure one’s membership in society throughout networks, represent the key dynamics that shape the self-construction of the tourist and thus of the citizen in Turkey.

ÖZET

BİR KEŞFİN ANLAMı: GÜNEYDOĞU ANADOLU'DA TURİST BAKIŞI VE TURİST

Sandra Finger

Kültürel Çalışmalar, Yüksek Lisans

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Leyla Neyzi

Anahtar kelimeler: Güneydoğu Anadolu, Turizm, Kimlik

Türkiye’de on yıllardır Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri ile Kürt isyancılar arasındaki şiddetli çatışmalarla şekillenen Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgesi, bugün yüksek düzeyde askeri ve siyasi çıkarları temsil ederken, sıradan insanların günlük yaşamında ihtiyatla yaklaşılacak bir yöredir. Her şeye rağmen Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin bir parçası olan bu sorunlu bölgeye yapılan kültür gezilerindeki karşılaşma, (batılı) Türk turistlerin kendilerini nasıl algıladıklarını ve kendi aidiyetlerini nasıl şekillendirdiklerini araştırmaya imkan veriyor.

Turist rehberinin kültür konusunda sadece tarihi geçmişe odaklanması, günümüzde Güneydoğu’daki kültürel farklılıklarla ilgili sessizliği ve bölgeyi ziyaret eden turistlerin bu konuları sorgulamamasından dolayı kişisel anlatılar grup içinde ve kişinin kendi özündesosyo-kültürel “ötekilik” kavramıyla ilintili bir çatışmayı yansıtır.

Bu zorluk ve bireyin toplum içinde kendini rahatça ifade etmesinin hissedilir biçimde kısıtlanmasından dolayı, turistlerin davranışlarının ve anlatılarının incelenmesi iki bireysel ifade biçiminin varlığını ortaya koyuyor. Bunlardan ilki kişinin kendi içindeki “öteki”ni kontrol altına almak ve manevi üstünlük sağlamak için belirli klişeler veya basmakalıp ifadeler kullanmasıdır. İkinci yöntem ise ataerkil akrabalık ilişkilerine benzer ilişki ağları kurmaktır. Bu ağların oluşumunda bireysel farklılıklar sessizleştirilmiştir. Bu ifade biçimleri, toplumsal cinsiyet gibi başka konuları da kapsarken, bunları ırkçı Kürt karşıtı söylemler üzerinden dillendirmekte.

Türkiye’de yerli turistlerin--ve dolayısıyla vatandaşların--kimlik kurgularında iletişimsizlik ve “öteki” olarak algılanma korkusu, bir yandan sosyal ağlar yoluyla toplumda yer edinme çabasıyla sonuçlanırken bir yandan da bireylerin toplumdan

yabancılaşmasına ve kopmasına neden olmakta bu iki olgu turistlerin kimlik kurgusunun temel dinamiklerini oluşturmaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis advisor Dr. Leyla Neyzi, for her continuous personal and academic support and encouragements as well as understanding throughout my time at Sabanci University. Her instructions, patience and trust in my work have been invaluablely supportive to find my academic “voice” and in leading me to the successful completion of this thesis. Looking back onto the last three years of my academic development under her guidance, I will remember our conversations as among the most open, cheerful and “anthropologically” inspiring and moments.

I am very thankful to Ayşe Gül Altınay who introduced me to the work of Rebecca Stein which imbued me to work on this subject and Halil Berktaş, for both of their valuable comments and suggestions for the improvement of different chapters during the last stages of this study. Moreover I would like to express my appreciation to all of them for being in my committee.

Another group of people to whom I owe my thank you are my colleagues, friends and students at Sabanci University – who challenged, enriched and enlarged my perspective. To work with and among them, to learn about their experiences and outlooks, to share with them a passionate and innate conviction in our work was an invaluable stimulating force that has made this journey unforgettable and every second worthwhile.

I would like to thank those people that have been the closest and most supportive during this time.

These people are Çebi family, father and mother Kenan and Gülay, their sons Doruk and Derya, who welcomed me as their “adopted” daughter and sister and who gave me a home which has provided me with an incredible amount of peace and love in a period when I needed it most and without which this thesis would not have been possible.

I want to thank my family, my parents Hans-Rainer and Irmgard, my sister Kirsten, for their moral and financial support during the last years. Although we were far from each other, their love, belief and their intuition even over distance to find the right words at the right time, have been a real source of strength for me on this path.

I am very thankful to my friends Melis and Nazlı, for their friendship which together with Çebi family have provided me with a warm and welcoming environment which will always frame my memory of this period.

Last but not least I would like to thank Sebastian for his patience, encouragement and constant support, for being with me through the difficult process of thesis writing.

The words of encouragement, support and unconditional love of the people who contributed to the successful finalization of this thesis will always be remembered by me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“It is Istanbul and Turkey that filled my adolescent dreams after my school exchange. It is Istanbul and Turkey that shattered these dreams in order to make me understand it and me ‘in it’. It is Istanbul and Turkey where I feel that I grew up over the years and that teach me everyday that you never stop learning.”¹

I came to Istanbul for the first time as an exchange student in 1998, aged 16, in order to spend two weeks with a Turkish family and visit the “Anadolu high school” in Istanbul. The encounter with Istanbul’s different modernities and lifestyles left me with more questions than short visits and literature could possibly answer. Thus I returned frequently and - seven years later – came back as a student in Cultural Studies. During three years of residence, research and studies with Turkish and foreign colleagues in Turkey, I witnessed the speed of changes in Istanbul which influenced my research agenda. Studying and working with Turkish students helped me to look at the world from a different angle. Living with Turkish friends and families taught me about their fears and insecurities about Turkey’s future and the perception of “the other” within Turkey and within themselves. Last but not least, three years of life as a single young woman without local family ties in a country in which family is very important, made me appreciate and also learn the hard way the different social channels that determine the “private” and the “public” in Turkey. As a result, my initial plans to do research in cooperation with EU institutions in Ankara and Brussels vanished very soon after my first months in Istanbul: questions that had mattered to me from abroad lost their relevance and importance. Instead, questions that had never occurred to me began to occupy me such as the question about what constitutes “East” and “West” as abstract and value loaded concepts beyond and independent from their original geographical

¹ Research Diary, January 2008.

description; the struggle of imposed identities and suppressed memories; the question of where “private” starts and “public” ends.

I would like to bring the issues mentioned above together by shedding light on Turkish tourists taking part in what are known as South East Anatolian Culture Trips - “Güney Doğu Anadolu Kültür Turları”. The Southeast, shaped by decades of violent clashes between the Turkish military and Kurdish rebels, is a region of military and national interest that until recently a tourist would not set foot in. The political and military conflicts and the subsequent lack of financial investment aggravated the already existing economic and socio-political internal divide. The observation of Turkish tourists in this context will help to understand how these individuals negotiate concepts of national and individual belonging within the realm of the tourist sphere. The encounter with this region can provide insight in so far as it will show how the tourist deals with the presence of local people in a region that has been represented solely through military interventions. The popularity of culture tours to the Southeast of Turkey, which became trendy in the 2000s, raises also the issue of the tourist’s motivation to travel to this region.

While being in the field and carrying out the research, two additional questions came up that will help to answer the meaning of the tourist’s discovery: The first issue is about the way touristic consumption contributes to articulate social relations and ethnic identities. Secondly, not less important, the “gaze” as producing a certain subjective spatial order, such as through the act of photography, became an essential behavioristic phenomenon through which to investigate the way the individual imagined herself/himself in Turkey.

Since the focus here is on the agency of tourists and tourist guides, their narrative will constitute the main frame whereas the voice of the locals will accompany the tourist’s experience as addendum as well as in some case as counter-narrative.

The focus of this research is a product of personal and professional experiences that I gained within the last three years: While I had been looking for my place “in” Turkey with the hope to fit right in somewhere – a naïve and probably characteristic approach of many prospective anthropologists - my presence as a German in Turkey was and often is taken as an opportunity to address me as a representative of Germany, Europe or simply the “West”. Thus I became often the trigger of discussions about

“Easternness” and “Westernness” as notions that came to signify values and lifestyles and that referred to ideological contents other than their geographical meaning. With accumulating experiences in the country and the capacity to speak Turkish, however, people in my environment began to count me as “one of theirs” – calculating my “Turkishness” in percentage: In function of my use of Turkish idiomatic expressions or slang, participation in traditional Turkish dances or me presenting jokes of the popular stand-up comedian Cem Yılmaz in front of my students, my “Turkishness” has accumulated and – according to a student of the class I tutored currently - reached 70%. In order to move away from the personified Europe-Turkey division on the one hand, and the urge of others to classify me as either the “other” or the “Turk” on the other hand, I felt the need to grasp internal dynamics beyond a binary “East”-“West” opposition.

My personal situation stimulated and inspired me throughout my research within which I tried to articulate my experiences and make sense of these impressions on an academic level. As a beginning an oral history research project on Germans whose ancestors migrated to Constantinople during the 19th century taught me about the dynamics and plurality of identities over time and within space. These Germans’ “Ottoman identity” as well as their nostalgia for the Wilhelmine period disclosed a social fragmentation beyond a simplifying discourse and an “East”-“West” dichotomy. Donna Haraway (1991; 1992; 1997) and her deconstruction of the nature-machine opposition and a specific production of knowledge as an outcome of the European Enlightenment led me to consider place and space as a field worth investigating. Žižek’s (1991) call for fantasy as a serious subject induced me to integrate leisure studies and the individual imagination into my academic agenda, which would eventually direct me to focus on tourism.

Last but not least, the surprised reaction of people to my decision to go to Southeast Anatolia – which aroused more disbelief than my three months’ stay with Dalits² in India, confirmed my decision to focus on domestic tourist exploration.

² “Dalit” signifies a group of people in Hinduism whose status is understood as outside the Hindu caste system and who mostly live under very precarious and poor circumstances. Since members of other castes have not been allowed to be in contact with Dalits, they are also called “Untouchables.”

With the nation as an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991), this journey into a region that is usually not travelled to by Turkish tourists and, due to the military conflicts, perceived with suspicion and insecurity, promised to reveal of what happens at the moment of encountering the “imagined community”. Thus the journey will help to understand if the discovery changes or does not change previous attitudes and how the tourists related their discovery to their image of Turkey.

1.1. Historical Background

Other than former colonies such as India or Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, as one of the few regions that was never directly colonized, launched by its own initiative reforms to adjust and conform to European standards in military, commerce and politics from the mid 19th century onwards. Instead of an external colonizer, imposing military and political modernization along a European model, it was the Ottoman state elite that perceived reforms as necessary to re-establish the empire’s commercial and political competitiveness. For this the Ottoman elite started military reforms, followed by an increasingly political and cultural orientation by the Ottoman elite towards its European neighbors (Akman, 2004). The military and socio-political reforms had an effect on both the political and the social sphere, of which I will summarize the most essential feature that will be relevant for discussions that this research will raise.

Due to the military and political refurbishment at a time when the Empire lost territory and power, new visions and redefinitions of political alternatives to guarantee the survival of the state, emerged. These new concepts of the future, of what is today Turkey, were conceived and imposed by the governing class as a “top to bottom” reform (Mardin, 2006). These new political concepts stood in congruence with the Ottoman heritage of a strong and centralized state. The experience of contemporary conflicts and wars, nurtured additionally the conviction that a strong and authoritarian state would be of utmost importance. As an example, the Balkan wars as a struggle for independence by a Christian population from the tutelage of a Muslim Empire, led to hostilities towards Ottoman Muslims, ultimately culminating in displacement and extermination. As a consequence, five million Muslims left the Balkans between 1821 and 1922. Prior to these conflicts, the ideology that was initially promoted by the state

was primarily *Ottomanism*, a multi-cultural and liberal conception of society (Çağaptay, 2006: pp.5-8). Once, however, the migrants arrived in the Anatolian homelands, Christianity became a synonym for the enemy. Islam thus gained significance as a political identity and means of group identification. Furthermore, the “charisma” of the Ottoman dynasty (Ahmad, 2003: p.67) made Islam even more appealing for the mobilization of the people. To sum up, with the increasing shrinkage of a former World Empire, a strong political structure was needed. In order to mobilize a population whose local traditions and languages differed from one other, Islam turned out as the largest common denominator to address the people – a pragmatic approach which would shape the new visions of the future state.

The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), founded in 1889, had been among the first to develop an idea of a sovereign Turkish state that would require prior loyalty to the state and not to the Sultan. Other than the Liberals who aimed at establishing a multiethnic state with the protection of minorities, the CUP understood early the potential of religion, as a tool to gain the people’s support, which would be essential for the stability of the future state (Ahmad, 1993: p.8). After the abolishment of the CUP in 1918 and 10 years of them being in power, this ethnic-religious concept of subjects of the Turkish state experienced a shift with the foundation of the Republic by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk from 1923 onwards for the benefit of laicism. In order to produce a feeling of communality among the population, primary importance was given from then on to the indivisibility of the territory as well as unity in feelings, ideas and language (Çağaptay, 2006: p.14). In the meantime, religion – due to its connotation with the Muslim Ottoman Empire that had been lost - got banned from public space as an obstacle to progress: If there was anything that reminded the new state elite of the Empire’s incapacity to settle its financial and political shortfalls, it was Islam as state ideology. Anything in relation with the Ottoman Empire, including its alphabet, was banished after 1923.

After the efforts of the CUP to relocate, expel or eliminate Christian, Jewish and other minorities, the population became even more majoritarian Muslim than prior to 1908. Thus, to employ Islam in order to address and mobilize the population remained in spite of the state’s laicist self-definition and the concept of including also non-Muslim individuals into the Turkish nation, an efficient tool which continued to cause

confusion and fear among non-Muslims to be declared as “the other” of the nation’s prototype (Ahmad, 1993).

The introduction of the idea of a nation state and a Turkish nation thus evolved over time. The way unity and cohesion was conceived, changed with it. While Ottomanism had promoted a multi-cultural more liberal community, the CUP from the 1890’s onwards imagined the Turkish nation as Muslim, which shifted the idea of a Turkish nation towards a more ethnic-religious concept which made it more difficult for groups of different belief and conviction than Sunni Islam. After the foundation of the laicist Republic - towards the end of the 1920’s - the ruling CHP had to realize that it lacked the support that the CUP had gained through its appeal to Islam. As a result the CHP started to organize school education and state institutions more efficiently so that any citizen within the Republic’s borders would learn the Turkish language and be familiar with the CHP’s concept of the Turkish state as indivisible, people with their primary loyalty to the state (Ahmad, 1993). The publication of the Turkish History Thesis, claiming humanity’s origin in the Turkish nation, was to support the CHP’s efforts to create a legacy of the nation which would legitimize the current Republic (Altınay, 2004). To declare and indoctrinate citizens with values of loyalty, Turkish language and the belief of a territorial unity, however, did not resolve the problem of finding a common denominator and driving force for mobilization. Repetitive coup d’états by the military in the decades to come in order to conserve the state’s principles such as laicism, reformism, and etatism, represent only the most visible conflicting outcomes of the state’s effort to implement this state vision. Decades of “top-to-bottom” or “center-periphery” (Mardin, 2006) reforms imposed by the state elite, as well as the military interventions, led to an isolation of politics and state affairs from the population as well as an alienation of people from politics.

In order to guarantee the continuity of the state, as Atatürk and the CHP had conceived it, the military’s loyalty maintained its primary importance to keep the Republican integrity with its principles as orientation: to conserve an authoritarian state, and to guarantee the continuity of reforms leading Turkey to become an equal partner to Europe in political, commercial and cultural aspects. In order to guarantee the continuity of these principles, the military was equipped with a sovereignty and independence from the government which helps also to explain the military coups in 1960, 1970 and 1981.

For the context of this research, it is important to recall the respect that is paid the military together with the cult of Atatürk: The value of the military for the state becomes apparent in every-day life through state institutions such as school, military service or usage of military titles in everyday life. Ayşe Gül Altınay describes the example of the “national security” school classes that explain to both male and female students the importance and structure of the military, its obligation to conserve “Kemalism” as well as the student’s responsibility to take part in this “military cult”. Traditionally reserved to the male part of the population, the military service is perceived as a ritual for men to enter and gain in virility (Altınay, 2004). With Kurdish rebels becoming active from the 1980’s onwards, the role of the military in the Southeast is depicted as crucial for the unity of the country.

In addition to recurrent problems of political legitimization as well as new governments to implement politics against the convictions of the military, to identify with or within the state has become a challenging task. Different interpretations about what should constitute “Turkishness” as well as the religious-ethnic dimensions of this debate, have accompanied and enhanced the confusion about who could claim to be of Turkish nationality from the very beginning of the Republic onwards (Keyman/Içduygu, 2005 Akman, 2004). Although initially laicist, Muslim features re-entered Turkish nationalism and the understanding of the Turkish citizen via a series of definitions and re-definitions of the “Turk”, while increasingly turning all Non-Muslims and non Sunni-Muslims, conservative Muslims and others, into the nation’s “others” (Kadioğlu, 1998). A factor, that influenced this Pro-Muslim attitude in addition to what has been mentioned about the Balkan wars and political mobilization of the people, was certainly also the ambition to create a “new Turkish bourgeoisie” that would boost Turkey’s income and which would replace the hitherto almost exclusively non-Muslim commercial minorities. From the 18th century onwards these minorities had profited from European’s industrialization through their status links as Europeans abroad so that trade in the Ottoman Empire had remained largely in the hands of the foreign commercial elite. With the new sovereignty of the Turkish state however, profit had to be yielded and kept by Turks (Moran, 2003).

The political orientation along the European prototype of a state and national unity, as depicted above, was followed by a “cultural westernization”– or what was thought of as “Western culture”. Supported by Sultan Abdül Hamid II., the cultural

import of music, opera, customs and consumption patterns caused contradictions with the Ottoman background of people. Şerif Mardin (2000) entitles these conflicts as the “Bihruz Symptom”³, which articulates and symbolizes the shock that the imposition of Western civilization caused in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (Parla, 2003). Without having the same background as their European pendants, the consumption of European music, culture and traditions, could hardly exceed simple superficial imitation. The phenomenon of the eagerness to allow European culture dominate one’s original tastes and customs such as with the literary protagonist Bihruz Bey, is also depicted in other contexts such as Egypt as “self-colonization” (Mitchell, 1991): The over-identification with cultural and political imports and subjugation of one’s originally own preferences, provoked an over-valuation of, in this case the “European civilization” and a debasement of those people as “other” or “Eastern” who do not adapt to this lifestyle of cultural “performance”. Similar to the “Bihruz Symptom”, Yael Navaro-Yashin (2002) describes how the liberalization of the Turkish market in the 1980’s has turned into a commodification of political values into lifestyle and purchase patterns. In spite of the state’s efforts to create a shared identity, based on the imagined historical heritage of the Turk, political fragmentation actually increased: the transition to a multi-party system and liberalization of the market has challenged the political unity and the organic vision of society and therefore the legitimacy of the Turkish nation state (Seufert, 2000).

Due to this continuous “imitation” of what is imagined as “European” and of which Turkey, Ahıska argues, would be doomed to remain a copy, academics recently refer to an Occidentalism rather than an Orientalist outlook to understand dynamics in Turkey (Ahıska, 2006; Keyman/Içduygu, 2003). With reference to Edward Said’s (1978) book “Orientalism”, the term describes both an academic and artistic tradition of deprecatory views of the European West onto the former colonies in the Middle East during the 18th and 19th centuries. “Orientalist” outlooks mostly imply essentializing and prejudiced interpretations of Eastern cultures and peoples. *Occidentalism* signifies an inversion of *Orientalism* and a response to the imposition of Europe’s modernity which

³ Appearing in the first late Tanzimat novels such as “Quick to fall” [Şıpevdi] by Hüseyin Rahmi, and “Efruz Bey” by Ömer Seyfettin: Bihruz Bey is a Westernized dandy and snob, who pays overly attention to his visual appearance and who feels as superior due to his imitation of Western mode and culture while he classifies his own people as inferior.

is connected with European imperialism and incapacitation of local agency. To rely only on either *Occidentalism* or *Orientalism*, however, bears the risk of simplifying the debate. Both terms will therefore be often of implicit importance in this context.

This permanent insecurity of who actually is a “Turk”, who is “Western”, enhanced by economic fragmentation, and political proliferation of different interest groups, has intensified the awareness of how rapidly one can be turned into the “other” (Neyzi, 2002). Debates over “Easternness” or “Westernness”, and their consumption have assumed contents that are related to Turkey’s modernization process. While the Republic’s modernity has been shaped by the hand of a centralized state and a supportive military on a macro-level, confusion and uncertainty in economic, political and social aspects has affected civil society on a micro level (Navaro-Yashin, 2002).

As Homi K. Bhabha (1990: 1-19) argues, national rhetoric and terminology always entail a number of silences. He adds that the content of national rhetoric can be interpreted differently at the local level. With the example of Turkey’s top-down modernization from the 19th century onwards, the active demographic restructuring and social engineering as well as the uncertainty of what “Turkishness” means, to look at individual narratives promises an insight into current understanding of individual belonging. Yet, the plurality of “modernities” and their intertwining with one another have become a much debated issue with the post-colonial turn. Thus, Spivak and Butler (2007) emphasize the diverse visions and concepts of states that become alive through different imaginations that are produced by a set of dispositions that individuals have access to in order to understand and think the state. They furthermore depict the different ways in which minorities can be at the same contained and excluded by the state. This neither denies nor confirms, but relativizes the notion of a single state and civil society and draws attention to the unresolved and silenced conflicts within a society. Furthermore their critique reveals a political plurality that challenges the state as a single institution and meaning. Chatterjee (1996) supports this argument with an example of how former colonial societies, in this case India, have resisted allowing politics permeate their private sphere because of its previous control by and connotation with the colonial power. This also raises the issue of the concept of the nation and the state with regard to the gender image circulating within society and how these interplay with, re-produce or compete with one another in the process of nation building. Just as nationalism, gender and sexuality are socially constructed and stand in relation to one

another. In addition, nations as “imagined communities” that differ from one another, borders are often drawn along the lines of gender, race and class (Chatterjee, 1996). Yet, since gender roles differ, their place and nature of intersection with the state must differ – or as Sylvia Walby (1996) asks: Are women similarly committed to national, ethnic or racial projects as men? Where do their projects overlap, concur or exclude one another? With the military as the crucial institution for the foundation of the Republic, as a male domain, including social and predominantly patriarchal family structures (Sirman, 1990), these questions seem indeed highly relevant. Just as the imagination of the state and the nation are of major significance, gender and other social dispositions as producing certain images and positions, will equally play a role in the tourist discovery.

In order to voice different visions of modernity we need to deal with the individual within the context of daily life – or within the context of travel that are thought of as exception, but which nevertheless mirror and reflect social patterns that are also valid beyond the context of the journey. The fact of doing this research with and about different tourists travelling together, without knowing one another prior to the trip as well as the diverse encounters during the journey, reveal a number of opportunities to witness different self-identifications and images of modernities.

1.2. Tourism and Anthropology

The power of fantasy and leisure time to display social and cultural struggles that otherwise might be less visible with a person in his daily environment, has recently been emphasized within anthropology and sociology (Zizek, 1991; MacCannel, 1999). Tourism as a sphere of projections will serve as a channel to understand the process of imagining and (re-)negotiating belonging and identity in Turkey today.

The first steps towards the integration of tourism as a relevant field within social anthropology were accomplished towards the end of the 1970s. This rather late inclusion, when compared to classic topics such as kinship, religion or nationalism, is in function of the fact that tourism began to expand only after the end of the Second World War. Moreover – and this constitutes the main reason for the discipline’s reticence - the

difficulty of drawing a clear distinction between anthropologists and tourists has always represented a threat to the discipline of anthropology (Crick 1995).

The period for the tourism's final integration into the anthropological agenda coincides with and is also directly related to the "reflexive anthropology" of the 1980s that called for more transparency about the role of the anthropologist in the field. The most influential concepts within the anthropology of tourism include Graburn's (1999) approach to tourism as a personal transformative experience within a symbolic superstructure, and Nash's (1977) argument about tourism as a form of modern imperialism. MacCannel (1976; 1999) and Cohen (1979) are the precursors of an in-depth analysis of tourism and the tourist. Both extended the field to the interaction of tourists with locals, tourism as a system as well as the impact of tourism on host countries. They also addressed the terms "tourist" and "tourism" within the realm of identity construction, "staged authenticity" (MacCannel: 1973, 1976) and the question of what qualifies someone to be a tourist.

Whereas most of the literature in the anthropology of tourism since then has focused on the host-community relationship with frequent references to the reproduction of colonial paradigms (Bruner, 2004), recent research has expanded the variety of this sub-discipline. Tourism studies have begun to integrate issues of political identity and national imagination within the context of foreign as well as domestic tourism (Nyiri, 2006; Stein, 1998; 2001; 2002). Simultaneously anthropologists carrying out research with tourists originating from places other than Europe or North America have argued for different concepts than the disenchanted "Western" tourist from Europe or Northern America visiting the "East", meaning the remaining regions on the globe. They thereby suggest other motivations of tourists than for example the reproduction of a colonizer-colonized paradigm by European travel agencies and tourists, as described by Bruner (2004) in African tourism (Nyiri, 2006).

Instead of focusing on specific roles during the journey, tourism has come increasingly to be treated as part of more complex social and cultural fields, for which understanding the material world of tourism such as booking a trip, taking pictures or choosing a hotel present a useful channel. So instead of focusing on the tourist or the local as an object of inquiry, recent research displays an increasing interest in "touristic ways of seeing" articulated through patterns of consumption, narratives and the like.

The anthropology of tourism is very interdisciplinary: Academics in this field address issues of economic development and consumption and how they contribute to articulate social relations and ethnic identities (Levi-Strauss, 1969; Bourdieu, 1984). They also deal with theories of individual transformation and how identities and ethnicities are constituted in particular political, economic, social and cultural settings (Bruner, 1991; Malesevic, 2004). Furthermore, the re-ordering of space, time and kinship relations and the role of mobilization play a crucial role, particularly in relation to organized round trips (Larsen, 2001; Urry, 1998, 2000; Meethan, 2001).

To consider the tourists' perception and ideas as a useful approach for scrutinizing concepts of "home", "away" or "national", as well as social processes of inclusion and exclusion, a number of case studies have demonstrated the political and philosophical insightfulness of tourism research beyond the concerns of destruction of local communities and traditions (Bruner, 2004). While most of these studies are still preoccupied with transnational tourism, Anderson's (1991) emphasis on the imaginative character of national borders certainly requires voicing the tourist's discovery of the domestic landscape. To observe and listen to the individual's constructions of fellow citizens, the nation and the state through the tourist situation draws its fruitfulness from the tourist situation itself: the extraordinary situation of being somewhere other than one's usual habitat makes the political and social element of the tourist's gaze intelligible. The domestic context renders the gaze even more appealing because of the potential to challenge or look at state borders and national rhetoric from a different angle (Wang, 2000). Thus, this research project is embedded within a recent and growing academic interest in tourism studies of the domestic realm.

For a comprehensive analysis beyond a "tourist guide – tourist" divide, which will nevertheless be discussed (Reisinger/Steiner, 2006; Cary, 2004; Dann, 2002; McCabe, 2006), the following conceptual tools will be significant to illustrate the individual's agency: First of all, the "tourist gaze" - a socially bound behavioral element, being determined by a set of social dispositions, expectations and preferences - will be important for the gaze itself as well as for the understanding of others "gazing back" (Urry, 1990; 1995; MacCannel, 1979). The interaction of gazing at "others" will also help to reflect upon social structure (Erasmussen/ Brown, 2005) as well the tourist's personal identification (Nyiri, 2006). Related to the gaze will be the photographic behavior of the tourists. Different scholars have argued for the capacity of pictures to

display the subject's relation to landscape (Ian Cook et al., 2005; Crang, 2005). Bourdieu, for example, depicts the photography act as the power of mobile subjects to possess the place symbolically and to domesticate them into a subjective spatial story. Susan Sontag (1977) - and more recently Crang (1997) – have argued about regaining control through the objective lens. Both enlarge the discussion to the “increasing colonization of experience by technologies” (Crang, 1997: p. 363), which turns the photographing act into a “theatre of the self” (Rosler, 1996: p. 259). Barthes' (1979) description of the tourist's gaze from the Eiffel Tower as giving back the image of a whole – in contrast to the fragmented urban life provides us with a picturesque example of an imagined “wholeness”. The photograph thus provides the possibility of understanding the subject's intentions and interests.

Linked to this is also the concept of “nostalgia” and enchantment as Pordzik (2005) deals with in his work “The Wonder of Travel: Fiction, Tourism, and the Social Construction of the Nostalgic”. Another object of analysis, which will enrich and complement the results of fieldwork, is the tourist narrative (McCabe, 2006; Foster, 2006). These elements will be set in relation to the political dimension of (an imagined) geography and debates of (cultural) citizenship (Molz, 2005; Desforges/Rhynes/Woods, 2005; Kadioğlu, 2007). I intend to outline the political character of the creation of places and their perception as shown by Maurizio Peleggi's (2002) work on the politics of ruins or Pal Nyiri's insight into cultural authority in Chinese tourism (2006). The aim here is to bring together concepts of identity and national imaginaries in order to display the plurality of modernities within Turkey that the tourist situation conveys. I argue that the tourists travelling to the Southeast project their individual visions onto the tourist landscape – visions that are shaped by a permanent fear of becoming “the other” and the quest for one's position in society and the Turkish nation state. Furthermore, the social structure of a family within the group as well the use of stereotypes and “othering” their environment reflects the way the tourists imagine and produce their membership in society as well as fight their feeling of marginalization. While family structures and the specific roles dominate their imagination, their concept of family turns into a social imagination that is as dynamic as it is unstable and as public as it is private.

1.3. Preparing for the Southeast Anatolia Trip

The process of finding tourists as well as organized trips to Southeast Anatolia turned out to be more difficult than I initially thought. With the sudden increase of clashes between the PKK and the military in the South East in spring 2007, the demand in trips, as one of the smaller tourism agents explained to me, had dropped by over 50 % in the summer of 2007. I also met with larger travel agencies such as ETS and Didim Tourism. The large scale agencies were reluctant to help me in contacting tourists, so that I decided to focus on small agencies. Arnika Tours and Fest Travel turned out to be most cooperative and also the only agencies based in Istanbul that organized trips in the summer and autumn of 2007. Since Arnika Tours appeals with its lower prices to a wider audience than Fest Travel, I decided to focus on Arnika Tours and take part in the only trip during summer and fall, scheduled 16th -21st September in 2007. It remained the only trip during that time, since the tension along the Iraqi border and the daily clashes between Turkish military and Kurdish rebels on both the Turkish and the Iraqi side were expected to intensify. Furthermore September was the month of Ramadan, which signifies for an extensive part of the population to fasten during the day and to break fastening with the family after sunset. This caused the demand for such trips to drop even more.

During the trip I observed the tourists, their consumption behavior (purchase of souvenirs, food preferences, decisions about what to photograph, interaction with locals) and tried to establish contacts for interviews. In order to record comments of local people about their life and their perception of the tourists, I travelled back to a number of spots that had been previously visited by the group once the trip was finished. I carried out interviews with tourists from the group I had travelled with and some others that had travelled to Southeast before. This gave me access to tourist narratives as well as photographs.

Given the potential of tourist behavior to disclose individual socio-political stands due to the individual logic of perceiving objects and landscape (Wang, 2000; M.S. Shaffer, 2001), the phase of “participative observation” during the trip proved to be the core of this research. Participative observation presents one of the most frequently applied methodologies in ethnographic research and implies that the ethnographer

researches and observes his “objects” while interacting with them and becoming involved in their daily routine. The reactive behavior of tourists to different places and sites play a key role and one could certainly deepen this aspect of the study with longer on-site surveys. However, since in group tourism the schedule is often extremely tight, group dynamics and social relations within the group and with the travel guide attract more attention. At issue are both, physical mobility as well as the mental trip, which the so-called “multi-sited ethnography” integrates. Although recommended by important figures in the field, such as Gupta and Ferguson (1997), Appadurai (1996) and Hannerz (1986, 2003), and mostly propagated by George Marcus (Marcus/Fischer, 1986), to find a balance between sites and the mobile tourist remains a debated topic. As opposed to Malinowski’s classical approach of intimacy, continuous long-term contact with the field and integration into the community, the switch from a single-site method to “multi-sited ethnography” has raised concerns about methodology including the issue of reliability. While Ulf Hannerz (2003) and Arjun Appadurai (1996) argue for the need for more multi-sited ethnography, the issue is not merely that people today change places along with their cultural values. Cultural meanings travel even in those places where people reside permanently or- as in my case – travel *with* tourists by passing through space. Determined regions do thus not contain or limit cultural meanings which had rendered the guest-host opposition used in the early literature on the anthropology of tourism obsolete (Welz, 1998). The mobility of people and instability of values themselves therefore question a single-sited ethnography. “In an era of increasingly geographically extended spatial flows and global connections”, Desforges, Jones and Woods (2005) write, “space is more and more imagined as a product of networks and relations, which actually challenges an older topography in which territoriality was dominant.” Transferring this statement to our context, this implies less of a focus on the environment as a concrete object. Instead, the physical and mental *journey* are granted priority. The individual behavior and perception of space within the tourist realm, local people or ‘local tourists’ (such as is partly the case with Elif; see below) describe – as this research shows - where borders are drawn, how they are enacted as well as where they overlap and compete with one another (Erasmussen/Brown, 2005).

The integration of only parts of objects and their combination with other parts of the journey as well as the individual agency to draw borders other than site-non site, tourist-local (Haraway, 1989), isolated sites lose their exclusive authority to explain

social relations (Desforges/Jones/Woods, 2005). This is why, in my research, I focused on reactive behavior and individual statements and comments to track concepts of borders other than official state borders or borders produced by a vocabulary of “us” or “the locals”, the “East” or the “West”.

With regard to my own background, Haraway’s research about primates showing that researchers projected their own concepts of social role models onto the social pattern of primate communities, however, warned me of the implications of doing research in a different environment (1989). My insertion of passages from the travel diary and descriptions therefore serve to render the process as lucid and transparent as possible.

In addition to ethnographic observation and a travel diary that I held prior, during and after the journey, visual material including photographs taken by me and the tourists will provide the core material for the analysis. To understand the photographs, however, we have to contextualize the subject: this will be accomplished through the comments and reactions by tourists that will describe the social world of the tourist group and other people involved with this world. Another complementary, yet no less important source of information are the interviews with tourists: they are semi-structured and began with a few open-ended questions, followed by more specific questions⁴. Since I also began to “screen” my environment with regard to my research interests for the last two years, some of the comments stem from social gatherings with friends. Just as my own person is present during the trip next to my position as a researcher – which will be contextualized and made transparent – my anthropological glasses are not left at home when meeting with friends. I therefore have used various comments and anecdotes and marked them accordingly.

Some of the people that I met during my fieldwork did not want to be taped, but agreed if I took notes, which I did most diligently and carefully. Apart from the insightful information they provided, the fact that these people avoided being recorded, makes their statements indispensable if one wants to voice those who stand in the shadow of silences created by the official national rhetoric. These statements are also marked accordingly.

⁴ For interview guidelines and the question sheet see Appendix III

1.4. Participants of the Southeast Anatolia Trip

1.4.1. Hasan – the Tourist Guide⁵

While waiting for my luggage, a man with 70's style sunglasses approaches me. These are the type of sun glasses that everyone who considered themselves “hip” wore in summer 2007. Among expatriate friends they are called “Top Gun” glasses. On the Sabanci Campus I often hear the term “Porno Glasses”, possibly related to Italian porno films. They are associated with a certain urban style as well as a certain male type – “hard to get”, aloof, opaque. Elif, one of the interviewees, describes the guide (by looking at his photographs) as a “typical Kurdish” man, an “Eastern man”⁶; a “wannabe”⁷ that ends up being *kiro*⁸.

He introduces himself as Hasan, the group guide. I am surprised - maybe I expected the tourist guide to look more sportsy as well as to be waiting for us outside. Although I speak Turkish and Mönnever, another tourist who has entered the luggage hall with him, does not know English, he immediately starts speaking English with me. I continue to answer in Turkish. The conversation becomes a tiring struggle of who will win the upper hand in proving one's belonging to the “other side”: while Hasan insists on giving himself a cosmopolitan, worldly air, I want to establish my position as one among other travelers and show my identification with the Turkish people. He starts telling me – reluctantly in Turkish - about his trips to Germany and the United States. He says he has a PhD in Archeology from the latter. Hasan is from Van, but lives in Istanbul and guides trips throughout Turkey. He criticizes people that move to Istanbul: as a result they would lose their family ties, harass people in the streets, or commit criminal acts and therefore produce a negative image of the Kurdish people. But with him, he explains, it would be different of course, because of his work. In the bus, he likes to pick on me in front of everyone to check if I have understood his jokes – which

⁵ See Annex II, 1 for pictures

⁶ Tr: “doğulu adam”

⁷ Tr: “özenti”

⁸ “kiro” implies in its specific Turkish context to people of a certain macho behavior and that are described as lowbrow, bearish, yokel, hik. They are imagined as being from the East.

I wish at that point would stick in his throat. I find his macho *maganda* style patronizing and alarming and I watch out to avoid any ambiguous situation.⁹

During the tour, it is difficult to deepen conversations with Hasan on politics or history. Either he is not eager to explain, or he does not know. He often seems bored, speaks in a monotonous voice, interrupted by sighs and yawning. The reason for his tiredness is not clear. He might be overworked. He keeps himself up with several tins of Red Bull per day. His eyes are red and he sleeps during the transfer to the next site. He behaves in a brotherly way with local people – actually with local *men*. When speaking with him outside the group, he expresses his compassion for local people who have a high potential and intelligence in his eyes, which however is not made use of. He feels that those people are often left alone in their misery.

The combination of his style, together with his position as a tourist guide from Van, his personal involvement in the region and in North Iraq – for humanitarian projects, he claims - and yet his life in Istanbul and the States, his work and his performance as a tourist guide become representative of a life in which he does not seem to fit exactly into any of these social positions. He seems to have not achieved the social mobility that he was hoping for. The fact that he gets involved in Northern Iraq at a time of military and political conflicts in that region leave me furthermore puzzled about his character that, I feel, is too aloof and intransparent as that I could get hold of it.

1.4.2. Ilhan – the Bus Driver¹⁰

Ilhan is from Kahta, a small city half an hour by car to the East of Adiyaman. He works for different agencies as a bus driver. Although he is married, he keeps mentioning his Belgian girlfriend and that he has travelled with a lot with foreigners. When we meet for the interview, he brings some wine and – while responding my questions – inserts here and there a comment such as “for a beautiful woman like you.” When his wife calls and he tells her that he is with a cousin, I understand – apart from

⁹ See Annex II, 2.1 and 2.2 for pictures

¹⁰ See Annex II, 3 for pictures.

my personal dilemma to get out of the situation – that his experiences in foreign tourism has provided him with the opportunity him to lead a triple life: his family at home, his struggle to be accepted by society as a Kurd, the girlfriend in Belgium and –considering his behavior towards me – probably some other girlfriends that he feels he is entitled to have in his role as a bus driver as well as his ‘Kurdishness’ that foreigners are so eager to hear about, as he explains.

1.4.3. The Tourists¹¹

Münnever, who is from Malatya, moved some years ago to Istanbul for work. She is in her late twenties and works in a Turkish company as an accountant. She wears jeans in a sporty manner. Before we have the chance to get to know each other, I see her on the plane, thinking to myself that her straightforward and trendy style denotes that she must be from Istanbul. While Hasan introduces himself upon arrival, she examines me from the side, so that my first impression is that she is Hasan’s girlfriend. I understand only later in the bus, when we all introduce ourselves, that she is a tourist as well.

Münnever immediately starts calling Hasan “Komutan”¹², a military title which reflects the importance and respect that is usually paid in Turkish society towards the military. Apart from her, nobody else calls Hasan “Komutan”.

Münnever, too, is Kurdish, and speaks Kurdish. During the trip and in the evenings she sticks in particular to Ilhan, the bus driver and Hasan, the guide: they segregate themselves from the group. I join them once after a dinner: While having beer they rave about how much they love their country and how Kurds love Turkey as much as any other citizens of Turkey do. However, I feel very soon redundant and leave the table. They might have other things to talk about when they are alone.

Münnever sings along in the bus to the Kurdish songs Ilhan plays. With these songs, her intimate evenings with Ilhan and Hasan as well as her way to perform mental

¹¹ See Annex II, 4 for pictures.

¹² Engl.: commander, commandant

proximity to local people, when she gets the opportunity, she emphasizes and performs a cultural connection with the region – her localness vis-à-vis the “outsider” position of the rest of the group. The trip allows her to articulate a side of her that she probably is not able to express in Istanbul. Her contact with others in the group remains limited. Given the fact that she travels alone as a woman, the journey must be of great importance to her.

Çiçek and Mustafa join us at the airport in Diyarbakır. They are both Alevis, which I will learn only when we meet later in Istanbul. Mustafa is dressed in jogging pants. Çiçek wears normal jeans and a t-shirt. Mustafa, it becomes obvious very early, is the joker of the group and entertains the whole bus whereas Çiçek is very calm. Contrary to his worn-out jogging pants, his humor and perception seem witty and keen. Their relation seems to me quite egalitarian in so far as classic gender roles blur within their relationship. Yet, while Çiçek does not talk a lot, Mustafa screams his jokes out loud. Mustafa behaves in a brotherly but very respectful manner. He imitates Hasan’s role as a guide from time to time which causes laughter and amusement in the group. “Arnikaaaaa” he screams in a monotonous voice, just as Hasan does when he wants to speak to us.

There are also **Kaya and Ayla Çetin**. Both are Sunni Muslim. Kaya is from Konya and has been working in the radiology department of a public hospital in Kadıköy. Ayla is from the Aegean region. When I visit them in Kemer in October 2007, Kaya tells me that the new hospital director from AKP was the reason that he quit his work and retired early. That is when they moved to Kemer. About the current government he has no positive words to say. He is a convinced Kemalist. During the trip, Kaya immediately addresses me in the first minutes and it will be Ayla and Kaya with whom I will be the closest during the trip. Ayla, like Çiçek, is very calm and not interested in discussions about politics or conflict. Kaya, however, does not stop talking about politics once we are alone. All of the political discussions happen only in private, just as with everybody else. Ayla’s just as Çiçek’s behavior reflect the association between public space and the male voice in Turkey.

Last but not least, there are **Metin and Bedriye** who have come with Bedriye’s parents. Metin and Bedriye live in Bermuda and both work as water engineers. They have travelled extensively, though for this trip Metin has been rather reluctant. Bedriye

seems to dominate in this relationship whereas Metin is calm and reticent. Their comfortable trekking clothes show that they travel a lot and prefer individual journeys to mass tourism. Their photography behavior is very particular. With their telephoto lens, they focus on single items such as houses, ruins and people. The Anatolia they record is one of history and ‘past’, as they can be seen on <http://www.flickr.com/photos/benrose/sets/72157602270707433/>. The pictures, exhibited on this page are for them representative of their experience. Their whole collection of pictures however exceeds the few ones exposed here. Whereas her mother Şeniye as well as the other fellow travelers Ayla, Çiçek and Münnever rave about how much the group has become “a family”, Metin and Bedriye keep themselves rather distant and respond with a smile. They do not seem to share this enthusiasm.

Bedriye’s parents are **Şeniye and Kasım**. Kasım is a retired officer and therefore gets called “Pasha” by everyone, which seems ironic considering his slightly lost and disoriented facial expression. I find these titles worth noting not only because of the military emphasis, but also because, though in a humorous manner, they mark leadership and imply a certain hierarchy. Because of the heat, Şeniye and Kasım cannot join us everywhere and sometimes wait in the bus. It might be more appropriate to think of Şeniye as the officer. She presents her opinion loudly, is direct, and tells Kasım what to do. Şeniye sometimes glances a bit suspiciously at Münnever. As a woman travelling alone, Şeniye seems not to appreciate Münnever’s easy-going conduct with Hasan and İlhan. Towards me, Şeniye, together with Ayla, assume the role of a mother: “my daughter” (“kızım”), “my life” (“hayatım”) are the names that they call me. Şeniye’s tone is harsh and her facial expressions strict. Her pants are in general too short, so that you can see her white socks. She wears a sun hat that looks mismatched with her outfit and does not take too much care of her clothes such as Münnever.

1.4.4. Interviews with Tourists who did not take part in the Tour of Summer 2007

In order to get a feeling for what tourists expected as a way of preparing for fieldwork, I met two Fest Travel tourists from Istanbul: One is **Esat**, Professor of International Relations at a prestigious university in Istanbul, who did his PhD at the Sorbonne. We met during lunch time in his office in the main building of Galatasaray

University with this ‘prospective tourist’ who booked his trip. His journeys abroad and encounter with great prejudice vis-a-vis Turkey and its provinces had ignited with him the wish to explore Turkey for his own arguments abroad to become more powerful and convincing. With the words “Those trips are for her a bit like an escape”, Esat recommended to me that I meet his retired mother, **Aysel**, who is in her 70’s. When I met her, I found that she dressed simply and in a sportsy manner. She is very excited to go to the South East again. She studied Turkish and English literature, and taught literature at Istanbul University. In addition to these preliminary interviews, I did interviews after the fieldtrip with other tourists who went within the last two years to the Southeast.

First of all there was **Elif**, who graduated from Bosphorus University in Economics three years ago and is now working in the marketing department of Cadbury Turkey. She is very hard working and takes very good care of herself.

Nermin was a graduate student from Sabancı University in the field of Conflict Resolution. Born in Ordu into a family of large landowners, she moved to Istanbul in order to study at Robert College.

Aylin was a retired teacher who lived in Malatya for her first job as a teacher. She now lives in Izmir.

I have also carried out further interviews with two undergraduate students– **Burak** and **Burcu** – both living with their families in Istanbul whose origins are in the Southeast.

Additional interviewees were conducted with a graduate student– **Derya**, as well as **Okan**, a PhD Candidate in History at Arizona University.

All these interviews were carried out during October-November 2007, when the situation on the Iraqi border was particularly tense. The TV news broadcasts and the newspapers reported every day about new casualties as soldiers were killed by clashes with the PKK – a situation that certainly had an effect on the interviews.

Further informants include the current patriarch of the Catholic Church in Antakya, the parents of Elif (Halim and Jale), a local family in Halfeti (Şenay and Ibrahim) –, Bedri (a waiter in Diyarbakır), Tülin from Adiyaman; two teachers of a

Monastery (Iyar and Samuel), as well as refugees from the Southeast now living in Germany (Affeh, Sargon, Leah, Asiah and Meryem) whom I encountered at an Assyrian monastery.

CHAPTER 2

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE TRIP¹³

2.1. Diyarbakır

So there are all 11 of us in the bus, the cameras ready on our laps, driving through Diyarbakır: Bedriye and Metin in the front, me behind them, then Ayla and Kaya, Şeniye and Kasım as well as Çiçek and Metin in the back. Hasan sits on a single seat at the side. The bus literally spits us out in front of the site and picks us up again short time later. Contact with local people is almost impossible and Hasan gets very nervous if some sort of conversation comes up – most probably because it takes time out of our schedule that is already very tight. On the way out, bypassing the “famous” city walls – apparently not famous enough to get out of the bus – the group squeezes at the window to take a quick shot (as the quality of the pictures shows¹⁴). The trip is a journey from spot to spot, from site to site, the ensemble of the sites determining our image of the region.

One of the first things I notice is that Hasan speaks about local people as “our citizens¹⁵”, a reference that creates a connection with people that are otherwise perceived as ‘different’.

“To travel and do tours with Turkish tourists is something that I particularly love”¹⁶; Hasan continues to create a bond ‘among citizens’ although he claims later

¹³ All of the comments and citations in this chapter, if not marked otherwise, originate from my Travel Diary.

¹⁴ See Appendix II, 5.1 and 5.2 for pictures

¹⁵ Tr: “bizim vatandaşlarımız”.

¹⁶ Tr: “Türk turistlerle gezmeyi ve turlar yapmayı özellikle seviyorum”

when we are alone that he prefers to travel with Americans, because they are more eager to interact with the local people. It seems paradox that he finds fault with his observation that Turkish tourists do not interact with locals on the one hand, but that he in moments of interaction nevertheless tries to reduce possible communications. It is not clear at this point if this happens solely out of a lack of time in our schedule, if he feels uncomfortable because they are Turks, or if he is advised from his employer not to do so. He continues to rave about the cultural uniqueness of Southeast Anatolia: “I studied in the States. But the culture here is so rich that I returned. Our fellow citizens here are so honest, so warm. They live in happiness here. Here are such different, such rich cultures.”¹⁷ He utters these phrases again and again in a monotonous and tired voice.

Hasan tries to sell the Southeast as something that the tourists are eager to hear: We drive through Batman. We pass a clock tower which shows 8:20 (it is 11 a.m. at that time) and looks rather like it stopped a long time ago. The streets look empty and a bit shabby. Hasan: “So this is Batman, with a shining future,¹⁸ the so-called gate between South and Southeast Anatolia.” A shining future? Without his comment it would have taken quite some guess to understand its great-looking future. In general, Hasan’s rhetoric is penetrated by a eulogy of euphemistic and solemn introductions such as: “I will bring you to a very special place; you will see a very special view.”¹⁹ He drones his introductions from his “that’s-what-they-want-to-hear-anyway” catalogue. His comments are of a quality and depth that when touring in other regions he simply would need to exchange the locality Bodrum against Urfa and his comment would remain similarly meaningful. He is stopped by Bedriye when he proudly announces: “In this region are cooked 385 different sorts of lentil soup.”²⁰ Bedriye responds unimpressed: “Well they have a similar number in Trakya. So?”

Hasan provides information about agricultural production and oil refineries in order to emphasize the economic productivity and usefulness of the region. The tourists

¹⁷ Tr: “Amerika’da okudum, ama buradaki kültür o kadar zengin ki ben döndüm. Buradaki vatandaşlarımız o kadar samimi, sıcak. Gülerek yaşıyorlar burada. O kadar çeşitli, zengin bir kültür var burada.”

¹⁸ Tr: “İşte burası Batman, parlayan bir gelecekle.”

¹⁹ Tr: “Çok özel bir yere getireceğim sizi, çok özel bir manzara göreceksiniz.”

²⁰ Tr: “Buralarda 385 çeşitli mercimek çorbası yapılır”.

are awed. Kaya is, as he explains, “enchanted”²¹, so that there seems to be neither time nor place for other thoughts.

We arrive at Hasankeyf, where we climb on top and everybody starts taking pictures of himself: above the cave, before the cave, in the cave, with Hasan in the cave, without Hasan in the cave. The basic rule is to be *in* the picture and if possible in the center in order to prove that one has actually really been “there”. The tourists do not get tired. I am impressed by the number of pictures they take. Kaya realizes after some time that I take different pictures than he does such as photographs of landscape and nature without me in the center of the photograph. He positions himself right next to me: “Look, I will take pictures like Sandra does. Let’s see what she sees. She takes pictures I would have never taken myself.” I am not sure if he is joking so I simply smile back.

Some kids approach us. Kaya gets very excited and asks me to talk to them. Since he enjoys the reactions of people when I start talking in Turkish, he asks me repeatedly during the trip to communicate with locals. I hate being exhibited like this. Furthermore, as a woman to be told by a man when to talk and to whom, causes with me every time an inner feeling of rebellion and defiance. I decide, however, for the sake of participant observation, to swallow the bitter pill and respond accordingly. It happens again on our way to Nemrut. We meet an elderly man to whom I give some of the medicine that I have because he has a stinging ache in different parts of his body. Kaya tells me how to greet him, with my left hand holding onto my stomach.

2.2. On the Road to Midyat

Hasan:”There is also Assyrian wine that is produced by our citizens. And here to our left we have a typical Assyrian village, but there are no Assyrians left. They abandoned their villages.”²² The word “abandon” seems to me euphemistic, silencing the past of the Assyrians. No one asks questions in this group why they “abandoned”

²¹ Tr: “Büyülenmiş”.

²² Tr: “Köylerinden ayrılmış”.

the region or if they were “told” to leave it. For Hasan and the group it seems elaborate enough that they were there in the past.

When entering Midyat: ”Traditionally to the left only Muslims were living and to our right there were gayrimüslim. Today however it is mixed. They live altogether today. There are no problems.” I get curious about this alleged multiculturalism. My research about the German community in Pera showed the limits of ‘multiculturalism’ and I start wondering how ‘multiculti’ life and its limits work in the region. I will eventually learn about it after the trip when returning to the sites on my own as well as through the interviews.

In Midyat we visit the house where the Turkish TV series “Silah”²³ is shot. The group is very excited. Everybody takes a picture of the neighboring church.²⁴ Christian communities still exist, but the existence of these churches does not trigger any questions (at least they are not asked). Taking a picture of it freezes it in distance. In support of Hasan’s narrative about Christian culture as something happening in the past, taking pictures of churches exhibits and objectifies the existence of Christian communities on Turkish soil.

2.3. An Assyrian Monastery in Mardin

A local guide explains: “There are 10 million Assyrians worldwide and 5 million of them belong to this church. There are Assyrians in India, Germany, and Istanbul etc. But they all have their origin here, which makes us proud.”²⁵ Again, the spotlight is on Anatolia’s multiculturalism - without the Assyrians’ narrative. Nevertheless, one of the foci during the trip is interestingly on the region’s Christian heritage (since they once constituted a major group in the region). Yet nobody asks why they left and for which place they left. From Şeniye’s and others’ comments about the ruins and exhibited

²³ Engl.: gun

²⁴ See Appendix II, 6 for pictures

²⁵ Travel diary, 16.9.2007

buildings such as “what for a beautiful culture”²⁶, I understand that “culture” seems to happen in the past. The crucial point is that they have their origin here, but no one really cares about the fact that there are only few of them left. Kaya: “Look Sandra, all these civilizations that lived here gave birth to culture and to ‘our’ culture.” Kaya is fascinated and enchanted, as he keeps on emphasizing. With his praise of Anatolian civilizations he places Turkey on a global map of cultural superiority. Yet he regrets where the country would be now. Most of the tourists praise this past of “cultural wealth” and “development” whereas most of them express dissatisfaction with contemporary Turkey.

In the same monastery we meet a German tourist group doing a tour of Christian pilgrimage. The female tourist guide gives – certainly due to the nature of this journey - a number of facts about the life of Assyrians today and how life in the monastery is organized: “Today there are 30 people living here....(explaining the way they practice their religion). If you are interested we can attend a church service as well”²⁷. Within our group we focus exclusively on history and often very isolated and uncontextualized historical facts. In contrast to the eulogies about Anatolian multiculturalism, neither our group nor Hasan are interested in explaining details about life in the region today.

Terrorism is mentioned once on the trip on the road to Mardin. We see a farm or what once used to be a farm. Hasan explains that this farm had to be given up with the terrorism in the region. That is all. The topic never comes up again. Once more, no questions.

In Mardin itself, we visit among other sites the museum. Bedriye takes a picture of me: “But don’t stand like this, we don’t want to have the white plastic bank in the background.” She wants to have solely historical buildings in the pictures.²⁸

In the evening, Hasan brings us to a spot to take pictures. The spot we have taken pictures from is actually very close to the Officer’s Club of Mardin. All of a sudden soldiers appear and want to check out the pictures saved on our digital cameras because it is forbidden to take pictures of military institutions. Hasan does not say anything and

²⁶ Tr: “Ne kadar güzel bir kültür”

²⁷ Travel diary, 16.9.2007

²⁸ See Appendix II, 7.1 and 7.2 for pictures.

leaves us to do the talking. Later in the evening he tells us of American tourists showing no respect towards Turkish soldiers. He finds this rather amusing because they take pictures and sometimes soldiers even help them to take some pictures. Back to the situation in front of the Officer's Club of Mardin, the number of soldiers increases. All of a sudden they seem to be informed by one of their colleagues back in the club that one of our group members – Kasım – is a retired chief master sergeant. The atmosphere shifts and, all of a sudden, we get invited to the roof terrace where we are offered drinks. Within the group there is a feeling of excitement such as the excitement on Christmas or any other solemnized event. “You know, usually no one is allowed to enter the Officer's Club and in particular not foreigners. So for you it must be also something special”, Kaya explains to me in a solemn voice. The atmosphere within the group is an excitement of being allowed to enter the “no-go” of the military that is highly respected by them. Situated in the most beautiful places in Turkey, but protected by soldiers excluding any visitor, the fact of entering becomes an adventure of exploring the state from within. The respectful and timid silence of the group inside the building is broken by loud and excited laughs of relief when we exit the house. The moment of relief and the adventure of entering the inside of the state seem to bond the group. “This event we will never forget, that is for sure”, Kaya explains.

2.4. Mardin- Harran- Urfa

In the morning we visit a public school in **Mardin** that used to be an Assyrian school. In the entrance there is a quote from Atatürk:

Kaya reads these out loud: “Oh hero, the Turkish woman, you are not worthy of crawling on the floor but of being carried on shoulders.”²⁹ The second quotation is: “Oh great turk!there is no limit to your greatness!”^{30 31}

²⁹ Tr: “Ey Kahraman, Türk kadını sen yerde sürünmeye değil omuzlar üzerinde göklere yükselmeye layıksın.”

³⁰ Tr: “Yüksek Türk! Senin için yükseliğin hududu yoktur.”

³¹ See Appendix II, 8 for pictures

“This is very important. I don’t believe in anything else than Atatürk.”³² He urges me to take a picture. The scene reminds me of what Çiçek and Mustafa mentioned about a lack of individuality in public space. Here Atatürk’s statements appear like a reminder of every citizen’s loyalty to the state – a loyalty superior to one’s Assyrian identity.

When wandering through the streets, a local resident on a donkey passes. Everybody takes a picture.³³ I understand a bit too late the interest and manage at the last minute to take a picture from behind. The elderly man on his donkey seems to evoke some of the folkloric and romantic images of the Southeast that the tourists had in their mind before going on the trip.

A boy guides us through the ruins of **Harran**, and then leads us to the houses of Harran where we have lunch. Before lunch however we have the chance to change into Harran dresses for both men and women, a rather Arab style of dressing. Münnever realizes before anyone else the chance to dress up and changes her clothes.³⁴

Kaya loves the Arab dress and poses with Ayla like (leaning over) “a real Arab couple”. He also takes prayer beads and walks around. He buys a similar headscarf in Urfa which he wears on the trip. This masquerade as “a real Arab couple” becomes a mockery. Kaya sits on one of the chairs with a cigarette in his hand, “just as the Arabs do”³⁵. Disguising oneself as an Arab creates distance and, just as taking the pictures, turns the “Arab” into an object of exhibition. Dressing like an Arab becomes for Kaya a way of joking about Arabs in general whereas for Münnever it seems to be a more serious undertaking. Kemal keeps on his dress during lunch time³⁶. Münnever urges me also to try. But I take it off before lunch. During lunch they try to match me with a local guy as a joke. Otherwise it is rather calm during the meal for which they serve tomatoes, cucumber and cheese.

Arab identity is a sensitive topic: The Arab as the other, against which in particular the urbanized state elite in Turkey tried to define itself in the context of being “European” or “Western” from Atatürk’s cut off from the Ottoman Muslim past with

³² Tr: “Bu çok önemli. Ben Atatürk’ten başka bir şeye inanmıyorum.”

³³ See Appendix II, 9 for pictures.

³⁴ See Appendix II, 10 for pictures

³⁵ See Appendix II, 11.1 and 11.2 for pictures.

³⁶ See Appendix II, 12 for pictures

the foundation of the Republic onwards, lives on within the border of the Turkish republic. Later, in Adiyaman, Kaya explains that those cities that are dirty are mostly inhabited by Arabs. Syria and Turkey in this region are often just a few kilometers apart. Yet, the narrative of border conflicts on TV and in the newspapers turns this geographical proximity into mental and ideological distance.

After lunch a German tourist group arrives. Kaya approaches one of the German tourists and starts talking in Turkish to him. He waves me to come and translate. “Tell him that you are German, but that you travel with us.” He tells the tourist that I am actually a German, but travel with them. I am one of them now. “And how does he think about that?” The German tourist is confused, responds with a nervous smile and then hurries to his group. He did not understand the context or purpose of Kaya’s question. My presence becomes a tool for Kaya to prove the proximity between Europeans and Turks as well as the superiority of Turks to attract, as in this case, Germans to live in Turkey. Şeniye also notices the German tourists: “Sandra, Sandra, there are your fellow countrymen, look!”³⁷ For a German, or at least for me, meeting a fellow countryman³⁸ abroad does not necessarily trigger an automatic bond, I try to explain. She looks at me not understanding. With Turkish people, it seems to take not even a second before the mother’s, father’s origin and possible common relatives are all set out. Some of the German tourists solely glance at me curiously and suspiciously, but then leave. The fact that I speak Turkish confuses them and the idea that I live in Turkey as a German seems too awkward and unusual to imagine. My person does not seem to fit into the categories that are out there, let alone a German living in Turkey. “It is supposed to be the other way around,” a German tourist tells me later.

We enter **Urfa** and get off close to *Balıklı Göl*. Hasan pretends to take children as tourist guides, gives them his glasses and identity card.³⁹ It seems as if he is the brother of everyone down there. He acts nonchalant and casual. He is wearing again those 70s’ model sunglasses; the top buttons of his shirt are open.

³⁷ Tr: “Sandra, Sandra, *hemşehrin* burada, bak!!” (The term *hemşehir* originally implies fellow townsmen, emphasizing the regionally different character from town to town).

³⁸ Tr: *hemşehir*

³⁹ See Appendix II, 13 for pictures

We continue to Cennet Camii and enter. Local boys come to me and Ayla and change the way we cover our head into “real Urfa style”. Inside the mosque, members of our group feel intimidated, it seems. Local people are sitting on the floor and praying. We simply drink the holy water and leave.

We continue to the Bazaar in the direction of a cafe in an old Kervansaray. There are almost no women in the streets. In the parks numerous boys and young men are sitting on the grass in small groups. Although it is quite crowded, there is not much noise. The group, though, does not wonder about the lack of women in public. I am a bit surprised because it is eye-catching. When I comment, Ayla looks around: “You are right, I didn’t think of that. But indeed, there are not a lot of women in the streets. They are probably at home.” Our perception of the public sphere probably differs.

We arrive at the cafe. Most of the people prefer to sit and stay with Hasan. I will encounter this reluctance to go out once more in Antakya and once at the end of the trip. In Antakya Hasan recommends going out of the hotel for a drink, but everybody prefers to stay in the hotel for another beer, “because we don’t know the outside”. The group, apart from Bedriye and Metin, prefer to sit in the restaurant and watch the series “Valley of the Wolves”⁴⁰. At the end of the trip, the reluctance to move outside the frame of the group becomes apparent: Ilhan offers to take the group to Kahta. Everybody politely declines.

Back in Urfa, we climb with Kaya and Ayla up to the castle. On the way, Kaya asks me to take a picture of him in front of a Turkish flag, while wearing his Arab scarf.⁴¹

During the *sıra gecesi* in the hotel, a tradition in Urfa which means dinner with local food and Arabesque music, Hasan becomes emotional, singing loudly. He accompanies the singer. He forgets himself in the music and dances, in a clearly much more complicated way than the rest of the people. He seems to know all of this very well. However, nobody else at the table shares his enthusiasm. His behavior seems to be a bit alienating for the others, given their reticence and silence.

⁴⁰ Tr: “Kurtlar Vadisi”

⁴¹ See Appendix II, 14 for pictures

2.5. Urfa - Atatürk Dam- Halfeti – Adiyaman- Kahta – Mount Nemrut

When leaving Urfa, Hasan frames again the trip with a stereotypical comment: “We are leaving Urfa with this wonderful sunrise this morning. Look at this wonderful sunrise.” From there we move on for a short stop at **Atatürk Dam**.

On our way to **Halfeti** we drive through the villages of Yaylak, no comments in the bus as usual. Just as soon as we are out of the village, Şeniye hints to the landscape: “The soil here is very good, very fertile. Look at the trees.”⁴² I remember Hasan’s words during a conversation after dinner in Gaziantep: “Villages etc. is not culture for them. When we pass through villages, that is not culture for them you know?”

We arrive in Halfeti, stop to take pictures on the road from the top of the cliffs. We immediately enter the “Black Rose Boat”⁴³ in order to see the Greek castle nearby. Before the captain arrives, Hasan makes fun of him. When showing pictures of him to university friends in Istanbul, they all say that he looks very much like a *wannabe* or *kıro* just as Hasan. No one takes the captain seriously in his “wannabe ‘captain’ ” outfit.⁴⁴

We start the trip; the “captain” gives us plastic mugs with dates in them. Kaya (in an ironic voice): “That is the most interesting *çay* offer I ever got, interesting not to put *cay* but a fruit into the cup (laughs, ironic voice).” Kaya’s condescending comment about the captain’s improvisation does not seem to please Hasan who looks angry and gloomy. Münnever starts to read out loud a poem that the captain claims to have written. He tries to sell the black roses for 40 YTL. No one buys the roses. The group finds the price very unreasonable.

Later, already in Antakya, we come back to this situation. Kaya imagines the captain to have finally thrown all of the roses overboard, frustrated and cursing because he would not sell those roses that had actually cost him nothing. He ends up entertaining the whole group with this.

⁴² Tr: “Toprak çok güzel buralarda, çok zengin. Bak ağaçlara.”

⁴³ Tr: “Siyah Gül Gemisi”

⁴⁴ See Appendix II, 15 for pictures

I return after the trip to Halfeti where I am invited by Ibrahim, whom I have met on the bus to Halfeti, to stay with his family. The house is very humid and in a bad condition, which explains the penetrating smell of mold. “The previous house was really bad so that we had to move here”, Ismail’s wife Şenay explains. Ibrahim works as the warder of the local prison but is not very busy with that job. Ibrahim and his wife share the housework. When talking about tourism in Halfeti, Ibrahim also wonders why tourists come to Halfeti. Now they would come for the Greek castle, he explains. Yet, before the construction of the damn, no one would have come to visit the castle. Thus, he implies, not the castle, but the achievement of building a damn seems to be the crucial event that turned Halfeti into a touristic attraction for the Turkish ministry of tourism. Şenay complains that the TV gives a wrong image about the region and that everybody thinks people in that region would live only with problems. Öcalan, she continues would be from Halfeti which would never be mentioned on the trip. This is not a big surprise, since he does not fit into the touristic landscape that is created by the ministry. Şenay, however, emphasizes the local peacefulness in the birthplace of Öcalan which she imagines as interesting information for any Turkish tourist.

On the first evening I walk with the two boys of the family through the village. I stay in one house a bit longer. An elderly man, who has followed me ever since I left the house of Ismail, comes closer and sits down as well. He lifts the left shoe: “England.” He lifts the right shoe: “England, my girl brought them for me from Birmingham where she lives now.” They ask what I or my friends are doing. I tell them about a friend who is working in marketing. In Turkish I use the term *pazarlama* for the English version “marketing”. One of the women replies:

“Look, she speaks ‘their’ language, ‘pazarlama’. Here we don’t use those words. But all of our young people have moved to the cities or abroad. Here is nothing, there is no work. That is why only the elderly ones have stayed here. That is also why we don’t know that kind of words.”^{45 46}

Halim, the father of an interviewee with whose family I stay in Iskenderun, explains also suspicion vis-a-vis the West of the country:

⁴⁵ See Appendix II, 16 for pictures

⁴⁶ Tr: “Bak, onların dilini konuşuyor. Burada o tarz söz kullanmıyoruz. Bizim gençler hep gittiler, şehirlere veya yurtdışına, burada bir şey yok, iş yeri yok. O yüzden sadece yaşlılar kaldılar buralarda. O yüzden biz o tarz söz bilmiyoruz.”

“I have also travelled a bit here. The real difference between this region and Istanbul is that here, there was first of all knowledge and history while in Istanbul and Ankara, what you had first of all was politics and religion and politicized religion. Unfortunately, we don’t know yet how this will affect us; the municipality tries to cooperate closer with government of course.”

What Halim emphasizes here, is the irony, that according to him it is actually not the Southeast who has introduced religion to politics, but the political centers Ankara and Istanbul. In contrast, many of the interviewees perceive the Southeast as the place where religion grows and develops political power.

We walk through the bazaar of **Adiyaman**: “A picture? Sure, but with us in the middle.” Apart from Bedriye, pictures are always taken with someone in the center. A picture of Kemal and Ayla⁴⁷ is the result of my initiative to visit the local bazaar. Kemal and Ayla are a bit careful. But since pictures have to be taken, this picture is shot – the local sitting on the chair might well wonder what they are taking a picture of.

During my second visit to Adiyaman I meet with Tülin. On the way to her office, she asks me where I have been and is surprised. She has never been to Mardin, let alone beyond Mardin. “I never went because of all of these PKK and terrorism trouble”⁴⁸. The “dangerous East” seems to be always further East for any person that I talked to, regardless of whether they live in the western or eastern part of Turkey.

On our way to **Mount Nemrut**, we stand on top of another mountain. Again, Hasan emphasizes the uniqueness of Turkey’s nature and places Turkey above Europe – a statement that is of political importance at a time when negotiations are still going on, but public trust and belief in the EU is weakened. In his narrative, the environment becomes a landscape of the motherland. Considering the different background of the tourists, to refer to the local people as citizens⁴⁹ and to the landscape as homeland has certainly the potential of unifying the group, creating a common feeling with the exclusion of sensitive topics.

We stop at a restaurant close to a lake. Metin takes a picture of an empty Coca Cola bottle in the sand. Metin and Bedriye always take care of the perspective and angle

⁴⁷ See Appendix II, 17 for pictures

⁴⁸ Travel Diary, conversation with Tülin upon arrival in Adiyaman 27.9.2007

⁴⁹ Tr: “vatandaş”

of their pictures. It is a real procedure for them to position themselves ‘correctly’. They focus on details. Their way of taking photographs differs from the others. The rest are posing, always in the center of the picture, looking very serious. Şeniye even looks as if she would be a sergeant herself. As soon as Hasan points out a stone or an inscription, people ask others to take pictures of themselves with the stone.

For Kaya the encounter with foreign tourists on Mount Nemrut is a significant part of his vision: “Look, they [people] come here from ever country. It is an international, multi-cultural meeting, very nice. This is the way it should be. This is the way I would want it to be.”⁵⁰ What is interesting is his understanding of multiculturalism in this context. High above and remote from the local villages, exchanging with European foreigners, is what he has in mind. The absence of inhabitants on Mount Nemrut itself makes it more inviting than other places. The rest of the group sticks more to one another. Then Hasan hands out small glasses with some wine to enjoy with the sunset⁵¹. Everybody but Şeniye takes a sip. “I am already eating although we have Ramadan, so at least I decided not to drink alcohol this month.”

Ayla in the bus: “What for a cultured past”⁵². Again, culture seems to be something that happens in the past. The local people living in the area today do not seem to count as “culture”.

2.6. Kahta-Gaziantep

“**Gaziantep** is called the Paris of the Southeast. You have everything here that you have in Turkey. For example they call Halfeti the Bodrum of the Southeast.” While previously Hasan had compared Turkey’s uniqueness with the world, he now describes the South East as the essence of the natural beauty and cultural achievement of Turkey – an image opposed to the one the tourists usually hear about on the news.

⁵⁰ Tr: “Bakın, her ülkeden geliyorlar buraya. Uluslararası, mülti-kültürel bir görüşme, çok güzel. Öyle olması lazım. Öyle isterdim.”

⁵¹ See Appendix II, 18 for pictures

⁵² Tr: “Ne kadar kültürlü bir geçmiş”

We visit the Gaziantep museum. Hasan leaves us alone, although we do not have too much information about the mosaics. People get tired very soon and want to leave. We visit another open air museum, a “traditional Gaziantep house”. I see the star-like decoration on the floor of the inner court and ask Hasan if this means anything, assuming that it could be Armenian⁵³. His answer is vague. I ask the local guide. He says that this house used to belong to Armenians.

2.7. Gaziantep-Antakya

On our trip to Antakya, Hasan points to a Turkish flag on a small hill. Hasan points to the hill which is a memorial to one of the fights for the Republic. We also drive through Kilis, “a military-wise very strategic place”, as Hasan explains, and therefore very important for the republic. “It is a very important place for military strategies and thus for the Republic. There is also a very nice Atatürk piazza in the center.” Until now we have entered until now almost every city via the Atatürk Street. He continues: “On our left there is what used to be the French tourism office.” Metin is surprised: “Ah the French were here first?” Münnever: “Don’t they speak Arabic here?” Hasan: “Yes, among others they do.” No other comments in the bus. In general there are not a lot of questions or comments, let alone personal impressions that the tourists want to share with each other. Exchange is rather limited to “very nice, very interesting”. In general he frequently points to government or municipality buildings such as the town hall.

Everybody in the group gets frequent phone calls from the family, or else they call their family when they have seen something very impressive. The phone calls are not too long, but frequent. They explain where they are going or where they are coming from– a rather small but instantaneous news transfer. The same phenomenon I have observed in Istanbul; the mobile phone as a means to maintain kinship or family structures. Elif explains:

“Here in Istanbul, people maybe want to visit one another. But they don’t do it, because there is no time. What do they do? They send messages via

⁵³ See Appendix II, 19 for pictures

the phone, they call their families, and they send emails to their relatives, their spouses, their friends. Istanbul is very big. To go from one place to another place takes incredible time and energy.”⁵⁴

After some time, Hasan points to his left as the border of Syria: “Over there you can see the border with Syria. We will drive along this border now all the way down to Antakya.” People start to take pictures of the border that is actually not visible. The abstractness of the geographical and political border rhetoric renders the moment of approaching the border almost magical. This narrative reminds me of some early childhood memories of entering the border control process. By its alienating nature of reducing a human being’s quality to paper and passport, the process gains an awestruck, impressive quality. Experiencing the abstraction of borders in contrast to one’s profane everyday where border rhetoric remains mainly in the field of politics and TV news broadcast, the moment of actually seeing the other side becomes something magical.

In Antakya we visit the Mosaic Museum. While walking back to the bus in the evening, it happens by accident that the very second when the cannon announces the beginning of Iftar, the fast-breaking during the month of Ramadan, a Muslim tradition, we are right there in front of the battery. In our interview, Kaya will come back to this in order to explain how much religion has taken over public space and therefore, in his opinion, one’s liberty becomes restricted. Otherwise all of the tourists rave later in the bus that so many different religions live here together.

In the evening in Antakya, we have a last dinner, the “last supper”. Hasan does not come because he is busy with something else that he does not clarify. It is one of Hasan’s peculiarities to agree to an appointment, but then not to come without ever explaining his reasons or other occupations. Münnever puts his glass on its side. We had seen in a monastery Judas’s glass, the traitor among Jesus’ disciples, put like this. The evening ends early. Hasan suggests earlier going out a bit. But, as mentioned earlier, nobody really wants to; instead, they have one more beer in the restaurant of the hotel where we are staying.

⁵⁴ Interview with Ebru, November day 2007. Tr: “Ancak burada, İstanbul’da, insanlar ziyaret etmek istiyorlar belki. Ama yapamıyorlar. Çünkü zaman yok. Napiyorlar? Mesaj atıyorlar telefonda, telefon açıyorlar ailelerine, email atıyorlar, akrabalarına, eşlerine, dostlarına. İstanbul çok büyük. İstanbul’da bir yerden bir yere gitmek için inanılmaz zaman ve enerji gerekiyor”.

While visiting St. Pierre Church in **Antakya** in the morning, Hasan explains:

“This is a pilgrimage place for the Middle East. It could be also an international place for pilgrimage, but the pope of the Catholic Church has not come yet. ‘Because there is no airport’, he keeps on saying. He probably does not want to give too much importance to this region.”

We visit a Catholic Church in the old center of Antakya. A girl working there for the tourists explains a bit about the history of the building and provides some figures about the community. Kaya wants to ask something about the community. Hasan abruptly stops the conversation and tells everyone to go back to the bus. Everybody takes pictures of the bell with the minaret of the neighboring mosque in the background. “The peaceful coexistence of different religions is possible here, look!” Şeniye, Kaya and Ayla are impressed.

We visit Samandağ. Everybody is excited and nostalgic about the trip we have lived altogether. People say that the group is like a family. A lot of pictures are taken. One of them, Hasan suggests, should be all of us standing in line with him, the guide, in front. The final result looks like a parade.

One of the pictures that I find particularly expresses Şeniye’s character, is also taken here: Şeniye stands ramrod on a bridge. Mustafa, in his worn out jogging pants, approaches to record the moment with his camera. The way that Şeniye poses and her energetic voice gives often the impression that not “Pasha” Kasım, but Şeniye is the real officer.⁵⁵

We continue to drive towards Antakya. Kaya: “This is for sure: Nobody can die here out of hunger. There is work here and the soil is very good. How rich everybody here is, how rich our culture is.”⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See Appendix II, 20 for pictures

⁵⁶ Tr: “Şu belli: Burada açlıktan kimse ölemez. İş var burada ve toprak da güzel. Herkes ne kadar zengin, kültürümüz ne kadar zengin”.

2.8. Final remark about my role in the group

During the trip, I am passed from one network to the next which, as a single woman travelling alone, I come to appreciate. I become the “daughter”, the “big sister” and people in the environment automatically continue their habitual communication channels. So I am not further bothered and do not have to pay as much attention and look out for inappropriate approaches and harassment such as in Istanbul.

In a way, the people in the group take care of me. If I need to ask a male person for something, one of the males chimes in. I am relieved in those situations. This order of communication is important to maintain my social integrity and “honor”, a term or word I would have never used in Germany or elsewhere, but which starts to make sense here. Also the women take care of me as soon as a man approaches. Ayla: “You know people here are very conservative, in particular men. They are immediately watching out for girls.” The presence of elderly people makes the situation less ambiguous than with people my age which is probably the reason that I feel most comfortable and often prefer to be in public with elderly people in Turkey. Indeed, moving within a group or family means more liberty because it provides you with a frame and takes the responsibility off your shoulder. It also means a shield which others cannot approach without respecting the “usual channels of communication”, i.e. as a man you talk first to a man of that group; as a woman you address a woman. Here, liberty for me means to be part of a network or a family. Being without these networks I feel I can be approached by anyone.

Friends had meant well by warning me that people would be very conservative and rude. What is interesting, though, is that as soon as I sit somewhere, for example in an office, to wait for the bus, I feel that the elderly men assume immediate responsibility for me without having second thoughts such as in Istanbul. Although I am travelling alone, my feeling is, that I am moving from one network to the next one, each network having a comforting effect. After such a long time in Istanbul, I feel freer for the first time. This feeling reminds me of my trip to Syria before which I had been skeptical after the numerous experiences of harassment or people, in particular men, staring at me. Surprisingly, people had been welcoming in a warm and not obtrusive way. Due to my initial doubts, the journey had turned out to feel like a liberation and

relief after the tiring necessity to permanently watch out for situations that men could use to approach me in an inappropriate way - situations that ranged from assistance to find an address to serving food.

In general, my stay here in general has had a great impact on my perception of liberty and privacy. Not only that my friends calculate my “Turkishness” in percentages which has nowadays reached 70%. My very close friends even call me “Anatolian village girl”⁵⁷ due to the fact that, as they say, I have become much more conservative in my behavior towards men.

⁵⁷ Tr: “Anadolu Köy Kızı”

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS

3.1. “Aile Gibiydik!” – We Were Like A Family, Weren’t We?

“We were really like a family. We got very much used to one another and how much we miss each other. How much we laughed and how much fun we had.”⁵⁸ Çiçek raves about the trip when I meet her in a small cafe in Rıhtım, Kadıköy. The experience of sharing the same travel route, the bus and the hotel for almost a week has left Çiçek with positive memories of a group which ranged from the mid-twenties and late sixties. Saying goodbye at the end of the trip, we had taken lots of pictures, promised to call one another, and had exchanged more hugs and kisses as well as the usual “we got used to you, we will miss you a lot”⁵⁹ - one of the warmest ways to show familiar affection and integration into the social network. Even weeks after the trip, some people of that group call each other – a short “hello, what’s up, what are you doing, where are you”⁶⁰ one-minute-calls that have no particular value with regard to its information content, but rather a way to keep contact and to make up sporadically for the distance.

Yet, in spite of the alleged family bond, the relations seem not to be equally strong among all members. Since I try to keep contact with all of them, I realize that İlhan, Hasan and Münnever are still in contact. I mostly receive these “social calls” from Kaya, Ayla and Şeniye after some weeks. “Hello my giiiirrrl, how are you? What

⁵⁸ Notes from a conversation in Turkish with Cigdem and Metin in Istanbul without tape recording, October day 2007. Tr: “Biz gerçekten aile gibiydik. Çok alışmıştık ve çok özlüyoruz herkesi. Ne kadar güldük, ne kadar eğlendik.”

⁵⁹ Tr: “Çok alışmıştık, biz çok özleyeceğiz”

⁶⁰ Tr: “merhaba, naber, napyyorsun, neredesin”

are you doing? Where are you?”⁶¹ Çiçek and Mustafa, however, seem to have no contact with anybody. This difference raises the question of the understanding of the term “family”. It also raises a more general question of where and when, by whom and against whom borders are drawn. In order to shed light on the dynamics beyond what is depicted by the travelers as “family” as well as onto the visitor-visited opposition, I will begin with one of the least known and recognized voices during the trip. This opening will induce me to move along different steps of more public “others” such as Assyrian communities in the Southeast as well as Alevi and Kurdish fellow tourists; My next step will be to look at the micro-level of the individual through socially projected stereotypes as externalizing one’s inner fears of becoming stigmatized and marginalized in society as “other” as well – let it be as an independent woman or a citizen of a different belief than Sunni Islam.

3.1.1. The Unseen: the Assyrian Community beyond the Journey Program

Elif and I sit at the dinner table:

“You know there is a friend of mine. She also comes from Antakya. Her family is Christian but they gave their daughter a Turkish name, Senem, so that when she is in school not everybody would immediately understand that she is Christian. But I realized very late that she is Christian because for her, being Christian means as much as it does for me to be Muslim: it is nothing that plays really a role.”⁶²

Although Senem’s parents gave their child a Turkish name which - according to Elif – was due to the motivation to assimilate her into Turkish society or what was perceived as its larger culture, Elif claims that for her – a Sunni Muslim – just a for Senem religion would be of no significance. The fact that Senem’s parents did intentionally name her daughter with a Turkish name seems not to display fear, of a possible marginalization or discrimination.

⁶¹ Tr: “Merhaba kızımım, naber? Napıyorsun? Neredesin?”

⁶² Notes from a conversation, Travel Diary December 2007

Just as Senem's Christian origin is made invisible omit to the presence, Christians appear solely in the past; in Hasan's narrative "So here to our left we have a typical Assyrian village, but there are no Assyrians left. They abandoned their villages"⁶³, Hasan explains on the way to Mardin. Nobody asks why they have left, to where and who lives there today. The term "abandon" seems trivial enough to cover a history of dispossession and expulsion. However, upon our arrival in Mardin, we visit an Assyrian monastery that is still held in service by a small number of monks. A local guide proudly presents Anatolia's Christian heritage:

"There are worldwide 10 million Assyrians and 5 million of them belong to this church. There are Assyrians in India, Germany, and Istanbul. But they all have their origin here which makes us proud."⁶⁴

We are provided neither with an explanation about the reason for the migration nor are we enlightened about today's life of the Assyrian community in the Southeast. In the same monastery, a German tourist guide introduces his group to life in the monastery and within the Assyrian community today. Yet, houses of Christian architecture, now inhabited by Muslims as well as the existence of monasteries, do not trigger any questions by the Turkish tourist group. The Christian element is silenced, as Senem's Christian background, and relegated to the past. While any self-articulation of Christian communities is banned to certain tourist sites whose "museumification" distances them even more from the present, the omnipresent Christian architecture remains unmentioned, although omnipresent.

In order to shed more light onto Assyrian communities in the Southeast today, I decide to follow Ilhan's recommendation to visit a monastery nearby. Upon arrival I am impressed by the recently renovated building, emerging out of nothing between the hills of the region. Within the walls of the monastery there is absolute silence. Only the Aramaic singing from the church service reaches my ear. I follow the singing and enter the church. A nun gives me a small shawl to cover my head and so I stand, watch and listen. People around me are deeply concentrated on the Aramaic voice of the priest. The intense and excessive incense fills my nose and, probably both the incense and the "spiritual" atmosphere as well as the Aramaic language they speak among each other, render this moment particularly sublime.

⁶³ Travel Diary, 16. September 2007

⁶⁴ Travel Diary, 16. September 2007

Apart from the 30 monastery students and the few teachers and monks, the visitors are all migrants that were forced to leave years ago and therefore now live in Germany and Canada. During dinner former pilgrims that have now returned depict the wonders they have experienced due to the – so they say - spirit of the saint who founded the monastery. I come to talk with Sargon, who has returned to shoot a documentary for a Danish television channel:

“I left this place 32 years ago. They didn’t leave us any choice. I went first of all to Istanbul, because I thought it is a big city so that you can get lost in the anonymity of it. But after some time they also understand that one is ‘different’, for example, in the time of Ramadan. I was at school and they wanted to force me to attend the Islamic classes. But I said that I don’t want to because I was not a Muslim. The teacher took me to the director. Fortunately he was a very open-minded man and said: “You finally have to understand that not only Muslims live here.” But I left very soon for Germany. There I don’t have much contact with Muslims. They avoid me as well. Here they have destroyed everything and murdered people.”⁶⁵

While having breakfast I join Leah, Meryem and Asiah who I met already the evening before. I ask Leah from Germany who “they” is in many people’s memory when referring to those groups that are held responsible for the destruction. Leah explains:

“‘They’ means the Kurds. That is what my family told me. They were supported by the state in a way that, if they eliminate Christianity, they would receive their lands and properties. That is why the Kurds started immediately to threaten us. But very soon they realized that those were false promises. In a sense, it sounds also logical if you consider the situation today. I mean the requests of PKK to have their own lands, as a consequence so to say. That is also why all of the Kurds are concentrated in the South East and the East. They live where Armenians and Assyrians used to live.”⁶⁶

The warmth and openness of the visiting pilgrims is in absolute contrast with the reticence and mistrust that the local teachers and monks show towards people from the outside like me. Upon arrival I have to “pass” an interview with Iyar, the head teacher as I learn later, who wants to learn why I have come to the monastery. In return, I ask him the community’s activity and network. Ihsa begins in a bitter and contemptuous voice:

⁶⁵ Travel Diary, 28.9.2007

⁶⁶ Travel Diary, 28.9.2007

“Well, who cares about us Who cares about what happened here and what still happens? Germany perhaps? Ha!”⁶⁷

I start getting a bit nervous sliding back and forth on the wooden bank. The two daunting monks with their black frocks, their long black beards, and serious appearance, look outside the window which does not reduce the situation of its tension for me. Iyar continues unperturbed:

“They don’t want to know. Even today no one from the EU, as a Christian continent as they emphasize all the time, is interested in us. The EU gives money, but Turkey takes care of it and makes sure that nothing of the money reaches us. Everything we are doing here, everything we live off here, is paid by donations. Many Turkish tourists come here and can’t believe that Christians are living here. They want to see if we have ears like monkeys. They want to see if we really live here (sarcastic laugh).”⁶⁸

The touristic visit, Iyar explains here, turns the Christian community into an object of the tourist gaze – an object that cannot launch any claim on the land:

“They will never accept that we live here and that we live on Christian ‘soil’⁶⁹. We used to have eight villages. You can recognize them due to the architecture. But almost nothing remains. Many times we had been evacuated; sometimes they came and killed monks. People always talk about the fact that there were so many religions here in this region. But tolerance always knows its limits. Muslims have blinders, they don’t see anything else than themselves. I mean how do you feel as a Christian here in Turkey?”⁷⁰

At that moment the two monks turn around and look at me. I swallow. My throat is dry. As a combination of a born Protestant, however neither practicing nor believing, I feel in this environment like a traitor. I wonder what I am supposed to say. I tell them that I am also surprised to see Christians living and practicing in a way that I did not expect to see. To have seen how self-confident Christians live down here would give me more confidence and strength when returning back to Istanbul. They nod and seem satisfied with the answer.

⁶⁷ Travel Diary, 28.9.2007

⁶⁸ Travel Diary, 28.9.2007

⁶⁹ Tr: “toprak”

⁷⁰ Travel Diary, 28.9.2007

The recurrent theme with most of the people I talk to is the re-conquest and the claim on the region as Christian soil:

“They always think it is simply a myth or a rumor that Christians were living here. How, would you say, did the Muslims manage to turn a region that used to be Christian into a Muslim one? Well, simply by giving birth to as much children as possible. [...] They will never accept us on this soil. Before coming here I didn’t know anything about the land here. We had a lot of land here. My father was a highly respected person of very good standing. Now that I am here everything feels different than from afar.”

Sargon’s voice is bitter. When he starts talking about “the land here”, his voice becomes melancholy and soft. He seems restless and wants to continue to the next villages. He has recorded already 30 hours of material, he tells me with pride. Just as the tourists, he grasps every single square meter with his lens, as if inhaling space as a form of belonging. He is not the only one being fascinated by these new visions that the imagined “Christian soil” provides them with. The evening before, Asiah - a 16 year old student from Germany - waves taken my hand in order to convey how deeply this experience touched her and how glad she was to share this happiness about the final return:

“I feel for the first time that I breathe, I feel so alive here. Everybody is so incredibly nice and it is so peaceful here. The nuns have to work really hard to clean everything and cook for everybody but they do it with so much devotion. This gives me so much confidence and belief, you can’t imagine.”

Her eyes had been glowing. Just as other pilgrims, Asiah is on a wave of enthusiasm due to this new and unexpected space that had open up to accommodate their restlessness and turn it into a feeling of membership and belonging. Leah explains this sudden quest by Assyrian pilgrims:

“The military has become less severe, because until two years ago everything was barricaded so nobody could enter the monastery or the region. They knew exactly where they had to watch out for people. Since two years it has become better, so people started coming back.”

It is these bitter but self-confident voices that animate the buildings and churches that otherwise remain constrained to an idealized past. The absence in Hasan’s explanations of narratives such as those of the Assyrians who perceive this soil as their own Christian soil, reveal the silence and avoidance within the guide’s rhetoric. Just as the present Assyrian communities remain unmentioned, the geographical isolation and

remoteness symbolizes its lack of integration into the general discourse about the Southeast. Yet, places of religious pilgrimage such as churches become nevertheless integrated into the claim for international recognition. While visiting St. Pierre church, Hasan explains:

“This is a pilgrimage place for the Middle East. It could be also an international place for pilgrimage, but the pope of the Catholic Church has not come yet. ‘Because there is no airport’, he keeps on saying. He probably does not want to give too much importance to this region.⁷¹”

For Kaya, this proves European ignorance and conspiracy against Turkey: “Now look at this. Look at this history, and Europe does not want to grant it the importance, that it deserves.⁷²” This comment is not surprising coming from a loyal Kemalist. He despises the lack of respect of Europe towards Turkey and its history.

Christian communities have three spaces that they are entitled to inhabit. First of all they are categorized by Hasan’s narrative as part of the past. By integrating Assyrians into the past and incorporating their buildings into the touristic site-landscape, the guide and therefore the Turkish Ministry for Culture and Tourism include Christian communities only by freezing them in the past. At the same time, the multicultural vision fulfills two functions: while ascribing Christianity to a peaceful and harmonious past, the multicultural vision does not challenge the tourist’s present vision of the country. Secondly, the Christian community’s inclusion dis-empowers possible claims by the Christians by dominating their agency with the institutionalized advocacy of the Ministry (Butler/Spivak, 2007: p.16). Due to its inscription into the past through its “touristification”, the multicultural harmony with Christians is turned mainly into a “solidarity in death” as Christopher Houston (2001: 17) describes the multi-religious cemeteries in the Istanbul suburb of Kuzguncuk. A third space that the community inhabits is the space of negotiation with the European Union: “For Germans, Turks can be only Muslims, just as for people here. They cannot imagine that we are Christians from Turkey. For the integration process, this is welcomed of course by Turkey”.⁷³ However, instead of being recognized as living on Christian “soil”, their existence is solely rendered possible by the donations of Assyrians living abroad, boosting the

⁷¹ Travel Diary, 21.9.2007

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Travel Diary, 28.9.2007

community's independence both from Turkish society as well as from possible European policy strategies.

Thus, although produced as “past”, they are contained in different ways as Turkey's internalized “other”. Subsequently, although excluded from the possibility of claiming political or cultural rights, Assyrian communities are still political: Although remaining outside Hasan's narrative and the tourist's perception as present day individuals, the existence of these Assyrian communities is performed in public by political actors and office holders (Butler/Spivak, 2007: p.16) to prove Turkey's eligibility for EU membership.

3.1.2. The Unspoken: Çiçek and Mustafa as the Alevi “other”

Although we spent one week together on a trip that celebrates cultural wealth and religious diversity in the Southeast, I learn only when I meet Çiçek and Mustafa in private, that both are Alevis – at first seemingly a paradox if one considers that the peaceful coexistence of different religions was one of the main themes during the trip. Only when I mention my visit to the monastery, they identify their belief and explain their doubts about space in public for beliefs other than Sunni Islam.

Mustafa:

“You just have to take a look at the landscape which is pretty significant for what is happening in Turkey. Everywhere you see mosques; you just need to count the minarets. And they are all recently built. In the Southeast we saw for example villages of only two people and maybe four cows, but the AKP government built of course a mosque there. Before, people had to go to the city if they wanted to go to a mosque. But now the government is building mosques everywhere. This, however, does not mean people are more religious. The government just wants to create a symbol.”

Çiçek:

“For other beliefs and traditions, there is no place. Take us [Alevis] for example, we are really free and believe deeply in equality between men and women. Actually we think of ourselves as the “better Muslims” (laughs). I mean we have more gender equality and also a more relaxed relation to religion. But in Istanbul we would not openly claim our Alevi identity because you never know how people would react. But down there we saw

all those different writings, the Arabic and the Armenian script and the way these different cultures actually live together. That was amazing to see. Yet the space is getting less and [that means] we cannot conserve our different cultures, as Mustafa just said. In Istanbul there is little space for us. I mean in public you would never dare claim or display that you are different from others, such as an Alevi.”⁷⁴

Just as Çiçek and Mustafa would not announce in Istanbul in public their Alevi identity, they did not claim their identity during the trip, out of insecurity about how people would react and - as they describe it - the lack of space to express oneself.

It is hard to recognize in this serious person arguing about politics and individual rights the entertainer from the trip with his preference for worn out jogging trousers. Mustafa and Çiçek’s concerns are in contrast to their behavior during the trip: Mustafa’s voluminous voice presenting one joke after another, imitating among others Hasan, the tourist guide, and Çiçek who did not miss a single stone to be recorded by both photo and film camera. The main difference between the situations is the switch from what could be entitled as “public space” to “private space”. Since the statements of the tourists will lead later to a discussion of the categories of “public” and “private”, it might be more appropriate to describe the space not as “private”. Instead only for the constellation of me, Mustafa and Çiçek allows their Aleviness to be mentioned.

The landscape they remember from the trip is one of Sunni Islam which, they feel, increasingly occupies public space through the construction of mosques – an architectural structure that bans other religious or ethnic identities to the realm of the home. To express a certain political mainstream or ideology through architectural projects would not be the first time, as Sibel Bozdoğan’s (2001) comprehensive analysis about republican architecture has shown. Although they never openly display their Alevi identity in public, Çiçek feels that they are still “only accepted as Turkish citizens and never as Turks”. While “Turkish citizen” suggests a political definition of living on the territory of the Turkish Republic, the term “Turk” reflects the idea of an ethnic Turkish heritage such as discussed above (Kadioğlu, 2007; Keyman, 2000; Keyman/Içduygu, 2005). The sole agent that becomes visible for them in the landscape is that of the current AKP government. The landscape represents to them the government’s financing and enhancing of a religious occupation of space that they had

⁷⁴ Notes from a conversation in Turkish with Çiçek and Mustafa in Istanbul without tape recording, October 2007.

been hoping would open up for more dialogue or a more self-confident self-expression. Mosques become for Mustafa and Çiçek the symbol of an ethnic state landscape that determines through which channels a citizen can communicate with the state (Desforges/ Jones/ Woods, 2005).

Their disappointment about the predominance of Islam as determining spatial arrangements according to which they tried to escape from Istanbul, in addition to their feeling of non-acceptance as Turks, contrasts with Mustafa's entertaining leadership during the trip. Just as the jokes told by secularists trivializing the rise of Islam, described by Navaro-Yashin (2002) as re-creators of their 'nativeness', Mustafa's way of joking about the hilarious ambiguity of the Turkish language represents a similar performance of connectedness and cultural rejuvenation (Eagleton, 2000). With his permanent grin and his nasal voice that he uses for telling jokes, Mustafa had looked younger on the trip than when I met him later. Mustafa and Çiçek's feeling of exclusion as Turks contrasts with their membership performance during the trip. As contradictory as it might seem, the precarious membership of the "Arnika family" – a membership of silence - presents just another layer of Mustafa and Çiçek's everyday life in Turkey. 'Family' here becomes a synonym for extensive flexibility that is, however, crisscrossed by a lack of mutual transparency and trust among kin (Birtek/Dragonas, 2005). For Çiçek, one is at the same moment a part and "the other". What presents for Çiçek a family-like network is actually shaped by a double mechanism of simultaneous inclusion with the permanent threat of exclusion if one breaks the silence about one's individual background and 'deviates' from what is perceived as the majority character. This implicit silence, however, challenges at the same time the notion and the belief of a majority character within the group. As I will show later, Mustafa and Çiçek are only one example of the fragmentation within the group. As the visit of the Christian community has already shown, plurality and multiculturalism is banned by the tourists to the past, while the present diversity is silenced. "Cultural models", Nira Yuval-Davis (1997: p.42) writes, "become the ways individuals experience themselves, their collectivities and the world". This experience and interaction, Barth (1969) argues, is crucial for group identities. Here, however, interaction happens somewhere beyond concrete interactions, in the personal fantasy of each individual. Thus, although the group is described as being "like a family" as proof of social integration, the group

carries an uncertainty which keeps Mustafa and Çiçek from displaying their Alevi identity which in the end makes them gregariously lonesome within the group.

While there is no space within the group to address the whole of their belonging and identity, Mustafa and Çiçek create their own space through physical intimacy with the landscape, which is recorded by the photograph (Bryce, 2007; Sontag, 1977; Rolph-Trouillot, 1995). Travel material such as photographs have been discussed as suggesting a ‘sovereign subjectivity’; a position through which to know and own the destination (Bryce, 2007). Their centralized position in the picture, in physical contact with the site, indeed contrasts with the marginalization that Mustafa and Çiçek articulate when we are alone. Their collection of pictures binds separate objects and views into a new unity – a unity that expresses Mustafa’s and Çiçek’s particular aesthetic. The collection of travel pictures become a narrative of their vision of the Southeast (MacCannel, 1999). The empowering shift that Mustafa and Çiçek experience here is an extension of the self through visual recording and physical mobility. This extension of one’s vision helps to totalize modernity and present modernity for them as a whole (Bal, 1994; Erasmussen/Brown, 2005).

3.1.3. Hasan, Münnever and Ilhan: different variables of Kurdishness

“Our past was quite difficult, but we love our country very much,”⁷⁵ Münnever explains once to me when I join them at their table. Ilhan adds: “We are no cannibals. Everybody thinks like that. But in reality no real Kurd wants to separate from his country.”⁷⁶ In the evening Münnever stays with Ilhan and Hasan in the restaurant. Sometimes Hasan leaves so that Münnever remains carefully listening to Ilhan’s words, watching his lips closely with her big eyes. Although both speak in the “we” of themselves as Kurds, a closer look reveals stark differences.

Münnever is the first out of the group one who tries the “Arab” costume in Harran and observes with fascination and warm affection conversations among and with local

⁷⁵ Tr: “Geçmişimiz baya zordu, ama ülkemizi çok seviyoruz.”

⁷⁶ Travel Diary, 20.9.2007, Tr: “Biz yamyam değiliz. Herkes öyle düşünüyor. Ama gerçek bir Kürt hiç ayrılmak istemiyor ülkesinden.”

people. Münnever, travelling alone, is apparently not married. Her excitement about the “cultural connection” seems performed: In her tight jeans and t-shirts, her ‘humble village girl’ behavior loses in credibility. Münnever’s zealous efforts in behaving in ways she understands as ‘local’, such as covering her hair, contrasts with the group’s reluctance to get involved with everyday culture and customs.

Ilhan, married and father of one child, tells me when I visit him after the trip in Kahta, how much he likes to talk to foreigners. They would be very interested in learning about the Kurdish population. I am surprised to hear that he has at the same time a Belgian girlfriend which he makes sure to mention every now and then. Whereas within the frame of our Turkish tourist group, it seemed for him easier to approach Münnever, the fact that we are alone or – on that day with an American group – makes it apparently possible for him to assume a more ‘cosmopolitan air’: he begins talking about politics, the fact that he is Kurdish. I remember the words of another tourist guide: “As a tourist guide, you don’t perform, you live it!” Through his work as a bus driver, Ilhan is able to be both – the caring family father and the lover of a foreign young woman.

Ilhan’s double life is independent from place or region and is produced by the space of tourism that provides him with another social position within a different social network. So just as we could witness above the tourist as having agency to imagine and create his own personal spaces, Ilhan as the bus driver, creates his own sphere as well (McCabe, 2006; MacCabe/Foster, 2006; Cary, 2004). Ilhan enjoys this temporary cosmopolitanism – the sphere of the tourist encounter itself grants a sphere beyond his role as family father. Paradoxically, it is his position as a Kurdish local that grants him membership of that ‘global tourist community’ and that creates particular interest for the tourists (Fuhrman, 2002, German Moz, 2005). For Münnever however, the independent young and single woman from the cosmopolitan city, it is her mobility and her life in Istanbul that have created for her to feel this “innate localness”. With both Ilhan and Münnever, the local and the cosmopolitan as well as to be Kurdish inform each other, yet for each of them in different ways (Friedman, 2000).

I wonder about Hasan’s position at the crossroads of being part of a local and part of a global community that gets articulated throughout the experience of being a tourist guide. He says:

“I know that these people, Turkish tourists, meet Kurds in Istanbul. But of course, those Kurds are in a different situation, because they have lost their background, their social and family ties and have no education. Me, for example, I have an education and I kept my family and social ties. Ok, I also live in Istanbul now, but it is different because I have an education. But when I come back to my home place, I see all these young people with young minds that are not made use of. It is so devastating (sighs).”⁷⁷

While Hasan explains this in English to me, the group members curiously watch us. Hasan has deliberately chosen to explain his opinion in English in front of everybody which seems to intimidate the group. It is ironic that, although it is the tourist whose position entitles him to gaze at and objectify the Southeastern landscape, it is in this moment Hasan who gazes back, distances himself and muzzles them by choosing the foreign language. The situation is ripe for a heated debate. But to my surprise there are no questions, just silence so that I begin to think that they do not understand English – I will be proven wrong later, however. Hasan finishes our conversation with the words: “In Turkey it is this East-West fight, but it is subtle you know, it’s not open. One is avoiding and ignoring the other.” The silence at the table and the sudden change to the question if one should have or have not some sweets now, could not have been a better accompaniment to Hasan’s words.

Hasan’s situation seems more complicated since he is not only the “local”, but also their representative in the language of the tourist whose mobility he shares. With his PhD abroad, as he claims, and his life in Istanbul he is more mobile than Ilhan or Münnever. At the same time, although the mechanical body of the bus suggests a physical and geographical border crossing, the tourist’s mobility vis-à-vis the local’s immobility becomes an extension of the tourist’s habitus – the border crossing remains an illusion (Erasmussen/Brown, 2005). While the group does not become part of any place during the trip, the group itself and their relations become even more important and furthermore shape also the way individuals in the group perceive the environment (Bauman, 2000). When entering the bus, Hasan becomes part of this dynamic. Within the bus he also speaks only Turkish. Yet, while “being on the trip” means a merger of his different levels and mobilities, for Münnever and Ilhan the trip becomes more a temporary externalization of their inner “other” – Münnever being born in the

⁷⁷ Travel Diary, 19.9.2007

Southeast, and Ilhan striving for the image of a “worldly lover”, unbound from familiar responsibilities.

In spite of the fact that there are obviously Kurdish people within the group– their affiliation with one another is difficult to ignore - nobody dares to ask questions, about how local Kurdish people might feel about more than 30 years of civil war, how it has influenced social structure and daily life or how Münnever feels to visit the region as a Kurdish tourist.

The silence and passivity address also Hasan: it seems as if in those moments when he speaks Kurdish for the rest of the group no language is audible. There might be different reasons. Underlying, however, is the silence of avoidance – a silence that disables exchange even in this small circle. Instead of sharing one’s visions, hitherto existing prejudices continue to exist. By ignoring the Kurdish language spoken among members of the group, the rest of the group signals that it is not only the tourist guide who blinds the tourist, but - in the first instance - the tourists that wish to be blinded. By not engaging with one another, the identities of the tourists themselves are frozen outside of the bus, to the “cultured past” where cultural heterogeneity is allowed to occur without questioning the performed harmony (Larsen, 2001).

Although Hasan, Münnever and Ilhan share some degree of “Kurdishness”, the way they articulate and live it as well as the function it assumes in combination with other personal characteristics, differ considerably: Due to its thrilling attractiveness for foreign tourists to speak with a “real Kurd”, Ilhan’s “Kurdishness” provide him with a feeling of reaching a level of trans-regional and trans-regional cosmopolitanism. This empowers and lifts him up from the local conflict and the lack of recognition within Turkey. For Münnever “Kurdishness” presents a way to externalize what otherwise remains only a fantasy: the desires to live and be recognized by others as “local” – of what she perceives as local - which got lost for her in Istanbul. However, although she grew up in Malatya, she decided only now after living for years in Istanbul, to visit the region. Living the geographical and social detachment that Istanbul offers, seems to have made it both possible and desirable to visit the Southeast that during her youth was literally just next door. For both Ilhan and Münnever, this Kurdishness becomes meaningful on a national level. Yet, while Münnever experiences a temporary return to the “local inside her”, Ilhan uses the opportunity to escape his local responsibilities.

When all of them together address me, their Kurdish ethnicity melts into a homogenous and national entity: “We are Kurdish. We are not Turkish, but we love our country very much.”⁷⁸ Ilhan, Hasan and Münnever form a group within the group. Considering the different content, their “Kurdishness” respectively assumes, this performed homogeneity is highly fragmented in itself, not only by their different expectations vis-à-vis their own Kurdishness, but also through the intertwining of their ethnic background with other roles they assume in society.

A situation at the end of the trip, shows how different situations require a shift of one’s within one’s divers loyalties: At the end of the trip Hasan offers, together with Ilhan, a return trip to Kahta and Adiyaman, directly after and independent of the Arnika trip. One after the other polite but determined declines follow. “We don’t know his family or his background. I don’t mean to say that something could happen. But we don’t know him,” I hear Şeniye and Ayla mumbling. Münnever is disappointed. She is the only one that would like to take part. By Şeniye’s critical eyes and her wrinkled nose one can tell, that – according to Şeniye, a strong moral force within the group – it would not be appropriate for a young woman to travel alone with two men to whom she is unrelated. Münnever declines finally and Şeniye nods approvingly. Thus, in spite of the arguments about the “East” as being “traditional” and family-bound, it is finally the “Western” tourist who “others” Ilhan and Hasan due to the lack of knowledge about their family. In spite of their “Kurdishness” that seems to create a bond between them, their respective gender roles come to dominate the outcome and dispossess Münnever of her mobility. The language finally dominating the situation and Münnever’s struggle for establishing her position as a “cosmopolitan Kurd” is the language of kinship and networks. Her project to prove her integrity with the Turkish republic has failed with her attempt to intrude as a single woman a male sphere: An idea that would “be difficult to realize for a beautiful young woman in the Southeast”, as Ilhan explains to me about external female visitors to the Southeast. Yuval-Davis (1997: p.70) notes of the usefulness of linking citizenship to the community rather than directly to the state which avoids identifying citizenship simply with the nation-state. Community, she argues, would give a strong sense of belonging. As we have seen above, Münnever’s gender role dominates. Münnever’s mobility’s erosion thus also questions her equality as a Turkish citizen and suggests a hierarchy among citizens when compared to the more

⁷⁸ Tr: “Kürdüz. Türk değiliz, ama ülkemizi çok seviyoruz.”

fortunate Ilhan and Hasan who would not have as much difficulty to travel alone, for example. Although communitarian or social in their meaning, these realities are a person's experience of her position on a local level and shape his or her idea of her status as a member of the community and a citizen at large. Thus, after having spent much time with her "ethnic" fellows, it must be indeed a disappointment to realize the extent to which Münnever on the one hand, and Hasan and Ilhan on the other hand, are respectively restrained and entitled to live and establish a different citizen-state relation (Sirman, 1990).

The example of the Ilhan-Hasan-Münnever triangle displays the dynamic process of the *gaze*. Originally, within tourism studies, the *gaze* has been ascribed to the "classical" mobile tourist gazing at the locals. Within the Ilhan-Münnever-Hasan triangle, however, the gaze is appropriated and shaped by each one of them: Hasan gazes at the group when speaking in English, gazes at me as a foreign woman, looks at local people while ridiculing some of them such as the captain of the "Black Rose" ship in Halfeti. Ilhan gazes with Münnever in Kurdish solidarity at the rest of the group, but gazes with me at Hasan, when complaining that his information is not comprehensive and challenging enough. Münnever performs the "local" and by the performing act such as dressing up as an *Arap*, gazes at "localness" by objectifying it as something that she can consume during the trip (Navaro-Yashin, 2002; Appadurai, 1986). In spite of their shared Kurdishness, the "othering" process continues beyond words and official entities while "Kurdishness" remains only a vague ethnic connotation if one wants to reunite them as one entity. Individual desires, identifications and belongings overlap with fragments of other identities such as the "*Istanbullu* cosmopolitan" or the "business woman". These dynamics, as vibrant and varied as they are, produce an equally vibrant and diverse environment in which the line between tourists and tourist guide becomes blurred (Van Dommelen, 1996; Knapp/Ashmore, 1999). "Kurdishness" or "localness" is turned by its "nostalgia" into an object of consumption which is filled with differing individual life narratives that are dramatized in order to aggrandize the self. What is striking, however, is the degree of silence even within the triangle so that communities are imagined individually. Belonging, whether defined as ethnic or not, as well as landscape that reflects belonging, is articulated via interaction (Golledge/Stimson,

1997). In this case, the interaction happens in the only possible sphere of fiction – to cite Zizek: fiction is “more than reality itself, because it constitutes the latter”⁷⁹.

3.2. The potential “other” in you: processes of “othering”

As we have seen so far, the image of the family is a rather fragmented and changing bound of community. In the following I will outline some examples of concrete “othering” such as with the use of stereotypes as well as the significance of kinship like networks.

3.2.1. The “Pis Arap”

While the tourist gaze restrains the livelihood of Christian communities and present day ethnic groups to the sphere of the past, other aspects of life in the South East are exhibited and turned into “the other” by the photographic lens. When we arrive in Harran and the group discovers the possibility of dressing up “like an Arab”, Kaya, Ayla and Münnever immediately disappear behind the different gowns and dresses. Kaya is fascinated by his Arab dress and poses with Ayla, just “like a real Arab couple”. He takes prayer beads and walks around, then sits on one of the chairs with a cigarette in his hand, “just as the Arabs do”. Ayla willingly lets everything happen. In general she keeps back with saying things out loud. The voices that are heard throughout the process of dressing up, just as throughout the journey, are Mustafa’s, Kaya’s and Hasan’s. They keep their dresses on during lunch time.

While dressing like an Arab presents to Kaya a “banality”, Münnever approaches this ritual with more serenity and solemnity. Before anybody has understood the possibility of dressing up, Münnever already disappears behind a large amount of rustling golden and colored net lace. While Kemal goes on making the whole group laugh, Münnever poses for people to take pictures of her with her own camera. Kaya, as

⁷⁹ From “A pervert’s guide to cinema”, 2006, Slavoj Zizek

he explains to me, imitates the Arabs from Saudi-Arabia which he admires for their style and calmness. For Münnever, however, it does not really matter if it would be a Kurdish or Arab dress. She simply absorbs everything that is introduced to her as “local.” The consumption of touristic attractions discloses, as in this situation different social meanings which each reveal of a different imagination (Appadurai, 1986).

Ideas that are contained within the imagination of the “Arab” present therefore a sensitive issue in Turkey until today, which is probably also the reason for the intensity of enjoyment and entertainment the tourists live when dressing up. With the foundation of the Republic, its Ottoman legacy was pushed into the realm of forgetting. With the failure of the Ottoman Empire to compete commercially and militarily, anything in connection with the Ottoman Empire such as Muslim religion was declared as backward. In addition, the upper class that had been educated in Europe, had internalized with their studies also a Eurocentric outlook on civilization, based on the absorption of Enlightenment ideas: thus what was the “other” for Europe, became the “other” for this group of people (Ahmad, 1993). The “civilizing mission” that was introduced with the Republic, the Arab “other”, in contrast to a European oriented modernity that was presented as worth achieving, did not gain a positive connotations (Bozdoğan/Kasaba, 1997).

The act of disguising and switching for a limited duration into the “skin of an Arab” creates, due to the ritual of dressing, distance to the “Arab”. The “Arab” is turned into an object of exhibition. Furthermore, the whole notion of dressing like an Arab gains in a quality that could be defined as “fatal attraction”: Due to the proscription of “Arabs” as backward, to empathize or identify with the “Arab”, let alone articulating one’s internal “Arab” – a certain part of today’s population’s ancestors originates due to the Ottoman legacy from other regions in the Middle East – is impossible. The extraordinary moment of the disguise and the alleged break from the everyday both enable one to approach the object of fascination while at the same time explicitly re-confirming social hierarchies (Turner, 1969; 1982).

A conversation with a friend of Elif, one of the interviewees, is insightful of how daily small talk reproduces general ideas about where the Arab and where the Turk should stand in terms of “civilization”.

Elif, her friend Uğur and I are talking about the best way to dress in hot and humid regions. The white dress such as worn in Saudi-Arabia wear comes up. Uğur's response is:

“But they might be dirty there. You know there are many Arabs.”

Sandra:

“So what do you mean? Arabs are dirty? Why is that the case?”

Ugur:

“Because they come from the desert and could not get used to water. They just do the ablutions. Apart from that they don't wash themselves properly.”

Sandra:

“So how would you explain then Arabs that live in the city and actually have a washing machine at home?”

Uğur:

“They might have that, but it doesn't change the fact that they never learned how to make proper use of water. It does not mean that they wash themselves more than before.”

Sandra:

“But Turkey and Syrian for example are geographically very close. So how do you explain then the difference?”

Ugur:

“Oh that is very different. We are about to join the EU and have become much more European to a degree that we even sometimes wash ourselves twice a day! In general we use a lot of water these days.”⁸⁰

That Arabs are dirty is embraced by them as a given fact. Dirtiness is taken here as an inherent characteristic. One year later I ask Elif for her ideas about this issue of “Dirty Arabs.”⁸¹

“Dirty Arab? But it is not just for them. Turks are barbarian. Greeks are dirty. Greeks are the enemy too (laughs). For instance I am close to Arabs and Arab culture. I witnessed them eating with their hands without cleaning them. Europeans for example take a shower every morning, we know that.

⁸⁰ Diary, June 2006

⁸¹ Tr: “Pis Araplar”

Then how clean are the Turks, that's another issue. There is even an image like that yes. But if you go to Turkish villages, there is not much water and the eating between there things. It may be the reason, I mean the circumstances cause them not to wash their hands. That's why maybe. Maybe this "dirty Arab" expression comes from that there is no water and they don't use it properly.”⁸²

So in spite of her proximity to Arabs, as Elif describes her position, she understands the prejudice about Arabs being dirty. Interestingly, without my asking her for a comparison, she mentions Europe as a region of high hygienic standards. Embedded into a frequent and overly exhausted East-West/Turkey-Europe comparison with the tendency to value European culture and habits as particularly “civilized”, the assumption of European standards as utmost hygienic evokes the impression Elif is not only talking about dirt anymore. “Dirtiness” and “cleanliness” become with her synonyms for degrees of “civilization” whereas Turkey is categorized to be seen on the “European” side of “temizlik”. In spite of the fact that cleanliness embodies progress and modernity for Elif, her memories of the utterly clean Assyrian monastery evoke with her discomfort:

“It was unbelievably clean. Clean, to a suprising degree, there was a suprising cleanliness. There were children and they were students. And the students were telling the church's history.”

Sandra:

“A suprising cleanliness? Why suprising?”

Elif:

“For instance my aunt, my mom and I went, my parents. We gave a small break where my aunt and my uncle live. They smoked. Then there was a small kid, she said: ‘You are not gonna throw the cigarette butt to the ground, right? I am cleaning them.’ So there were students who clean all the small details and stuff and it was in a suprising and irritating way clean. People had gone to the toilette for example. A mosque’s toilette can never be that clean, I mean in our religion cleanliness comes from faith (religion). That kind of a cleanliness is from faith. From having faith, having faith in

⁸² Interview Elif, November 2007, Tr: “Pis Arap? Ama bu sadece onlar için değil. Türkler de barbar. Yunanlar da pis. Yunanlar da düşman (gülüyor). Mesala ben Arap kültürüne ve Araplara çok yakın olduğum için, mesala elleriyle yediklerine şahit oldum ve çok fazla yıkanmadıklarını. Mesala Avrupalı her sabah duş alınır falan bunları biliyoruz. Ondan sonra Türkler ne kadar temiz zaten orası ayrı bir konu. Ondan dolayı olabilir yani ellerini yıkabilecek bir ortam yoktur. O yüzden belki de. Su olmamasından ve su iyi kullanılmamalarından belki bu pis Arap deyimi gelmiş.”

God, believing in God, believing ok? And if it is clean, you believe then. Cleanliness is one of the faith's conditions. This is something told in our religion but it is never that clean.”⁸³

The concern about filthiness and “dirty Arabs” in comparison to what is thought of as ‘European hygiene’ becomes a measurement of discipline and self-control. The undisciplined Arab - the one who does not know and is frozen in his stagnate incapacity to “become civilized”, as Uğur describes above - remains dirty. As strong as these statements are, as convinced Uğur is about their accuracy. Due to its intensity these statements appear less as a demand to raise hygienic standards among “Arabs”. The concept of “cleanliness” and “dirtiness” become measures that “prove” Turkey’s civilizational superiority vis-à-vis the Arab.

“Cleanliness” furthermore also comes to signify political integration: When entering Adiyaman, Hasan introduces the city with the words: “A very democratic city, a very clean city”⁸⁴, implying that the cleanliness and democratic capability are somehow linked to and confirm one another.

“The city is clean because there are no Arabs. It is not to do with the political party. It doesn’t really matter which party is here, but it is clean. Who would have thought that, a city like in the West.”⁸⁵

Frykman and Lofgren (1987) offer an excellent work which adds to the ‘anthropology of dirt’. Dirt itself is a highly subjective category of classification, Frykman argues. Although his research concerns Swedish society at the beginning of

⁸³ Interview Elif, October 2007, Tr: Elif: “İnanılmaz korkunç temizdi. Temiz, şaşırtıcı bir dereceye, şaşırtıcı bir temizlik vardı. çocuklar vardı ve onlar öğrenciydi. Ve öğrenciler anlatıyorlardı kilisenin tarihi.”

Sandra: “Şaşırtıcı bir temizlik? Neden şaşırtıcı?”

Elif: “Örneğin mesela yengem, annem ve ben gittik, annem babam. Gittiğimizde yengem ve dayımın orada küçük bir mola verdik. Sigara içtiler. Ondan sonra ufuk bir çocuk vardı, şey dedi: onu yere atmıyacaksın değil mi sigara izmaritini? Ben bunları temizliyorum. hani her küçük detayı minik minik detayları falan filan onu temizleyen öğrenciler vardı ve gerçekten şaşırtıcı ve irite edici bir şekilde temizdi. insanlar tuvalete girmişler mesela. Bir caminin tuvaleti asla o kadar temiz olamaz yani bizim dilimizde temizlik imandandır. Yani böyle bir temizlik imandandır. İman etmek, allaha iman etmek, allaha inanmak, inanmaktan gelir tamam mı? Ve temiz olursa o zaman sen inanıyorsundur. Temizlik inananın şartlarından bir tanesidir. Bu bizim dinimizde hani her zaman söylenen bir şey ama asla bu kadar temiz değildir.”

⁸⁴ Tr: Çok demokrat bir şehir, çok temiz”

⁸⁵ Travel Diary, 19.8.2007

the 20th century, a number of parallels with the issue of filthiness here are evident. The Swedish bourgeoisie, a recent development at that time, according to the Frykman symbolizes and prove through the vision of clean/unclean patterns their capacity to rule and their moral superiority. So while nature in the sense of natural beauty or preservation of wildlife became a positive notion, the ‘unbridled animal urges’ had to become disciplined and repressed. Just as natural wealth and fertility are admired as sources of production and economic and therefore capitalist capacity – the tourist’s world – the description of the “dirty Arab” actually justifies the moral superiority of ‘westernized Turks’. Thus the intensity of Uğur’s argumentation reflects his urge to justify his position in society and respond to their fear of marginalization with moral empowerment. The Arab - geographically so threateningly close – is repelled by his lack of “being civilized”: a measurement that come to overweigh geographical proximity. As strong these explanations are in their socially discriminating content, as much comfort they seem to provide to Hasan and Uğur. Yet, with Elif as his girlfriend – describing herself as close to Arabs –his argumentation loses in credibility even for himself. Yet, for Uğur, Elif is not an Arab- she simply cannot be an Arab.

This vision of a ‘dirty Arab’ and a ‘clean Western Turk’ or a ‘clean European’ reflects at the same time Orientalist features vis-à-vis that part of the population that is considered as inferior as well as Occidentalist features- oneself striving for a westwards increasingly ‘cultured’ civilization and socio-economic progress.

Due to its abstraction and removal from everyday realities - such as Elif depicting herself as close to Arab, which, however, does for Uğur not question his judgements - the narrative of the ‘dirty Arab’ presents a symbolic interaction with an imagined “East” and an imagined “West” in the realm of Turkey today. Yet, as Elif explains, it can be also “dirty Greeks” or “barbaric Turks” – strong words that disclose plurality beyond a simple “East”-“West” dichotomy. Provided with such an intensity of “othering” and drawing borders, the insistence on measures that are projected onto others, expresses a certain lack of orientation and insecurity to articulate and understand one’s belonging in society.

3.2.2. The “kıro” Kurd

When Elif sees pictures of Ilhan and Hasan for the first time, she responds with “Oh he looks so Kurdish, so *kıro*, uff ya!”⁸⁶ It is in particular the younger female interviewees and friends from Istanbul for which the term “kıro” and its counterpart *tiki* seem indispensable to describe their impressions: “Hasan tries to be *tiki* but ends up being *kıro*”⁸⁷. Both, “kıro” and “tiki” signify particular stereotypes in Turkey that are reproduced in daily language and TV series and programs. Whereas “kıro” refers mostly to males, “tiki” is used in general for both females and males. In “Ekşisözlük”⁸⁸, the Turkish equivalent to the English “Sourtimes” – a dictionary where people enter their personal definitions for terms, for example, the term “tiki” offers explanations such as “cheap people who dress expensively”⁸⁹, “a person who gives shows off with money that he has not earned himself and that he spends without thinking of tomorrow”⁹⁰, or “a group whose [single] shirts are as expensive as the total of my dresses”⁹¹. “Tiki” seems to be connected to an urban consumption culture. Mainly used for the “nouveaux riches” or people who consume expensive brand names.

For “kıro”, “ekşisözlük” lists definitions such as “there was a *cro magnon* human being, which was before *homo erectus*. I suspect *kro* and *maganda* to be derivations from that.”⁹² Or “even though he looks like a real human being, it is an underdeveloped person whose ‘animal’, hidden inside him, is released after a double *Rakı*”⁹³. “Kıro” and “Tiki” are both - as a Turkish friend of mine explains - “deviations from a decent human being”. However, “whereas it is still acceptable to be *tiki*, to be *kıro* is something simply ridiculous. If I could choose for example I would rather want to be

⁸⁶ Travel Diary, October 2007

⁸⁷ Comment by Meryem, a friend of mine, commenting the material of my work, Travel Diary December 2007

⁸⁸ <http://sozluk.sourtimes.org/>

⁸⁹ Tr:”pahalı giyinen ucuz insanlar”

⁹⁰ Tr: “kendi kazanmadığı parayla hava atıp futursuzca harcayan kimse”

⁹¹ Tr: “gomlekleri benim bütün elbiselerimden pahalı olan insan topluluğu”

⁹² Tr: “*cro magnon* insan vardı, *homo erectus*’tan bi önce miydi neydi, *kronun* da *magandanın* da bundan türediğinden şüphelenirim..”

⁹³ Tr: “yani gerçek bir insan gibi görünse de, icinde sakladığı o “hayvan”i bir *duble rakisinden* sonra ortalığa salan az gelişmiş insan”

tiki than kıro”. “Kıro”, in contrast to the urban “tiki”, evokes and image of a wild and uncontrolled person, reflecting an urban-rural, civilization-nature opposition. “Tiki” and “Kıro” are connected to a superficial consumer culture. When I ask Erol, what a “decent human being is”, he answers “a normal person, like you for example. Probably it is someone that is neither kıro, nor tiki, nor özenti, nor mangada.”⁹⁴ Instead of describing the “normal person”, he depicts her or him by using essentialized stereotypes to differentiate and delineate himself.

The term “kıro” and the values attached to it are of particular significance for the accounts of female interviewees. Elif uses the term “eastern man”⁹⁵ so that “kıro” and “eastern man” merge and become synonyms for one another.

“I can say that between an eastern man and an Aegean man, there is a serious difference. The eastern man is much more conservative, patriarchal and does not give much respect to women. [That sort of] men are very violent, uses guns. That is why for me an eastern man is something negative. A woman who has studied in university, who has developed herself, who has made a career, cannot live with an eastern man. But for example, women who want to be a housewife or who don’t want to work, whatever else, a more conservative person can live maybe rather with the image of an eastern man. On my eastern trip I saw an incredible amount of girls who want to find the image of this sort of man, an eastern man.”⁹⁶

Due to her description of this kind of male character with the geographical term “Eastern”, I ask her about the possibility of encountering the ‘doğulu erkek’ in Istanbul.

“Yes, some who migrated or moved are there. But those who live here have turned more into Istanbulite eastern men. Honour, [things] beyond money and respect are very important for them. I don’t think that it is tied to

⁹⁴ Travel Diary, December 2007

⁹⁵ Tr: “doğulu erkek”

⁹⁶ Tr: ““Doğulu bir erkek ve Ege’li bir erkek arasında ciddi farkı vardır diyebilirim. Doğu çok daha conservative, ataerkil ve de kadınlara saygısı çok fazla yoktur. Erkekler çok serttir, silah kullanır., anlayış olarak. O yüzden doğulu bir erkek benim için negatif bir unsurdur ... üniversitede okumuş kendini yetiştirmiş, kariyer sahibi bir bayan olarak doğulu bir erkekle yaşayamayacağım. Ama mesela atıyorum, evinin kadını olmak isteyen bir ev kızı ya da çalışmak istemeyen ne bileyim daha tutucu bir insan için doğulu bir erkekle daha imaj olarak belki yaşanılabilir yani. doğu gezimde inanılmaz bir derecede bu erkek imajı bulmak isteyen bir sürü kız gördüm ve doğulu bir erkek”

religion, but there are things like veiling one's women under the name of religion.”⁹⁷

Elif's 'eastern man', as the embodiment of a patriarchal tradition, comes to reflect patterns of a strong patriarchal system with a propensity to violence as a means to resolve conflicts. Imagined as a loud, rough, uneducated and wild man, "kıro" becomes the internal "oriental". The "kıro"s proximity to nature remind of the image of the "dirty Arab". Yet, for Elif, a "kıro" person disposes of more agency in terms of a high potential for violence. While for Emre, a "kıro" person "can be violent", but is "first of all ridiculous"⁹⁸, for Elif a "kıro" man is too threatening to be harmlessly ridiculous.

For Elif the "kıro" man as the internal "Oriental" is the opposite to everything she imagines her life and her position in society to be: As a graduate in Marketing of one of the most prestigious universities in Turkey, she managed to become employed in a responsible position with a multinational company in Istanbul. She has recently bought herself a home in Suadiye which appeared to her as one of the only quarters where it is possible to own a house as a single woman: "In Maltepe which is not even one kilometer from here, people look at you in the street when you wear a short skirt, let alone if your boyfriend visits you in your own home."⁹⁹ While Ebru clearly rejects patriarchal structures, and sexual abstinence or restriction through the projection of these structures onto the "doğulu erkek", she finds herself often in a struggle about the fact that she is not a virgin anymore and that she cannot find someone to get married and to have a family with. Although she ascribes all of these values to the "kıro" person, she has internalized these values herself – which renders her struggle particular fierce and her dislike of "kıro" people intense. The visualization and personification of Ebru's fears in a "kıro" person, whether in Maltepe or the Southeast, are for her of pragmatic use to govern and discipline her fears (Kellner, 1995)¹⁰⁰. With her statement that she encountered in the Southeast many young women who would strive to be with a "kıro"

⁹⁷ Tr: "Evet, göçmen veya taşınmış olan da var. Ama burada yaşayanlar biraz daha İstanbulluya dönüşmüş doğulu erkekler. onlar için çok ciddi, namus, paradan öte, ekonomiden öte, saygı ... Yani dine o kadar bağlı mı bilmiyorum ama din adı altında kadını kapatma gibi şeyleri var."

⁹⁸ Travel Diary, December 2007

⁹⁹ Travel Dairy, November 2007

¹⁰⁰ Compare Kellner (1995) on the advantages of the visual text as embodying and reflect external values and ideology.

or “doğulu” person, she territorializes and distances her fears. As Freud describes in *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930), and as argued by post-colonial academics such as Robert Young (1995), Ann Laura Stoler (1999) or Ranjana Khanna (2003), the ‘wild’ and ‘dangerous’ colonial ‘other’ is produced by a projection of an inner sexual dilemma of desiring and at the same time feeling obliged to suppress the “forbidden” desire. Thus, with the growth of this inner tension, the need intensifies to externalize these fears onto a concrete visual object which subsequently represents the “inferiority” living within oneself. Nira Yuval Davis (1997: p.51) labels this “othering” social racism:

“Attributing to ‘the other’ omnipotent sexual lust has been a common rationalization for lynching black men, constructed as rape in context with one’s own women. The myth of the other as a rapist is a common tale in many racialized contexts.”

To imagine “the other”, such as the Kurd here, as the violent rapist seems to be a rather frequent way to justify and mask social racism.

Just as Elif strives to be a “Western” business woman, graduating from a university of US tradition, working in a multinational company, she tries to convince herself every day that it is independence from men and patriarchal structures that she lives and that she wants. Elif’s gendered gaze at the wild “kıro” becomes a gaze at herself. It is therefore no coincidence that the “kıro” man plays a prominent role in the narrative of this young woman. Just as Elif’s perception of herself in society is shaped by the imagined sexed and sexual body of the “kıro”, we cannot think of society as sexless (Meyer, 2000). In this case, Elif’s sexual ambivalence vis-à-vis the simultaneous desire and rejection of the Eastern man, reflects the ambivalence of her position in society wherein she feels fragile. It is thus not the geographical encounter of “kıro” men in the East, but the omnipresent emotional proximity that renders this process particularly tiring for her (Yuval-Davis, 1997: p. 48). By denigrating some men as “kıro”, Elif regains autonomy within the negotiation of her position in society.

Next to the “Kurd” imagined as the “kıro” or “doğulu erkek”, another issue represents a recurrent one for women that I talk to during my research. Aylin, for example expresses her unease with family structures and other traditions that she observed during her trip to the Southeast:

“There [in the Southeast] six children, seven children, eight children is a low number of children. There are four wives and from each one five

children. Those children run after the cars, as if they want money, and I didn't like that. That made me very uncomfortable for example.”¹⁰¹

The woman's decision to leave Istanbul in order to become a second wife of someone in the East, presents for Aylin an uncomfortable intertwine of “East” and “West” in a manner that conflicts with her ideal of family structure and masculinity. Her angered voice indicates that for her this is not only a geographical and ideological East-West passover, but an act of betrayal and deception (Yuval-Davis, 1997: p.52).

“I found it strange that the young girls were hesitant to take a picture with me. The second thing [was when they asked]: “Doesn't it exist at all in the East? Does your spouse not cheat on you? As if while you are not informed he is having mistresses at the same time... it is depicted as if all the drawbacks are in the east, that there are in the west too but are not portrayed”. I felt a little drawn back when the young girls said this. I mean, as if they were different from me. Also their living conditions made me very uncomfortable.”¹⁰²

While telling me this, Aylin's voice is loud and enraged. She emphasizes in the same interview that although she is “sıradan bir vatandaş”, she felt alienated and different from them. The fact that some of the girls did not want to speak shows her that the “East” is more closed than the “West” which seems to her deliberately provocative, as her aroused and disgusted voice tells. Her experience with local girls who refuse to talk about their traditions and customs, affronts Aylin's good will as a citizen.

While Elif and Aylin see their stereotypes of a traditional, patriarchal and violent East confirmed, Tülin from “Kamer Vakfı”¹⁰³ in Adiyaman, explains that this attempt to geographically divide and classify people into a “backward” and sexist “East” and a tolerant and liberal “West” is an illusion:

¹⁰¹ Interview Aylin, November 2007, Tr: “Orada altı çocuk, yedi çocuk, sekiz çocuk az çocuk sayısı. Dört tane karısı vardı, ve her birinden dört tane beş tane çocuk vardı. Oradaki çocuklar turist arabalarının arkasına takılıp para istemek gibi davrandılar ve bu hoşuma gitmedi. Ondan mesala çok rahatsız oldum, olmaması gerekirdi.”

¹⁰² Interview Aylin, November 2007, Tr: “Genç kızların benimle fotoğraf çektilmemesini yadırgadım, bir, ikincisi ‘batıda hiç olmuyor mu? Sizin eşiniz hiç aldatmıyor mu? Sizin haberinizin yokken dışarıda metresleri var gibi...Sanki bütün olumsuzluklar doğudaymış gibi, batıda varmış ama gösterilmemiş gibi.’ Mesala genç kızlar bunu diyince yadırgadım. Yani başkaları gibi. Onların da bu koşullarda yaşamasından rahatsızım.

¹⁰³ NGO for women's and human rights, in particular active in projects to empower women and raise awareness of violence within families

“Between the East and the West only the name changes sometimes. In the West honour murders happen, in the East as well. There is only the difference, that in the West the social life is on a bit more developed and improved level. But again, women are undermined in their jobs, they are put under pressure and crushed under wedlock. They still experience violence within the family. Well, here the perception and the name changes just a bit. The only difference in the East is that the woman cannot go outside when she wants. Here the process is a bit more poignant. In the West (the process) is a bit more pliant, but the result does not change.”¹⁰⁴

She gives an example of how similar gender structures work in both the geographical East and West:

“I will give an example: In Turkey a murder is committed under the disguise of honour. There are two fiancées but the girl that the boy wants to marry says no to him. The boy then pulls and shoots her. He says she had to get married to me, she gave me her word. Since she did not keep her word, she deserved to die. Well here the power is in the hands of the men. This is interpreted as honour. But in the West, when a man hits a woman that wants to leave him, it is said that she was killed out of jealousy. Between both only the name is different. With one the murder is committed in the name of honour, with the other in the name of jealousy. But it is eventually the man who kills the woman, because he doesn't want her to leave and live with someone else. The woman has become the possession of the man. In general we all experience violence. This is the difficulty of what we live in the West, because people do not accept that they experience violence.”¹⁰⁵

Tülin's observations and experiences based on her work with women in Adiyaman and other cities in the Southeast challenge Elif's and Aylin's perception of

¹⁰⁴ Tr: “[Doğu ve Batıyla arasında] Sadece ismi değişebiliyor bazen. Batı da namus cinayetleri işleniyor doğuda da. Yalnız şu fark var batıda sosyal yaşam biraz daha olgunlaştırılmış ve iyileştirilmiş bir düzeyde. Ama yine kadın işinde ikinci plana atılıyor, yine evlilikte eziliyor bastırılıyor. Aile içerisinde yine kadın şiddet yaşıyor. Yani burada sadece biraz algı ve isim değişiyor. Tek fark doğuda kadın istediği zaman dışarı çıkamıyor. Burada süreç biraz daha keskin. Batıda biraz daha esnek ama sonuç değişmiyor. [...]”

¹⁰⁵ Interview Tülin, 27.9.2007, Tr: “Şöyle bir örnek vereyim: Türkiye'de namus kisvesi altında bir cinayet işlendi. İki nişanlı ya da akrabaların birbirine istediği kız oğlana hayır diyor ve oğlan çekip vuruyor. Çünkü diyor benimle evlenmesi gerekiyordu, bana söz verdi, sözünü tutmadığı için ölümü haketti. Yani burada iktidar erkeğin elinde. Bu namus olarak değerlendiriliyor. Ama batıda, bir erkek kendisini terkedene sevgilisini vurduğu zaman da kıskançlıktan öldürdüğü söyleniyor. Ara sadece isim farkı var. Biri namus adına cinayet işliyor öbürü kıskançlık adına. Ama sonuçta erkek kadını vuruyor. Çünkü kendisini terkedip başkasıyla yaşamasını istemiyor. Kadın erkeğin malı olmuş oluyor. Genel olarak hepimiz şiddet yaşıyoruz. O yüzden batıda yaşadığımız zorluk bu çünkü insanlar yaşadığı şiddeti kabul etmiyorlar.”

the Eastern region as working particularly against the liberty and rights of women. The violence and discrimination they perceive as inherent to the “East”, according to Tülin’s experience, however, solely change their name in different regions – the principle of exerting violence against women remaining the same. The fact of observing these forms of suppression as a mirror of their own experiences would explain why Aylin and Ebru are so angered by what they observed in the East.

2.2.3. Networks, (fictive) Kinship and its “other” within

“I see more hospitality in the West, when compared with the hospitality in the East, the house is opened easier [to foreigners].”¹⁰⁶, Ayşe explains about her observations during the trip. For guests, they would have extra houses to welcome them which shows to her that the private sphere of the family home is more protected even against visitors. This opacity causes with her tension. She feels this lack of transparency also in other situations:

“The young girls has very beautiful dresses. I wanted to take a picture of them. They didn’t want to be taken a picture of. And I am not a foreigner, I didn’t come from a different country, I am not a journalist, I am a usual citizen.”¹⁰⁷

To be remembered not to be one of them, fills Aylin with unease. Yet, she admits, the fact of feeling different, is for her not only restricted to her journey to the Southeast, but something that applies to everywhere outside of her neighborhood in Istanbul:

“I moved in Izmir from the down end street to the upper end of the street. I felt like in utmost different city. When I go for example to Istanbul, I feel foreign. But apart from Izmir I feel foreign anywhere [anyway]. And to feel foreign makes me uncomfortable. [...] What I am saying is that I moved within the same city, from one quarter to another quarter and I felt like in a different city. I don’t need to go abroad in order to encounter a different way

¹⁰⁶ Interview Aylin, October 2007, Tr: Batıda ben daha çok misafirperverlik görüyorum doğudakine göre, daha kolay evini acabiliyor

¹⁰⁷ Interview Aylin, October 2007, Tr: “Genc kızların çok güzel giyimleri var, ben onları fotoğraf çekmek istedim. onlar çekirmek istemediler. ve ben yabancı değilim, başka bir ülkeden gelmedim, gazeteci değilim, sıradan bir vatandaşım.”

of life or in order to feel belonging. I can feel like being different in the same city.”¹⁰⁸

According to Aylin, the insurmountable distance that she feels with people living in the East, would also be felt in a nearby neighborhood. Geographical proximity does not necessarily signify social proximity. Belonging to social classes and networks therefore produces for Aylin a space pattern which turn geographically distanced places mentally and socially closer than the neighbor next door. As uncomfortable as Aylin has felt with people in Southeast Anatolia to not open their house that easily, her own space perception reflects a similar pattern: a network of “trans-placial” dimension that is marked by people of the same background, the same education and a social class consciousness. Everything beyond this social sphere--the whole rest “out there” seems to be a non-place or undefined space with no quality for the outsider (Casey, 1998). Esat’s mother, Aysel, explains how resistant to changes these patterns are even in the urban area. Having spent almost her whole life in Bakırköy, she still speaks of herself as “yabancı” in the quarter:

“Since we moved to Istanbul, we have been living in Bakırköy for nearly 45 years. But I am not a local in Bakırköy. Although I have been living here for 45 years, the locals of Bakırköy do not accept me as local. There is such a tradition.”¹⁰⁹

Although Aysel is what one might call an *Istanbullu* for two generations, the fact that she moved from Fatih where she grew up – at her time “a very noble neighbourhood”¹¹⁰ - to Bakırköy, turns her into a “stranger”. Aysel’s anecdote of not being accepted as local shows the attention given to where one comes from. In comparison to the Southeast that seems for Aysel more homogenous, she draws my

¹⁰⁸ Interview Aylin, October 2007, Tr: “İzmirde aşağıdaki caddeden üst caddeye taşındım, kendimi bambaşka bir şehirde gibi hissettim. Ben mesela İstanbul'a gittiğimde kendimi yabancı hissediyorum orada. Ama İzmirin dışında her yerde kendimi yabancı hissediyorum. Ve yabancı hissederek yaşamak beni rahatsız ediyor. [...] Ben diyorum ya aynı şehirde, bir mahalleden bir mahalleye taşındım, başka bir şehre gitmiş gibi oldum. Yani başka bir ülkeye gitmeme gerek yok yada başka bir yaşam biçimi karşılaşmama gerek yok, ait olma duygusunu yaşamak için. Ben aynı kentte bunu farklı yaşayabiliyorum”

¹⁰⁹ Interview Aysel, June 2007, Tr: “İstanbul’a geldikten beri yaklaşık 45 senedir de Bakırköy’de aynı sokakta oturuyoruz. Ama Bakırköy’de yerleşik değilim. 45 sene oturduğuma rağmen Bakırköylüler beni yerli olarak kabul etmezler. Öyle bir tradisyon vardır.”

¹¹⁰ Interview Aysel, June 2007, Tr: “çok efendi bir semt”

attention to how “karişik” Istanbul has become, in particular Taksim. Instead of “kalabalık”, meaning crowded, people often describe central urban places as “karişik”, meaning “mixed”. Taksim or Istanbul as a “karişik” place implies here a mixture of people from different backgrounds that otherwise would not encounter one another – a solitude created by the fragility of networks.

Elif explains the paradox of on the one side being stigmatized and classified by where you are from and on the other hand expected to assimilate to wherever you move:

“Of course they never forget from where they are from. But you obey the rules of the new city you move to, you know it’s all about rules that change from city to city. Last week for example, I wanted to buy some shoes but was not sure if they are too slutty, you know what I mean. They had these silver buckles. Anyway, the shop keeper said, “Anadolulu bir kız olma”. And I said to him that I was actually an Anatolian girl, because I was from Antakya. He said, I am also from The Black Sea, Sinop, so what? You are home where you get your bread. And he is right you know. It is all depending on the place where you live. But when does it matter to remember from where you are? Well that matters if you talk to someone you don’t know so well. Then you should know from where you are from. This is why the first question is always ‘where you are from’, which then doesn’t mean the place you live but where your family comes from. According to where you are from the people then talk and behave differently. So to say I am from Istanbul doesn’t make sense. Who is from Istanbul at all? There is a saying, *yedi göbek Istanbulu olmak*¹¹¹. It takes quite something to be *Istanbulu*, but even those people have migrated from somewhere.”¹¹²

In spite of this mobility and migration, according to Elif’s experience, priority is given to family and the continuity of networks that crisscross quarters and even streets. To be a part of a network expresses belonging and guarantees a position in society whereas the solitude of being outside a network, in the unknown space beyond networks holds uncertainty and precariousness. To be a member of a group or network seems to be the way that social imagination is possible. Just as the group appealed to the image of “like a family”, the family represents the exemplary form of network. As we have seen so far, the fragmentation beyond what is articulated within the network challenges a network as the only one. The number of social dispositions therefore qualifies for different networks one can become a part of.

¹¹¹ Engl: “seven belly buttons is being “from Istanbul” (meaning: to have an ancestorship in Istanbul that reach back at least seven generations)

¹¹² Notes during conversation with Ebru during dinner on a visit in December 2007

What we have seen so far is the materialization of inner fears by an abstract territorialized projection of these fears onto the Southeast, as it becomes concrete with the construction of stereotypes. The awareness of one's own performance in rejecting and at the same time carrying these "others" within oneself, intensifies the usage of stereotypes. Another option to regain control is by performing and declaring oneself a member of a community. The sort of network that remains most valid and most accessible to the general imaginary, is the one of kinship which is appropriated by groups that recognize themselves as a unit due to shared ethnic dispositions such as with Münnever, Hasan and Ilhan. Here the social fiction of kinship renders for example the guide-tourist or public-private oppositions obsolete and meaningless (Olsen, 2002).

As we have seen these networks and communities - such as the family - are highly dynamic and flexible. However, due to the lack of exchange and communication, these networks remain precariously superficial with the threatening potential of turning a person into the group's "other" at any moment. Network structures produce a spatial pattern that is strongly determined by a permanent process of exclusion and inclusion. The negotiation for this happens in a tense silence in which one never exposes one's whole personality before checking the environment – as Elif f.e. suggested by asking where one is from. The extent of the reluctance to face open conflicts and the plurality of interest groups and identities becomes even more striking with the banishment to the past of Assyrian or other cultures that would challenge the image of a homogenous society.

The silences that have accompanied us throughout the trip, as these individual narratives have shown, come only apparent at the point where these different narratives compete, crisscross and limit one another (Rolph- Trouillot, 1995) Thus although Aylin is, as she describes herself, a "usual citizen", when travelling the Southeast her Turkish citizenship does not entitle her in this situation to any particular affection or social connection to the local girls. Although their shared Kurdishness, Münnever's role as a woman constrains her will to live and perform the ethnic connection with Hasan and Ilhan.

As dynamic and actually fragmented the tourist group reveals to be beyond the performance of a family, it is in a transliteral sense- as Agamben argues about the works of the state – not the state of rule but the permanent exceptions that render the

adherence and performance of membership particularly desirable and the risk of tourists challenging this silence relatively low (Butler/Spivak, 2007: 35; Yuval-Davis, 1997: 24).

As Yuval-Davis has argued, the way a person perceives his rights and opportunities in the local sphere and his close environment shapes his idea of membership in larger entities such as being a citizen or a member of a nation which will be tackled in the following chapter.

3.3. The State's Appearance on the Journey

“Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Temeli Kültürdür”, are the words of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, cited on the website of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Institutionalized through the ministry of culture and tourism as well as a central exam that any prospective tourist guide in Turkey has to pass, tourism reflects, as the citation above shows, the importance that is given to culture as a whole. Just as any other institution, the Ministry of Tourism produces knowledge and a narrative. What is interesting with regard to the political past of the Anatolian Southeast is that it has been only recently included and exploited to such an extent for domestic tourism so that the Southeast has become object of regulation in new ways (Stein, 2001; Eagleton, 2000). The geography of nationalism in Turkey has been expressed in spatial strategies of displacement, exclusion and dispossession (Öktem, 2003). Thus, witnessing the inclusion via the tourist industry and studying the way it is represented provides us with an understanding of how values – new or pre-existing- are produced and integrated. In the following chapter I look at how the group's experience is framed by the state as an institution and culture.

While in the first part, the focus is the agency of individuals – tourists, the tourist guide or others – the emphasis here will be on the reproduction of state ideology through institutional as well as individual and often unconscious incorporation. An additional issue will be the question if, beyond the silences illustrated in the first part, the national community can be imagined as an integrated whole.

3.3.1. The Culture of the State

“We are on the road to Antakya. On the far left there are some large mountain chains. After some time, Hasan points to his left: “Over there you can see the border to Syria. It is only 11 km from here. We will drive along this border now all the way down to Antakya.” People start to take pictures – of a border they actually cannot see.”¹¹³

It is not the view that grants for the tourist value to the photographs, but Hasan’s explanation that there actually is a border. Genesis, itself a story about place formation, states “In the beginning there was the word”. The word tells us about placement, structure and cosmology – and so does Hasan’s instruction (Casey, 1998). Hasan’s word as authority renders the abstract nature of the border into something intelligible– while it nevertheless maintains its fascination due to its invisibility.

Previously, I concentrated on Hasan’s personal background and his positionality as a Kurd within the group. What is also of crucial interest is his position as a narrator authorized by the state. This is not to say that both his personality and his function as a guide can be differentiated. On the contrary, it is their intertwining that constitutes and informs each.

“It is actually really difficult to travel with Turkish tourists because the question is how to sell to someone his own country. He is eating the same soup in Istanbul. Actually the tourists coming here are looking for the same taste they know from Istanbul anyway. So if they prefer the same taste it needs to be something extraordinary that one has to present to them. But what to choose and what to sell? Most of them [the Turkish tourists] go on these kind of trips just ‘to have been there’, not for anything in particular. This is the case for these cultural tours. It is then our task to see what we can sell as ‘culture’. All that Turkish tourists care about is transport, food and hotels. That’s all. You bring them to places, but they are not interested. So we go to historical places. That is culture for them. But when we pass through a village, that is not culture for them. With Turkish tourists it is most difficult, for them it is all about transport, food and hotel.”¹¹⁴

While the journey becomes measured by its degree of comfort and similarity with standards the tourists are used to at home, the extraordinary itself is turned into a domesticated excitement provided in sizeable portions through the windows of the bus and the words of Hasan. The destiny is “culture as belonging to the past” that – once

¹¹³ Travel Dairy 21.9.2007, see Appendix II, 21 for pictures

¹¹⁴ Notes during a conversation from a conversation with Hasan in Gaziantep, 19.9.2007

one is home- can be turned into a narrative fetish (Bal, 1994). “Most of them just go to have been there”¹¹⁵. Hasan explains the importance not of the destination itself but the purchase of the journey and enrichment of one’s narratives back home. With Turkey’s ambitious capitalism that has come to attribute social and political identities to consumer goods, the narrative has gained in value to differentiate one’s possessions from usual objects of possession (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). “Let’s say this tour is more sophisticated, because everybody [usually] goes to coast, everybody goes to the expensive regions, this aims more at discovering, is more natural,”¹¹⁶, as Esat explains his motivations to take part in a trip. The narrative and collection of travel anecdotes of a “more sophisticated” become the indirect commodity that they purchase with the journey. These anecdotes and their presentation to others fulfill here the need of social differentiation from for example Turkish tourists in Antalya or Bodrum (Bal, 1994; MacCannel, 1999).

The simple fact that Hasan, as any other tourist guide in Turkey, had to pass a centralized and state authorized exam, shows the involvement as well as the interest of the state to determine the narrative by which touristic landscapes are produced. Due to the conflictual and highly politicized character of the region and decades of fights between Kurdish rebels and the Turkish military, when touring the Southeast, tourist guides certainly have to find a specific way to represent the sites and the provinces. A German-Turkish tourist guide, who wishes to remain anonymous due to the fear of losing his job, expresses the dilemma of his job:

“Now that the recorder is off; of course I cannot speak about politics or impose my opinion upon people. Because of course there is this [PKK] problem and also the thesis that America supports the PKK. But I cannot say anything of course. I am working for the state. So to say something against the state is difficult of course, since I am paid by them.”¹¹⁷

The same just guide called twice recently to make sure that I would not mention his name. He felt insecure about the things he had told me and would either prefer that I would not mention his name or eliminate his statement. Thus the responsibility to

¹¹⁵ Travel Diary, 19.9.2007

¹¹⁶ Interview Erhan Büyükakıncı, June 2007, Tr: “Bu tur daha sofistike diyelim çünkü herkes deniz kenarına gidiyor, herkes pahalı bölgelere gidiyor, bu tarz daha keşfedilmeye yönelik, daha kısmen dogal”

¹¹⁷ Travel Diary, 24.9.2007

represent the state becomes an issue of loyalty to stay within a narrative countenanced by the state. A deviation from this version or to question the institution's legitimacy, as the nervous reaction by this tourist guide shows, is avoided because of the fear of negative consequences.

After what I have described previously as a general silence within the group, it appears not particularly surprising that, as Hasan explains, it is not only the state, but also the tourists that require this silence:

“There are many problems in this region such as education, health, and politics. But if I would mention it, they would maybe claim that I am doing propaganda for Kurds.”¹¹⁸

This statement implies also that only to mention Kurds is understood as providing Kurdish people with an agency that they are not entitled to. I ask Hasan how he explains this reticence to learn about the region's population.

“Well, you know it is the history, politics. You know for people it is all about the East and the Southeast, they seem all to be terrorists for them. Turkish tourists have heard so much about terrorism and violence over here. They don't come here to learn about where terrorist attacks happened. They are not interested and they don't want to hear about it. People are bored and oversaturated with reports on terrorism. They come here when it is peaceful, so that the last thing they want to listen to are stories about terrorism.”¹¹⁹

In the beginning he had announced with enthusiasm how much he preferred to travel with Turkish tourists: “I love in particular to travel and tour with Turkish tourists.”¹²⁰. Once out of the bus, at the dinner table in Gaziantep, however, he admits that it would be much more convenient to travel with Americans:

“With Americans it is easy. You take them to villages, make them sit in a garden and talk to people. But Turkish tourists don't want that. They don't want to talk et cetera. Americans, for example, they have a social motivation to come here. We went for example to a village and there were all these children with yellow teeth. The tourists asked for the reason. So, by sending water samples to a laboratory in the States, they found out that they [the children] drank water from a local fountain which turned the teeth yellow. You know they just came and became active. But Turkish tourists don't

¹¹⁸ Notes during a conversation from a conversation with Hasan in Gaziantep, 19.9.2007

¹¹⁹ Notes during a conversation from a conversation with Hasan in Gaziantep, 19.9.2007

¹²⁰ Travel Diary, 19.9.2007, Tr: “Türk turistlerle gezmeyi ve turlar yapmayı özellikle seviyorum”

want to have this contact. And you know, I know this place like my own hand and could easily create some contact.”¹²¹

He sighs again. “With regard to culture”, Hasan adds, “Turkish tourists perceive culture only as something happening in the past” so that Kurdish people travelling among them do not have the chance to become a part of “culture”¹²². Again, as previously mentioned, the difficulty to deal with difference in present-day Turkey becomes apparent.

Ironically, it is Hasan’s responsibility as a (Kurdish) tourist guide to represent the region without giving agency to the local population and yet relate them to the group. Employing the least common denominator that is possible to find for the ensemble of the local population and the tourists, Hasan refers to local residents as “citizens”¹²³. The use of the term “citizen” manages to avoid any open conflict and discrepancies within the group – though the general passivity of the group apart from Metin’s “cracking jokes” does not necessarily raise concerns about a possible discussion. “Our citizens here are so honest, so warm. They live here happily,”¹²⁴, are the few words by which local people are characterized at the beginning of the journey before Hasan devotes the rest of his time to historical ruins and sites – a dramatic irony if one wants to credit Hasan’s description of local people living happily ever after on a soil that remembers in silence loss and pain.

The reference to local people as “our citizens” determines the role of the group: they travel as citizens the landscape of the state. Thus, each and every one of the tourists becomes an integral part of enacting citizenship and assumes with the purchase of the journey responsibility in its creation (Cohen, 1988). Relations are determined via the state with Hasan as its representative. Through his words, the state becomes an omnipresent agent that reaches into the intimate moment of explorations, subordinating any site to the over-arching idea of the state.

¹²¹ Travel Diary, 19.9.2007, Notes during conversation with Hasan

¹²² Travel Diary, 19.9.2007, Notes during conversation with Hasan

¹²³ Tr: “vatandaş”

¹²⁴ Tr: “Buradaki vatandaşlarımız o kadar samimi, sıcak. Gülerek yaşıyorlar burada”

Upon arrival at Mount Nemrut, Hasan explains in a solemn voice, “And here is the most beautiful, a unique nature, look at our motherland.”¹²⁵ In his narrative, the environment becomes a landscape of the motherland, which is particularly “enchanted”¹²⁶ with the empowering gaze from a bird’s eye view. The tourists are impressed. The limit of his comments’ explanatory power which could actually describe any random place elsewhere and his tired and slightly monotonous voice – if due to over-hours or to routine – feels to me in ironic opposition to his effort to enthuse the tourists with “achievements and natural wealth that have given birth to our culture”. But the tourists – taken in by the atmosphere while holding their hard paper cup of red wine, do not pay any further attention to his voice but instead listen ceremonially to his words. Hasan points out the river Euphrates, oil refineries and agricultural regions in order to emphasize the fertility, productivity and importance of the region for Turkey. Kemal whispers, with his wine glass in his hand: “Look Sandra, this is the wealth of a country. In Turkey, nobody can die of hunger. That much is evident.” The presentation by Hasan seems to have a truly aggrandizing effect on the group. The economic development as well as the historical past – the only way in which local culture makes an appearance – are issues that successfully enchant the group while carefully circumventing issues that could create uncomfortable situations. The risk of critical questions to be asked in this group being extremely low, Hasan seems to have an easy job.

We drive through Batman. We pass a clock tower which shows 8:20 - it is 11 a.m. at that time - and its dusty slightly yellow-grey glass gives the impression of having stopped a long time ago. The streets look empty and as dusty as the glass of the clock tower. Hasan: “This is Bataman, with a shining future, the so-called gate between Güney and Güney Doğu Anadolu.” With a shining future? Without his comment it would have taken quite some guess to understand its great looking future. His emphasis on how particular and special the places are appear in this moment to reveal more anxiety about the place to be not that special (MacCannel, 1999)

Hasan’s rhetoric in announcements such as this one, is framed by a eulogy of solemn introductions such as “very special”, “incredibly unique”, “and now the world famous”. He drones his introductions which for tours in other regions would remain

¹²⁵ Travel Diary, 19.9.2007, Tr: “Ve işte burada en güzel manzara.mükemmel bir doğa, bakın, bizim vatanımıza.”

¹²⁶ Tr: “büyüleyici”

similarly meaningful. We stand on top of a mountain in Mardin and look down onto the plain of Northern Mesopotamia. This civilization”, he explains “has given birth to our culture”. Hasan then makes sure that everyone grasps the superior position and value of this region or site occupies within the global hierarchy of cultural and civilizational achievements:

“Here you look down on Mesopotamia, the cradle of civilization and humanity. Isn’t it beautiful? England, France or anywhere else, nowhere can you have this kind of view! This is unique. You can go wherever you want, but this kind of view you just find here.”¹²⁷

He draws comparisons with countries such as France or other European countries – a statement that is of political importance and empowerment at a time when public trust and belief in cooperation with the EU is weakened and the involvement of the USA and NATO in the Southeast fuel conspiracy theories in Turkey. In Gaziantep, Hasan’s rhetoric continues: “Gaziantep is called the Paris of the Southeast. You have everything here that you have in Turkey. For example they call Halfeti the Bodrum of the Southeast.” While previously Hasan compared Turkey’s uniqueness with the world, he now describes the South East as the essence of natural beauty and cultural achievement of Turkey.

Hasan’s narrative is shaped by two essential themes. The emphasis on the achievements of the past situates Turkey at least on an equal level, if not even on a superior level to others - as MacCannel (1999) writes: “The solidarity of modernity to incorporate fragments of the past and nature does not fragilize her, but elevate the modernity above the past and nature (p.83).” Secondly, the economic development and potential that Hasan emphasizes here gives the impression of a dynamic emerging power – a power that promises more foreign investment, more stability in the region and proves the region’s capacity to succumb to a capitalist vision of efficient production – an important element if one considers the speed and ambition of capitalism in Turkey.

¹²⁷ Travel Diary, 16.9.2007

3.3.2. The internalized State

Right in the beginning Münnever inaugurates for Hasan the title “komutan” which seems appropriate to her since he is the leader of our group. Accordingly and due to his past as an chief master seargent, Kasım is respectfully called “Pasha”. It is Çiçek, Münnever and Mustafa who call Hasan and Kasım from then on affectionately and with respect by their new titles. Kasım, slightly confused, by times disoriented and often too tired or too ill to walk, arouses everything but the awe effect one might associate with a “Pasha”. Hasan, however, does his title credit with him as the “komutan”, followed by the group wich lines up behind him. In the picture, everbody manages but Şeyiye who just stops abruptly, stands straight, her head lifted and her nose in a frown – a typical position which together with her loud voice often raises doubts about who was the officer – Kasım or her? The result could not be more representative for a Turkey whose integrity is often understood as maintained by the military. We also see in the picture Bedriye and Metin, the professional hikers with American sports caps, Ayla and Kaya the Kemalist – the latter immediately identified by my university friends as “civil servant type”, Münnever with the headcover that looked in the morning like a modern way to cover the hair, by the time of the picture like a sporadic and more pragmatic sun protection, Mutafa and – of course – his worn out jogging pants, Çiçek joining Mustafa’s sportsy look with a sports cap, cheekily placed the other way around, and last but not least me in the middle of this¹²⁸. We experience direct encounters with the military during the trip such as a visit to Mardin’s ordu evi thanks to “Pasha” and a military control on the way. Those encounters – apart from the ordu evi in Mardin – are registered by the group without any further comment.

For the group the intertwining of military titles and social structures- “to feel like a family”- seems compatible. The incident in Mardin, a short visit to the Ordu Evi, becomes significant for the group in so far as it enhances the community feeling of the group: to enter the “forbidden” place that is kept apart from the rest of the population but which “is situated at strategic points for the state”¹²⁹, as Hasan explains. The group’s entrance into the ‘military core’ of the state enables them to assume a

¹²⁸ See Appendix II, 22 for pictures

¹²⁹ Travel Diary, 16.9.2007

panoptical gaze – “a memory that we will never forget”¹³⁰, as Kemal explains when leaving the Ordu Evi. Just as the titles “pasha” or “komutan” express for Münnever or Çiçek respect and sympathy, the reactions vis-à-vis the military in the Ordu Evi are very enthusiastic, positive yet respectful; the attitude towards the military is shaped by trust and confidence and appreciation of the military presence. This positive attitude towards the military contrasts with the mistrust and dissatisfaction of the group vis-a-vis the current government and similarly reflects the major role the military plays in Turkey as well as its penetration and shaping of the social sphere (Altınay, 2004). Yet, it is interesting that Münnever as the only Kurdish tourist of the group and – due to her past in Malatya – certainly familiar with the bloodshed and role of the military in the Southeast, introduces military titles. Just as she performs throughout the journey the local of the group, she has internalized military structures and titles. This way of self-militarizing certainly reflects the presence and importance of the military in Turkey. However, this also shows the efficiency of the military body to produce a general presence in the mind of, as in this case, Münnever. Military structure is naturalized and, such as with the use of “Komutan”, “banalized”. Just as she absorbs the localness and Kurdishness of Ilhan, to speak through military metaphors seems to become another channel of performing one’s membership of society and – in a larger context- the national state community.

“A very important place for military strategies and the Republic,”¹³¹, Hasan explains when entering Antakya. “[There is] a beautiful Atatürk piazza in the center,”¹³² he continues which together with the omnipresent Atatürk Street constitutes a repetitive phenomenon in Turkey. Although we have entered until now almost every city via the Atatürk Street, Hasan keeps announcing them throughout the trip. Places that are named “Atatürk” seem to be essential reference points and - although the tourists have never been there – create some orientation for the group.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Tr: “Askerliğin stratejileri ve cumhuriyet çok önemli bir yer”

¹³² Travel Diary, 20.9.2007, Tr: ,”¹³²“Güzel bir Atatürk meydanı var merkezde”

3.3.3. The national Imagination through Military

Not only Hasan or Münnever read the landscape in images of military structure or state integrity. Kaya, himself believing in “nothing but Atatürk”, explains during my visit in Kemer, what he has observed about the region in terms of military and the PKK:

“There is not uprising against the Turkish republic. But why is this [problem] in the Southeast and the in the East? I don’t think it takes its source from the people. As I said beore, there is oil in the Southeast. I think of the oil in Iraq, North Iraq and our South Anatolia. In order to seize the wealth in that region, America and the European Union, they cause permanently troubles in those countries that are situated in that region. I think for example, that the reason for the fights at the moment is set up by the PKK and these countries which is an instrument [for them]. They [the PKK] cannot keep up on its own. I belief that between five 10 thousand fighters would not have lived that long. They receive support from them [the States and the European Union]. The latter fight against Turkey by instigating the PKK or the Kurds.”¹³³

Kaya does not only declare the NATO and the EU to be enemies who aim at dividing Turkey, but also removes the PKK’s sovereignty and ability to be able to fight for its own cause. He takes a map out of his desk which shows Turkey divided into Western Turkey and Free Kurdistan that stretches all the way up to Georgia. Local people supporting the PKK are exploited and used. Furthermore, for Kemal, the resistance of the PKK is not only due to foreign support, but also fueled by religious practices:

“I think that the prayer is done more consciouly in the West. We went for example to the mosques in Urfa. The people praying there approach to God more through mediators. There is the influence of religious groups. They are not so much in the West. To tie people to a person or to idolatry is nothing nice. You have to remove other people [that intervene as a mediator]. If a person believes in Allah, then you have to remove other intermittents,

¹³³ Interview Kaya, October 2007, Tr: “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'ne karsi bir ayaklanma yok. Ama neden güneydoğu veya doğuda bu var? Ben orada halktan kaynaklandığını düşünmüyorum bunun. Daha önce de bahsettiğim gibi güneydoğuda petrol var, yani Irak, Kuzey Irak veya bizim G.Anadolu'da petrol oldugunu düşünüyorum. Amerika ve AB ülkeleri o bölgedeki zenginliği alabilmek için devamlı olarak o bölgede bulunan ülkelerde karışıklık yaratmak isityorlar. Örneğin şu anda çatışmalara neden olan PKK'nın de bu ülkelerin kurmuş olduğu bir örgüt olduğunu düşünüyorum. Kendi başına ayakta kalamaz yani. Bence 5-10 bin tane PKK elemani bu kadar uzun süreli yaşayamazdi. Yani onlardan destek alıyorlar. Türkiye'ye karşı savaşıyor, PKK'yi veya Kürtler'i kiskirtiyorlar.”

because if others are involved, they employ religion for politics. In order to exploit the people, they narcotize them with their own views.”¹³⁴

The people he describes in Urfa are characterized as backward, passive and suppressed, their sole agency being dependent on landlords: “We need a territorial reform to redistribute lands in order to loosen relations of locals to landlords or other people that try to make use of them and to increase their direct relation to the state and active participation”¹³⁵. Kaya’s mental map is shaped by a vision of a centralized state that binds the citizen to itself.

Kaya recalls the episode of the canon balls exploding in Antakya announcing *Iftar*, the fasten-breaking during the Ramadan month, while we accidentally stood in front of them: “Maybe you and fire a cannon ball at the fast-breaking in places where the Sünni population is about 100%. In a place like Hatay there shouldn’t be fired cannon ball.”¹³⁶

This episode becomes for him representative of how religion is used as a political tool by the current government.

“Compared with other Muslim countries, we are a much more cultured and modern state, as you see. So we are more modern then the people in Afganistan, Pakistan and Saudi-Arabia. This is [due to] the body of laws that Atatürk introduced in 1924. And Atatürk had told the people, ‘You will be like Europeans’. He worked to be similar to Eurpeans, to be modern. But now the Europeans try to estrange us from Atatürk. Tayyip Erdoğan, the

¹³⁴ Interview Kaya, October 2007, Tr: “Bir de batıdaki ibadetin daha bilinçli yapıldığını düşünüyorum ben. Örneğin Urfa'da o camileri gezdik. Orda ibadet eden kişilerin daha çok şeyhler aracılığıyla yani Tanriya yaklaştıklarını gördüm. Yani bir tarikat etkisi var orda. Ama batıda fazla değildir onlar. Yani insanların insana bağlanmaları veya tapmaları güzel bir şey değil. Yani başka insanları da aradan çıkarmak lazım. Eğer bir kişi Allah'a inaniyorsa başkalarını çıkarması lazım çünkü arada baskaları olduğu zaman dini siyasete alet ediyorlar. Yani bu normal halkı sömürebilmek için onları kendi görüşleriyle uyutuyorlar.”

¹³⁵ Travel Diary, comment after Interview with Kaya

¹³⁶ Interview Kaya, October 2007,Tr:Iftarda Türkiye'de olduğu gibi belki %100 Müslüman Sünni olan yerlerde top atılabilir, davul çalınabilir ama Hatay gibi bir yerde o iftar topunun atılmaması lazımdı.”

AKP government, for example, now try to veil their women and try to adapt religious laws and the European Union supports Tayyip Erdoğan.”¹³⁷

Just as Çiçek and Mustafa, Kaya interprets current politics as a misuse of religion. The problem that arises for Kaya however, is less one of cultural or military integrity, but one of political integrity. The military, conserving Atatürk’s principles, is a most crucial power for him. For him, not only does the country fail to include different cultures, the responsibility is with the government, as well the European Union. Due to Atatürk’s legacy of “becoming like Europe” and- according to Kaya – Europe’s present day conspiracies against Turkey, Turkey has become in many ways more “European” than Europe itself. Kaya emphasizes when visiting several churches: “We have Catholic churches here, but the Pope does not even recognize them and does not care to come here. We have culture, the origins of humanity and civilization which is important also for people in Europe.”¹³⁸ For Kaya, since Turkey used to follow the path of Europe, there is no other option than Europe being misled. Kaya, this shows, has developed very much his own idea of what Europe means. Europeanness has been emptied and refilled with a different signified – which is actually one of Turkey’s modernities. While the European Union and the United States are held responsible for domestic political problems, the local population is deprived of any agency what-so-ever. For Kaya there is no doubt, that any trouble and conflict in Turkey is generated by foreign powers. The image of a homogenous, inherently good-willed and solidary community is maintained – the *only* difference being that the East needs to be kept under tutelage until it has achieved a level of political consciousness and maturity as “Western” people such as Kaya.

¹³⁷ Interview Kaya, 2007, Tr: “Bu kadar diğer İslam ülkelerine göre daha kültürlü daha çağdaş bir devletiz görüyorsun. Yani bir Afganistan'dan, Pakistan'dan, İran'dan, bir Arabistan'dan Türk halkı daha modern. İşte Atatürk'ün 1924'te koyduğu yasalarla bunlar. Ve Atatürk şöyle demiş, Avrupalılar gibi olacaksınız diyor. Yani Avrupalılar'a benzemeye çalışıyor. Çağdaş olmaya çalışıyor. Ama şimdi o Avrupalılar bizi Atatürk'ten uzaklaştırmaya çalışıyorlar. Mesela Tayyip Erdoğan, AKP hükümeti kadınları kapatmaya çalışıyor ve din kuralları uygulamaya çalışıyor ve Avrupa Birliği Tayyip Erdoğan'a destek veriyor.”

¹³⁸ Travel Diary, 21.9.2007

3.3.4. Same Meal Same Mind?

Just as Hasan speaks about the local population as “our fellow citizens”, the tourist group travels as “citizen”. The journey celebrates the cultural wealth of past civilizations. Yet, what about the present culture? For Kemal the answer is clear:

“The culture of the Armenians, Arabs and Kurds there is not very different. The food and drinks are very similar. Look, we went to urfa, we went to Mardin. Although there were very small differences, they are actually similar to food in Antalya and Konya. Of course they have specific ingredients. This is the case in every region. But in general, Turkish culture, if someone from Konya goes to Mardin, he can eat and drink there or someone from Mardin can live in Antalya. Thus, life is much more conform and consistent than it is to live in Europe.”¹³⁹

Since Kaya is – living up to his name – a convinced Kemalist, the fact that different beliefs and ethnic identities are subordinated to the “Turkish course” is not surprising. His argument concerning food, however, is intriguing. Food – most of the time characterized as very delicious by any tourist- is one of the foremost comments and presents one of the essential features with which the quality and success of the journey is measured. Food, as a crucial factor for human beings, presents a field of diversity and details that go beyond its character of guaranteeing human survival. Food has been an object of analysis in anthropology since the 19th century. Mahias (1985), Bahloul (1989) and Fabre Vassas (1997) have shown how food rituals or certain foods can enforce or question boundaries because people connect belief systems and their cosmologies to the way they prepare and consume food. As Mary Douglas (1989) writes, "sampling a drink is sampling what is happening to a whole category of social life" (p.: 9) and the same has been suggested for food in general.

The recognition that I earned due to the fact that I learned how to eat with my hands my rice plate in a village in India, or the way I “tackled” the food during *Iftar* with my host family in Halfeti, showed the power and significance of food and its

¹³⁹ Interview with Kaya, October 2007, Tr: “Ordaki Ermenilerin, Arapların, Kürtlerin kültürü çok farklı değil. Yani genelde yeme, içmeler benziyor. Bak Urfa'ya gittik, Mardin'e gittik. Ufak tefek değişiklikler olsa bile sonuçta bir Antalya'daki Konya'daki yemeklere benziyorlar. Ama onların kendine has özel yemekleri olabiliyor tabii. Her bölgede var. Ama genelde Türk kültürü, yani Konyalı birisi Mardin'e gittiği zaman orda da yiyip içebilir, ya da Mardinli Antalya'da yaşayabilir. Yani Avrupa'da yaşamaktan daha kolay uyum sağlar.”

rituals. My Turkish and Greek housemates showing me how to prepare respectively a Turkish or a Greek coffee – which, I have to admit, are not different, is another example of how the issue of food can turn into a negotiation of identities and belonging. The fact that Kaya emphasizes the *similarities* of meals within Turkey, can therefore be taken as an indicator that similar outlooks and value systems are assumed below the layers of corruption, political and religious manipulation that are ascribed to local political structures which are responsible for the region’s marginalization and ‘deviation’. Just as culinary tourism and visits to “authentic” Indian or Tibetan restaurants have been interpreted by anthropologists as ‘consumption of indigeniousness’, the fact of looking for food similar to that at home, can be understood in this context as “consuming communalities”. The fact that a soup or a lahmacun tastes more or less the same in Urfa as it does in Izmir or in Istanbul, proves for Kaya, that there must be something more in common than the food itself. ‘Yemek kültürüdür’ – food is culture and therefore reveals of a complex and articulate belief system. Someone that prepares the soup in the same way as it is prepared somewhere else cannot differ significantly in their cosmologies – such is Kaya’s conclusion. It may also suggest their perception of the success of the kemalist project.

This perception of the similarity of meals and beverages however, is not shared equally within the group. On our way to Samandağ, Ayla sighs: “One thing that I have really missed is to prepare my own food. I mean the food was ok, but to have fresh food out of our garden is something that is really important to me.”¹⁴⁰ She has in mind the last breakfast we had in Antakya, that everybody was hesitant to eat. “Well, there are a lot of Arabs in Antakya. They don’t take so much care.”

“They love meat. The only thing that they have in mind [when thinking of food] is kebab. Well, it is normal that it smells of kebab in a city in the morning? You get up and when you open the window the city smells of kebab. They love it that much. They eat liver at midnight. That is a very quirky habit for us.”¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Travel Diary, 21.9.2007

¹⁴¹ Interview with Aylin, November 2007, Tr: “Et çok seviyorlar. Akıllarına gelen tek şey kebab. Ya sabah bir kent kebab kokar mı? Yani kalkıyorsun, evin penceresini açtığında şehir kebab kokuyor. Bu kadar çok seviyorlar. Gecenin 12sinde çiğer yiyorlar. Bu bizim için değişik bir alışkanlık.”

She wrinkles her nose out of discomfort about such a habit:

“That seems awkward to me. I think their whole nutrition consists of meat. With regard to vegetables, there is not much cultivation. It does not grow there. Since vegetables don’t grow there is not vegetable food culture. They didn’t learn it duly.”¹⁴²

While she criticizes people in the Southeast to not have learned how to prepare vegetables with meals, Aylin goes on for some time about how she prepares her food, home-made, and not ordered from outside –as she thinks it is done in the Southeast: “I don’t like it because they can eat kebab outside. When people come to my house, I want to offer something made with my own hands.”¹⁴³ Just as with the habit of welcoming guests in other houses than the private homes where the family lives, she feels this habit of ordering kebab from outside is not very hospitable and welcoming.

Irrespective of whether meals are perceived as similar or not, the fact of having similar dishes is valued positively. In contrast to culinary tourism, which values diversity and foreignness and newness to one’s own taste, familiarity in taste, look and preparation become essential measurements for these tourists. Turkish nationalism, due to its relatively late emergence, has focused on communalities such as an ethnic heritage binding and unifying the Turkish nation. The fact that similar food culture becomes representative of cultural commonalities, carries in itself a notion of inherent commonality.

Food - its preparation and consistence - becomes here significant for a world order or cosmology that is consumed along with it. The fact of having similar meals and taste is interpreted as a proof of similar sets of cultural values: it is the eating community and food as ethnic food through which homogeneity within the Turkish republic is imagined (see Lockwood&Lockwood, 2000; Murcott, 1996). The advantage with food is that it can be consumed and tasted which renders the memory of a national community intelligible and intensifies the nation’s existence through the sense of smell, taste, look and feeling (Sutton, 2001; Feeley-Harmik, 1995). On the other hand, the lack of dietary

¹⁴² Interview Aylin, October 2007, Tr: “Bana tuhaf gelen bir şey. Bence beslenmeleri etin üzerine kurulmuş. Besin olarak sebze yetismesi çok değil, yetişmiyor. Sebze yetişmediği için sebze yemek kültürü yok. Öğrenmemişler zamanında.”

¹⁴³ Interview Aylin, October 2007, Tr: “Ben de hoslanmam çünkü kebab ta dışarıda yiyebilirler. Benim evime gelmişlerse benim elimden çıkan seyler sunmak isterim.”

change from a “kebab culture” to a more vegetables-based nutrition and the fact that the locals did not manage to learn it “in time” – as if they would have to – signifies for Aylin “backwardness”.

Between the different levels of an institutionalized narrative locating culture in the past, the incorporation of the state in primarily militaristic ways, the imagination of similar food patterns everywhere in Turkey, the latter has been the point that has created least disagreement within the group. Although ethnic nationalism is denied for example by Kaya, the imagery of an ethnic national community creeps in through the ‘banality’ of food offered in Southeast Anatolia and in Turkey.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

With tourism as a product of modernity, an lookin at the journey and the tourist in the Southeast thus opens up an angle from which to investigate the particulars of Turkey's modernity. Individual behavior observed during the trip along with narratives produced in reference to this journey open up a space so as to take a look at the construction and negotiation of identity, operating beyond official or public narratives.

Landscape – and therefore touristic landscape - Van Dommelen (1999) argues - is an outcome of domesticating an environment by combining selected places. This combination is subject to an ongoing process of cultural, social as well as political negotiation. As such it presents a material manifestation of the relations between humans and the environment. The specific description of landscapes furthermore determines the spectator's orientation, provides moral messages and indicates ideological genealogies. As research in tourism has underlined, tourists after the 1980's are no longer the passive consumers as they were once depicted. Instead, they bring with their own luggage filled with motivations, social and political imaginations - in particular if the journey leads one into the most troubled and less travelled region in Turkey. Thus, the predominant evolution throughout the journey is the individual projections of the tourists, the displacement of their inner fears and hopes onto the tourist landscape. As a result, the landscape traveled by Çiçek and Mustafa, for example cannot be the same as the one traveled by Kaya.

Thus, the concern of this thesis has been to delineate how tourists make sense of themselves during the trip and how this reflects the socio-political pattern that is externalized through tourist performance and narratives.

4.1. The Silencing of the omnipresent “other”

As Hasan’s narrative as well as the lack of questions and inquiry about present day cultures has shown, surprisingly on a cultural pilgrimage even entitled “kültür tur” – plurality and multiculturalism are banished to a past frozen, thus making it as the past impossible to challenge and therefore strengthen and elevate present-day Turkey. In order to show the different levels of silence, I have moved from the unspoken as well as the unknown stories of deprivation and dispossession of the Assyrian community, via the known but unspoken Alevi identity of Çiçek and Metin as well as the known, spoken but ignored presence of Kurds in the group. Intrigued by this fragmentation of the Arnika tourist family, I moved on to disclose the silence within individuals, who – because of their own struggle to find a place in society – try to win the upper hand with their own otherness and “eastern-ness” within themselves. Hasan’s state authorized narrative is shaped by the disintegration of the Assyrian community, the Alevi as well as the Kurdish identities occur solely as past entities without any agency. The only way by which the region becomes relevant for today is through strategic military and geographical landmarks or economic wealth. The state’s repeated bestowing of the names Atatürk Street and Atatürk piazza throughout the landscape therefore proves its ideological integrity and domestication by the state. Infrastructural improvements such as roads and economic changes show the integration of the region into a capitalist-oriented market. Hasan’s narrative is also supported by the lack of questions by the docile tourist bodies, raised with the state apparatus and its institutions such as primary schools and universities. Simultaneously, their inclusion as subjects, permissible only by dim reminders of a past identity leaves them as internalized others – voiced but frozen in a stagnant past. The sole tolerance to let multiculturalism occur in the past also displays a strong assimilatory pressure on Turkish citizens to silence their otherness and deviation from what is perceived as collective character.

The vacuum and insecurity produced by silences such as I have described here and that render exchange and communication a difficult and complex process, are projected onto the whole environment, local and global. As a consequence these fears produce– unreasonable or not, which is not my position here to scrutiny – fears of foreign powers such as the EU to destroy Turkey’s strength and unity. After what the narratives have shown, the silences and their charged conflicts undermine and erode the

image of a national unity which leaves Anderson's imagined community as a modest description of Turkey's nation state.

Since this collective character whose condition and most common denominator becomes ignorance and silence, has in no way a chance to respond and include the different layers of belonging and personality (see identification process instead of identity, Hall, 1996), the tourists articulate themselves through two major channels that are capable of granting them agency.

The anecdotes and behavior of the tourists have revealed two essential agency streams: the first and maybe most striking one is the use of stereotypes to articulate control and moral superiority. The second channel is to over-perform membership in kinship-like structures communities and networks – multifarious in their number and unreliable in their permanence to accommodate one's person which makes it a necessity to remain attentive when one is entitled to which network.

4.2. Agency beyond the Silence

With regard to the first agency, the reproduction of stereotypes, I scrutinized the fear of Uğur's "dirty Arab" as much as I tried to deconstruct the content and discontent of Elif's "kıro" Kurd. Both stereotypes are produced by an urbanized upper middle class. The harshness of Uğur's judgement mirrors his intense and sub-conscious need to differentiate himself from the actually unmanageable fear of being caught by his own Arabic qualities. Arabic here comes to contain qualities of an imaginary Arab – an Arab against which, as the representation of domestic resistance against republican, modern and capitalist ideals. Thus the intensity of Uğur's argument reflects his urge to justify his position in society. Furthermore, while Uğur's heavily weighed judgements become his antidote against a feeling of marginalization, Elif's disgust at "kıro" men carries the traces of the quest for one's place in society. Her personal dilemma of actually thinking in terms such as the "kıro", but acting and performing the urban prototype of women as promoted by advertisements, reflects a more general challenge to respond to the paradoxical demand of her personal ambitions on the one hand and on the other hand, to maintain her social integrity - a social integrity in a society where a woman can only

choose between the position of a girl, a married woman or a mother. Any other position is seen as a transition rather than a permanent state. Elif's channel to gain some degree of autonomy as a woman seems for her to join a stream of social racism that becomes connected to a general media and state fueled suspicion vis-à-vis its "Kurdish other". The intensity of social racism in the form of stereotypes reflects therefore the degree of insecurity and the pressure to conform to socially accepted groups – with repetitive censorship and penalization of demonstrating citizens from the side of the states certainly related to a fear of being penalized if not assimilated. Both these examples also show how terms "East" and West" have moved away from their geographical connotations to a domestic fight between different understandings of modernity that do not want to communicate and eventually form compromises with one another. Within the feeling of flowing in a vacuum that is constituted by one's societal helplessness and marginalization, one's personal vision of Turkey's modernity is validated by naming an identity "Western" and even "More Western than Europe itself" (in particular in the case of Kaya). While "Europeanness" has been emptied and refilled with a different signified – with individual versions of Turkey's modernities, the argument of what is European and what is Western has become an excuse for discrimination.

As mentioned above, the second option to regain control, among others against the risks of being singled out as "the other" that becomes apparent within the statements of the interviewees, is by the performance of one's membership in a community. I intentionally and deliberately chose the term "performance" because I would like to underline the significant insecurity in making up a performance which addresses one's shortcoming and deficiency in fulfilling the conditions of being the "Western" Turk – a quest for the impossible. The "Western" Turk, as worshipped by the interviewees as their sole image of modernity – due to its imaginary character – is doomed to remain a fantasy.

The nature of performance the interviewees conveys, is built around a core model of a kinship based on a fictive social structure which is reproduced primarily linguistically ("ağabey", "abla", "teyze"¹⁴⁴). As such, Mustafa with his jokes about the ambiguity and wealth of the Turkish language, for example manages to win voice within the Arnika family formation – with his nasal voice telling jokes and referring to others as "brothers" to make up for his hidden Aleviness. Another outstanding example

¹⁴⁴ Engl.: "brother", "sister", "aunt": used to address people informally.

of performance is Münnever's: enacting the role of the humble local girl that not only celebrate the leadership of local men like İlhan or Hasan, but worships them with her big admiring and glowing eyes as the mediators to localness. Her self-militarization by underlining the status of male group members through militaristic terms such as "Komutan" and "Pasha" – in contrast to Elif- she performs the integrity of the Turkish state – a state that is incorporated and represented by male military figures. Different from Ebru whose ambition was to stabilize and enhance her position as a woman through hitherto existing patterns of social discrimination, Münnever seeks to validate her membership of the Turkish nation through its symbols. Through her performance as a local Kurd, she seems to aim at proving even more integrity than her fellow travelers – namely with the combination of internalized military and patriarchal structures with a local connectedness to the homeland. Her behavior at the same time reveals the male as the key actor and spokesman in politics, as argued by Nükhet Sirman (1990). However, emancipation seems to be not her primary concern anyway. In particular Münnever displays the inseparableness and intertwining of the public and the private sphere.

Family' or kinship based networks, created by Kurdishness or consumption patterns, become a synonym for a flexibility that - due to the lack of exchange and communication - remain largely shallow and express a lack of total integration and absorption of the individual.

4.3. Creation of personal Space and national Space

Thus, the lack of communication leads to silent but no less powerful ways of producing and maintaining personal spaces and visions of oneself in society. The fact that these people chose the trip and that they possess the mobility, financial income and motivation to travel as tourists to the Southeast, becomes a means of articulating and locating their self in the context of Turkey's modernity. Modernity in Turkey, as Navaro-Yashin (2002) has argued, has become in many ways a consumption oriented set of values, intermingled with political and social values.

An essential channel to extend and totalize one's vision of modernity and oneself in it are the consumption of mobility and space: consuming journeys that can be turned

into a narrative fetish (Bal, 1994), photographic consumption to connect physically and create bonds with the landscape, an extension of the self through the consumption of physical mobility.

As Hasan's narrative about "fellow citizens" and "our homeland" has shown, the group travels in the first place as citizens, that is at least how they are set into relation by Hasan. The way a person perceives his rights and opportunities in his immediate environment shapes his or her idea of membership in larger entities such as nation states. The tourist as citizen imagines his existence primarily as guaranteed by being a member of a kin group and similar networks. Kinship, as we have seen, presents in this case the key concept to imagine the social sphere and has come to designate a highly flexible, malleable and therefore also fragile form of social integration – flexible in so far as it is applied to and offers an integration of people that are not directly related or known to one another for a long time. The reproduction of new forms of kinship by new reproductive technologies which challenge and thus require a deconstruction of categories such as culture, kin or personhood, present also one of the more recent issues that anthropology has tackled (Strather, 1992). These developments shed a whole new light onto gender roles (Di Leonardo, 1991), body politics (Lock 1998), the influence of late capitalist technology onto the human body (Franklin/ Ragone, 1998) and what is called cyborg anthropology (Williams, Dumit, Downey, 1995).

What the 'gregarious lonesomeness' displays, is an utmost individualized and isolated vision of one's surroundings and thus the Turkish nation state as a whole. Acts and attempts to display these individual visions are undermined by the "state of exceptions" which leads to a focus on securing one's membership in society throughout networks or imagining society through the senses of taste, smelling and feeling (Williams, 1983).

Furthermore, consumerism dissociates modernity from the government and creates its own vision of citizenship. However, just as consumerism fuels new modes of citizenship, ethnicity and gender equally produce their own visions of citizenship. These different layers compete with one another for space – a competition that is articulated indirectly by consumption. Visions of citizenship that play with stereotypes of "dirty Arab", "koro" or "backward peasants" become here a discriminatory practice (Yeatman, 2007). Tourism as consumption becomes here a social practice of citizenship.

Turkey today is shaped by its speedy and ambitious economic development, developing in Istanbul and other cities vibrant capitalist centers within less than twenty years. However, as much agency as consumption might provide, it leads in countries that skip industrialization, as MacCannel (1999) argues, to the situation in which they will always wonder if they are real.

The narrative and behavior of tourists to Southeast Anatolia therefore reflects an over-present institutionalized and reproduced silence leading to highly isolated individual visions of society and oneself on the one hand, and – due to social and state mechanisms of exclusion – societal existence through networks and communities. What I would like to emphasize here, instead of the refrain of the fragmented character of modernity and its subjects, is the internalization of modernity's fragments – as the research has shown an articulate and certainly challenging individualism as well as a very dynamic kinship based communitarianism – that due to its development becomes inherently logic for the individual. As I have tried to convey above, it is the individual's agency and the channel he or she chooses which reduces state agency – channels that are not always used for their original purpose such as the articulation of gender issues through Anti-Kurdish resentments as an acknowledged channel. Gaining autonomy as an urban woman by reproducing racism, however, remains ethically dubious.

What the different ways of agency, in particular the use of stereotypes, have displayed, is what Verena Stolcke (1995) depicts as “cultural fundamentalism” which replaced racism as the primary discourse of the Right. The narrative about and consumption of culture in relation to citizenship articulates therefore the acute crisis of finding a the solution to political issues at local and national levels (Rosaldo, 1991). Challenging the argument that institutions are the main actors producing knowledge, based on the agency – though isolated and thus lonely in its nature - I would like to close with the words of James Donald: “a nation does not express itself through its culture: it is culture that produces ‘the nation’ (Yuval-Davi, 2006: p.66).

Within this work I have focused on the tourist and her/his vision. However, as my research has shown, the vision of the local people has been insightful and would have constituted an interesting challenge as well. However, such a focus clearly exceeded the frame of a thesis.

Since I focused on the journey as a general experience, bound to expectations at the level of physical mobility and imagination, I did not deal with sites in particular. However, as described in the first chapter, Hasan's rhetoric could easily have been employed in any other region without any changes which proves Hasan's words: "They just go there to have been there." Furthermore, since the focus was on Turkish citizens living in Turkey, I did not integrate Münnever and Metin into my analysis. This step would open up a whole new field of diaspora identities and transnationalism.

4.4. Contribution of the Research

This research contributes to the academic literature in a number of fields. First of all, tourism as a way to understand the political vision of travellers, triggered by the alleged "exit" from daily routine and habitus, has become an essential part of the anthropological research agenda. However, most existing studies have been conducted at the transnational level (Bruner, 1991; 2004; Selwyn, 1995; Graburn, 1984; 1989; 1999). The responsibility and political motivation of a tourist might change, such as in this case where the tourist assumes the responsibility of a citizen. The study shows that the tourists here are on a quest for their place in Turkey's modernity, their belonging as well their citizenship. research about identity, modernity an nationalism. A question this case raises is the topic of loneliness within and in spite of communities – if ethnic, religiou or national. Beyond Anderson's imagined communities, the question that is brought up here, is what if the imagination cannot be shared or the shared imagination stops right at the moment of moving to another suburb, changing the street or choosing the wrong floor in the house. Need to rewrite the conclusion it needs some more work

4.5. Implications for future Research

Two phases have been particularly inspiring for me: the phase of return to the sites subsequent to the group journey as well as the phase of reflection on the journey

and exchange of my reflections with friends and colleagues. Both have made me think about more in-depth research with a larger group, also in different fields such as reproductive technology. My interest would be to see different and new or emergent channels of agency. Such research would ideally include a variety of people with different backgrounds. An enlargement of this to a comparative transnational level would be certainly insightful as well.

APPENDIX I

THE TRIP



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GÜNEYDOĞU ANADOLU

Tur tarihleri: 16 -21.9.2007

1 Gün Pazar

İstanbul'dan Hareket, Diyarbakır, Hasankeyf, Mardin, Deyrulzafaran Manastırı
Sabah uçağıyla Diyarbakır'a hareket ediyor, Diyarbakır şehir turu sonrası Hasankeyf'e geçiyoruz. Kısa bir süre sonra sular altında kalacak olan, geleneksel yaşam ile tarihin iç içe geçtiği, kayaların içine oyulmuş evlerde yaşayan insanlarıyla olduğu kadar eşsiz manzaralarıyla da sizleri büyüleyecek olan Hasankeyf'in belki son ziyaretçileri olacaksınız. Hasankeyf'in ardından Midyat üzerinden Güneydoğu'nun otantik şehri, medeniyetler beşiği Mardin'e hareket ediyoruz. Taş evleri, medreseleri, camileri, abbaralarla bağlanmış sokakları ile ünlü Mardin'i gezdikten sonra Süryani Kadim Cemaati'nin önemli bir manastırı olan 1500 yıllık Deyrulzafaran Manastırı'nı ziyaret edip, Kasımiye Medreselerini geziyor ve otelimize yerleşiyoruz. **Konaklama: Mardin**

1st day Sunday

Leaving Istanbul, Diyarbakır, Hasankeyf, Mardin, Deyrulzafaran Monastery

After a city tour of Diyarbakır, you will visit Hasankeyf with its unique view. Afterwards we will continue via Midyat as an authentic city of the Southeast in order to arrive in Mardin. After visiting the stone houses, Muslim seminaries, mosques, we will visit a 1,500 year old Assyrian monastery and move on to our hotel. **Accomodation: Mardin**

2 Gün Pazartesi

Harran, Şanlıurfa Cennet Cami, Harran Evleri, Urfa, Balıklıgöl

Kahvaltı sonrası dünyanın ilk üniversitesinin kurulduğu yer olan Harran'a gidiyoruz Kervan yollarının kesiştiği kentin harabelerini, dünyada örneklerine ender rastlanan konik evlerini gezip Peygamberler Şehri Urfa'ya geri dönüyoruz. Şehir merkezinde restore edilmiş eski Urfa yapılarından oluşan Kültür Sitesi'ni, Balıklıgöl ve Anzilha Gölleri'ni, Halilürrahman, Hasanpaşa ve Rızvaniye Camilerini dolaşıyoruz. Geleneksel Urfa Çarşısı'ndan dostlarımıza hediye edebileceğimiz rengârenk Urfa bezleri, isot, kahve, mırra fincanı gibi hediyelerimizi alıyor, bu keyifli alışverişin sonunda tarihi Gümrük Han'da soluklanıyoruz. Akşam, Urfa yöresinde bir gelenek haline gelen sıra gecesi için organizasyon yapılıyor. **Konaklama: Şanlıurfa**

2nd day Monday

Harran, Şanlıurfa Cennet Mosque, Harran Houses, Urfa, Balıklıgöl

After breakfast we will visit Harran where the worldwide first university was built. We will see the ruins of the city at the crossing of caravan routes, the conic houses after which we will turn to the city of the prophets – Urfa. There we will take a walk through the restored cultural site, along the Balıklıgöl (Fish Lake) and Anzilha Göl (Anzilha Lake), the Halilürrahman, Hasanpaşa and Rızvaniye Mosques. We will buy our friends presents such as the colourful linen or coffee after which we will respire in the historical Gümrük caravanserai. In the evening will be organized the traditional Urfa “Sıra Gecesi” with Arabesque life music and local food. **Accomodation: Şanlıurfa**

3 Gün Salı

Atatürk Barajı, Karakuş Tümülüsü Cendere Köprüsü, Arsemia, Nemrut'ta Günbatımı

Sabah kahvaltı sonrası Atatürk Barajı üzerinden Kahta'ya geçiyoruz. Baraj gölü kıyısında alınacak öğle yemeği sonrasında Karakuş Tümülüsü, Romalılarca yapılan Cendere Köprüsü, Kommagene krallığının yazlık başkenti Arsemia'yı gezip günbatımını izlemek üzere Tanrıların yurdu Nemrut Dağının 2150 m'lik zirvesine çıkıyoruz .

Konaklama: Kahta

3rd day Tuesday

Atatürk Dam, Karakuş Tümülüsü Cendere Bridge, Arsemia, Mount Nemrut

After breakfast, we will move on via the Atatürk Dam to Kahta. We will have our lunch next to the Dam Lake from which we will then continue to the Karakuş statue, the Cendere Bridge, built by the Romans, itinerate the summer capital of the Kommagene, Arsemia, in order to ascend the 2,150 metre high Nemrut mountain from where we will watch the sunset. **Accomodation: Kahta**

4 Gün Çarşamba

Halfeti, Gaziantep Müzesi, Hasan Süzer Etnografya Müzesi, Antep Kalesi, Çarşı

Dileyenlerle sabah erken saatlerde gündeğumunu seyretmek üzere Nemrut Dağı'na çıkıyoruz. Kahvaltının ardından bir kısmı Birecik Barajının suları altında kalan Urfa'nın şirin ilçesi Halfeti'ye yapacağımız ziyaretin ardından Gaziantep'e doğru yola koyuluyoruz. Gaziantep'te Zeugma'dan çıkan mozaiklerle zenginleşen Arkeoloji Müzesini, Hasan Süzer Etnografya Müzesini, Antep Kalesi'ni ve geleneksel çarşığı gezip otelimize yerleşiyoruz. **Konaklama: Gaziantep**

4th day Wednesday

Halfeti, Gaziantep Museum, Hasan Süzer Ethnographic Museum, Antep Castle, Bazaar

After the breakfast we will visit Halfeti, remaining under the water of the Birecik Dam. From there we will continue to Gaziantep, its Archeological Museum exhibiting mosaics from Zeugma, the Hasan Süzer Ethnographic Museum, the Antep Castle as well the Bazaar, from which we will go to our hotel. **Accomodation: Gaziantep**

5 Gün Perşembe

Yesemek, Antakya, St. Pierre Kilisesi, Mozaik Müzesi

Kahvaltının ardından otelimizden ayrılıyor ve Yesemek'i gezdikten sonra Antakya'ya geçiyoruz. Antakya'da Hıristiyanlığın ilk mağara kilisesi olan St. Pierre Kilisesi'ni ziyaret ediyor ve dünyanın ikinci büyük mozaik koleksiyonuna sahip Antakya Müzesi'ni geziyoruz. Müze gezisinin ardından Antakya sokaklarını dolaşarak tipik bir Antakya evi olan Katolik kilisesini ziyaret edip çarşıda yapacağımız alışverişin ardından otelimize yerleşiyor ve Antakya mutfağının lezzetlerinden tatmak üzere Harbiye'de akşam yemeğimizi alıyoruz. **Konaklama: Antakya**

5th day Thursday

Yesemek, Antakya, St. Pierre Church, Mozaik Museum

After a walk through the Yesemek open air museum, we will pass on to Antakya where we will visit the first Christian cave church St. Pierre as well as the worldwide second largest mozaik museum. After strolling through the streets of Antakya we will visit the Catholic church in one of the typical houses of Antakya after which we will have the opportunity to do some shopping. **Accommodation: Antakya**

6 Gün Cuma

Titus Tünelleri, Adana, İstanbul'a Dönüş

Otelimizden ayrılıp Samandağı'nda bulunan Titus tüneline gidiyor, limanın dolmasını önlemek amacıyla inşa edilen bu yapıyı gördükten sonra Adana'ya geçiyoruz. Öğle yemeğinde meşhur Adana kebabından tattıktan sonra İstanbul'a dönmek üzere Adana Havaalanına gidiyor, başka turlarda görüşmek dileği ile vedalaşıyoruz.

6th day Friday

Titus Tünelleri, Adana, İstanbul'a Dönüş

After leaving the hotel, we will go to the Titus tunnel in Samandağı. We will see an example of harbour construction from which we will move on to Adana where we will taste the famous Adana kebab, followed by our return to Istanbul

APPENDIX II



1) Picture of Hasan in Urfa, Balıklıgöl, 17.9. (picture taken by me).



2.1) Me with Hasan, the guide. I play nervously with my camera bag (picture: Kemal).



2.2) I try to remove myself from his hug (picture: Kemal).



3) Ilhan, the bus driver (looking for his light, picture: me)



4) In the picture from left to right: Hasan, Münnever, Şeniye, Bedriye, Metin, Ciğdem, Metin, Kaya, Ayla, me, Levent (local friend of Hasan), Ilhan (in the center, sitting)



5.1) A speedy city tour through Diyarbakir (picture: me).



5.2) The city walls of old Diyarbakir (picture: me).



6) Christian Church in Midyat (picture by me)



7.1) A picture, taken of my by Bedriye. She told me to move more to the right because of the ... (see 7.2)



7.2)... white plastic bank Bedriye cut out of the picture, not to 'spoil' the atmosphere.



8) Citations from Atatürk at the entrance of a former Assyrian school in Mardin (picture by Kaya).



9) Man on donkey in Mardin (picture taken by everybody in the group, this particular taken by me)



10) Münnever dressing up in Harran before everybody else has realized this opportunity (photo: me)



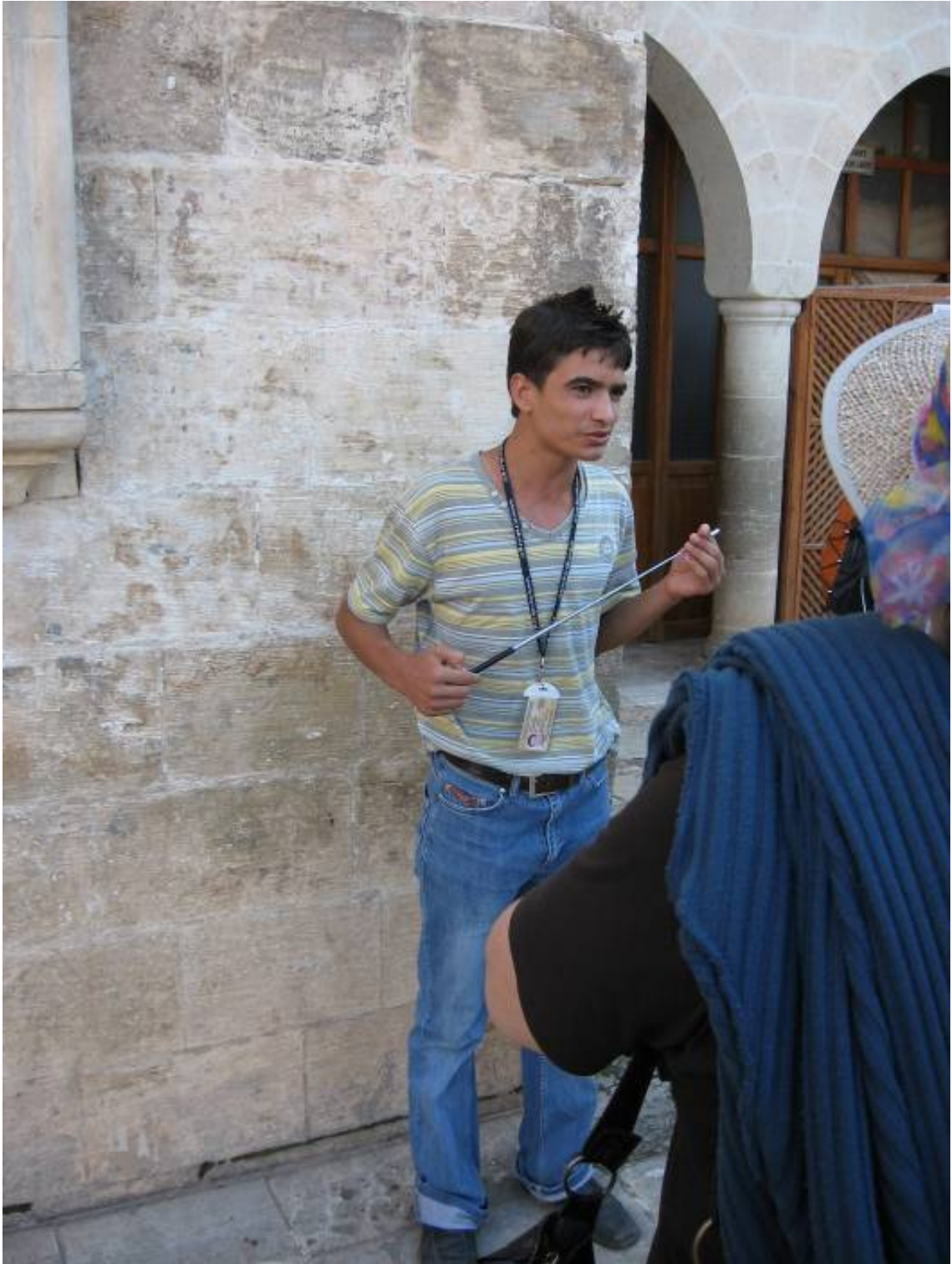
11.1) Kaya with prayer beads (photo: me)



11.2) Kaya and Ayla posing “just like Arabs do” (photo: me)



12) Kaya keeps his dress on during lunch (photo: me).



13) Local boy in Harran to whom Hasan lends his guide ID and pointer (photo: me)



14) Kaya with Arab headscarf in front of Turkish flag. He explicitly directed me to take a picture with his camera in this way.



15) The “kaptan” of the “Black Rose” ship in Halfeti.



16) Neighbours in Halfeti (man on the left with his shoes from England).



17) Kaya and Ayla in Adiyaman (photo: directed by Kaya, taken by me).



18) "Cheers" (Tr: Şerefe) - Kaya with wine on Nemrut (picture: directed by Kaya, taken by me)



19) Ethnography museum in Gaziantep. As one can tell from the architecture, it used to belong to an Armenian family.



20) Şeniye posing on bridge in Samandağ (picture: me)



21) On our way to Antakya: the border region with Syria.



22) Group picture in Samandağ, the "tourist soldiers" with "Komutan" Hasan in the front (photo by Mustafa)

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