

First Submitted: 8 August 2019 Accepted: 23 October 2019
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v17i1.833>

Unbearable Lightness of Undefined Diaspora: The Meaning of Turkish Descendants

Fırat Yıldız¹

Abstract

The concept of Turkish diaspora, which is frequently being used in political, bureaucratic and academic life in Turkey, is getting more attention in its foreign policy. However, despite the growing interest in this issue, the debate about what Turkish diaspora means is still unresolved and in particular, who are its subjects remains unclear. Such an ambiguous use of the term Turkish diaspora manifests itself most clearly in the concept of fellow descendants. Fellow descendants, an important and problematic subject of the Turkish diaspora, goes beyond the concept of “Turk” outlined in the Constitution of Turkey, for it has been included in a legal and political framework based on ethnicity. As in the case of fellow descendant, of utmost importance is academic research on social structures that can be considered as the subject of Turkish diaspora.

Keywords: Turkish foreign policy; diaspora; Turkish diaspora; descendants.

Introduction

In Turkey, diaspora issues and diaspora politics are emerging as a new field of study, in terms of governmental implementation, policies, practices and academic studies. Defining “Turkish diaspora” is becoming one of the utmost important issues for analysing the recent developments in Turkish foreign policy. Adamson (2019: 212) argues “...the term ‘Turkish diaspora’ is insufficient to cover the political activities of those around the globe with direct or familial connections to modern Turkey or its predecessor, the Ottoman Empire.” Aksel (2014: 195) also emphasises Turkey’s multi-dimensional relations with her diaspora, saying “Turkey is a crucial case since it is both a country of emigration with over 4.5 million of its citizens living abroad and a country of immigration and a kin-state due to the legacy of the Ottoman Empire.”

Nevertheless, Turkey’s diaspora understanding has been seen as a vague terminological and political space that needs to be clarified. The author contends that the ambiguity of the definition of Turkish Diaspora is being left so on purpose, because the state wants to use this ambiguity to its political advantage whenever and however needed. Given this situation, the vital questions on Turkish diaspora, such as “Is there a Turkish Diaspora? Who forms this diaspora? What are its characteristics? Who are the subjects of the Turkish diaspora?” remain unanswered. This uncertainty surrounding the diaspora, which has come onto Turkey’s agenda since the 2000s, has emerged at the behest of all actors in the country, not just the ruling AKP (since 2002), but also the legislative, executive, judiciary powers, including opposition political parties, politicians, diplomats, bureaucrats, etc. Mencutek and Baser (2018: 96) report that a high-level officer in Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) said that it utilises ‘a broader

¹ Fırat Yıldız, Kastamonu University, Turkey. E-mail: firatyaldiz@gmail.com



diaspora definition', aiming to create broad diasporic membership, as criticised in this article. Adamson (2019: 225) also states that by establishing YTB, the diaspora management policy of Turkey reached a new stage and that "the name [Turks Abroad and Related Communities] itself reflects the ambiguities of defining the diaspora and was meant to include Turkish citizens, students, and through the term 'related communities' those who could be associated with Turkey via ethnicity or through historical ties. The aim is to define the diaspora as broadly as possible..." In this study, instead of discussing the general concept of the Turkish diaspora, the focus will be on the concept of the Turkish descendant (*soydaş* in Turkish) as being a problematic subject of this diaspora.

This discussion will continue along two dimensions: legal regulations and political discourses. Firstly, attention will be drawn to the laws and legal regulations that are contradictory to the definition of "Turkish" in the Constitution of Republic of Turkey, the highest legal document of Turkish Law. In terms of the political discourse, the position and discourse of Turkish politicians, political parties, diplomats and bureaucrats, which goes beyond even the aforementioned legal regulations that are inconsistent with the Constitution, will be examined. This will explain the uncertainty posed by the descendant concept in the general diaspora policy of Turkey, whilst also exposing the separation caused by the conceptual and legal background of descendant issues, both in the domestic and foreign policy.

The Subjects Of The Turkish Diaspora

The diaspora issue - conceptually, politically and institutionally - has begun to take more space on Turkey's agenda in the 21st century. The word *diaspora* was included in the Great Turkish Dictionary (*Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*) published by the Turkish Language Association in 1998 for the first time and defined as² "fragment/dispersion" (*kopuntu* in the Turkish original). The 2005 edition defines "diaspora" as: "1. Branches of Jewish people who start to settle in foreign countries after leaving their homelands; and 2. A branch of any nation that leaves its homeland." Whilst the 2011 edition includes three different definitions: "1. A place where members of any nation or belief live away from their homelands; 2. A branch of any nation separated from its homeland, fragment; and 3. Branches of Jewish people who start to settle in foreign countries after leaving their homelands, fragment." Today we can say that the usage of the term of diaspora has become widespread in Turkey, having also been incorporated into the Turkish language.

Political discourses, debates and explanations on the issue of diaspora have increased since the 2000s. During this period, new public institutions - directly or indirectly related to the Turkish diaspora - were also established. Notably, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), established in 1992 to strengthen relations with the newly established independent Turkish States in Central Asia, was restructured in 2011. The Yunus Emre Foundation, founded in 2007, had set up 55 Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers in 39 different countries by 2019 and the YTB was established in 2010.

In 2012, the current official interpretation of the term Turkish Diaspora was stated by Ahmet Davutoğlu, the then (2009-2014) Foreign Minister (and Prime Minister between 2014 and 2016), as:

...the term Diaspora. We need to recognise the most extensive scope. Not a diaspora which only encompasses our citizens, I mean, those who are Turkish citizens and have migrated:

² All translations from Turkish to English in this article were made by the author.



Bosnians, Albanians, Pakistanis, Somalians, Palestinians... We have to recognize their populations there, abroad as a part of our diaspora. Even an hour that they spent together with us makes them a part of our diaspora (Davutoğlu, 2012).

Davutoğlu, thus, defined the term by extending the scope worldwide and this problematic definition of Turkish diaspora acts like a Swiss army penknife in Turkish foreign policy, i.e. serves many functions as required. According to Turkey's foreign policy implementation, legal regulations and the political debates, as discussed in detail in this study, the Turkish Diaspora covers the following subjects:

Citizens;

Blue card holder foreigners;

Fellow descendant foreigners (only those of Turkish descent);

Related/relative communities;

International students;

Ottoman residues;

All Muslims.

Turkish citizens: Those living abroad are the most powerful subjects of Turkish diaspora, especially from a legal perspective. [The Turkish Constitution (Article 66), defines it as “Everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk.”] The constitutionally-defined Turkish citizenship holds political and diplomatic consistent ground in Turkey's diaspora politics.

Blue card holders: The Blue Card is the official document granted for those who are Turkish citizens by birth, but have renounced their citizenship and for their sub-descents listed in the Turkish Citizenship Law (Article 28 of the Law No. 5901). This document states that its grantees can enjoy the rights granted in the relevant article (MFA, 2019).

Related communities: This is another term that lacks a clear uncontested definition. As witnessed, it encompasses Bosnians, Albanians, Palestinians and even Somalians, thus expanding the scope of the diaspora term to such extent that it becomes dysfunctional. In 2012, Ahmet Davutoğlu, the then Foreign Minister, stated:

... Do we see the Comoro Islands as Ottoman lands?... What we mean by related communities includes not only the communities in the Balkans and the Central Asia, who we deem our cousins, but all the communities there. ...There are many nations to which we are in debt. These nations are what we mean by related communities (Davutoğlu, 2012).

Davutoğlu, thus, expanded the meaning of the term from Central Asia to encompass the Comoro Islands and from cousins to international students defining, thereby including almost all the world and all people living on earth as part of the Turkish diaspora.

Expressions, such as “Ummah (all Muslims) geography”, “Ottoman residues”, and “Islamic World”, signify a rather vague conceptualisation within the context of the term diaspora; referring to an imaginary ideal rather than a concrete one. These ideological terms that are not academic and diplomatic with no definable and determinable criterion can be used as a tool in foreign policy.

However, as emphasised above, their inclusion in the Turkish Diaspora as diaspora subjects makes the term diaspora even more hard to pin down and hence, dysfunctional.

What is a “Descendant”?³ Who is a “Turk”

Legislation of the Republic of Turkey

Article 66 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey expressly answers the question: “Who is Turk?”, which is of vital importance for our study: “Everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk. The child of a Turkish father or a Turkish mother is a Turk.” The Constitution, which is the top principal legal document in the Turkish legislation, defines the term Turk based on the citizenship bond. Thus, quite expressly and robustly, it avoids any potential inclusion of other kinds of bonds, such as those based on language, religion, race, etc. in other legal regulations. The Turkish Citizenship Law No. 5901 (2009: A7) also emphasises descent, maintaining that a child born to a Turkish mother or a Turkish father is a Turkish citizen.

Hence, according to Turkish Law, the Constitution and the Citizenship Law associate descent (being of the same descent) with the descent of Turkish citizens; it is sustained through the bond of citizenship and not through one of blood, race or history (Yaldız, 2018: 1-20). Against what is stipulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish Citizenship Law, can be seen in the examples below, many other laws, decree laws, cabinet decrees, regulations counter the hierarchy of norms, as they deal with the terms ‘Turk’ and ‘descent’ outside the framework drawn up by the Constitution and the Turkish Citizenship Law. These constitute a legal challenge that serves to block any resolution as to the definition of Turkish citizen.

Laws: “aliens of Turkish descent” (Facilitating Aliens of Turkish Descent, 1981), “of Turkish descent and bound to Turkish culture...” (Settlement Law, 2006: A3), “teachers who are foreign nationals of Turkish descent” (Outreach for Teachers, 1960), “fellow descendants who are called Meskhetian Turks” (Acceptance and Settlement, 1992: A1)

Decree Laws: “individuals who are Bulgarian... nationals of Turkish descent” (Interim Article, 1989)

Cabinet Decrees: “of the Meskhetian Turks, who are fellow descendants” (Cabinet Decree, 2016)

Regulations: “Document of Turkishness” (Amending the Regulation Regarding Rules, 2014) is used.

Additionally, there is the “Regulation on Aliens of Turkish Descent Exempted from a Work Permit”⁴, which was annexed to the Cabinet Decree No. 2009/14699 of February 23, 2009 and which was not published in the Official Gazette, because of its confidentiality, since it deals with national security. It stipulates that (i) Turks of Western Thrace as well as aliens of Turkish descent, who are (ii) Iraqi, (iii) Chinese (East Turkestan), (iv) Afghani, (v) Bulgarian nationals, are exempt from having to obtain a work permit. This regulation is important for our study in two ways. First, legal regulations regarding issues, such as being of Turkish descent, or being of the same descent,

³ Descent is defined as “*the group of individuals descended from one ancestor, lineage*”, and fellow descendant as, “*each of the individuals who are of the same descent*” in Great Turkish Dictionary (Büyük Türkçe Sözlük). See: http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_bts.

⁴ For the State Council’s Decision canceling Paragraph 1 of the Article 3 in this Regulation, which was not published in the Official Gazette, see: <https://www.tmmob.org.tr/sites/www.tmmob.org.tr/files/tara0001.pdf>.



are regarded as critical for national security, with studies on this subject being treated confidentially. Second, the abovementioned five countries/regions (Western Thrace, Iraq, East Turkestan, Afghanistan and Bulgaria) are treated by a legal document within the context of the Turkish-descent phenomenon, although - in practice - they cover a much wider geography and more communities, including Kosovo, Meskheti, Crimea, and Syria. An important issue that needs to be mentioned at this point is that, national security⁵ should not stand as a limitation against studies and discussions to be conducted regarding this topic. Finally, on May 30, 2017, citizens of some of the Balkan countries (Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina and Kosovo) were given an exceptional right to obtain Turkish citizenship by the Ministry of Interior, with this legal/administrative regulation being disguised as the “Exceptional Right to Obtain Turkish Citizenship Granted to Fellow Descendants Holding a Residence Permit.” (Balturk, 2017)

As it can be seen from the above-summarised legal documents, which were those we were able to obtain, these comprise: 10 laws, 2 Decree Laws, 2 Cabinet Decrees, 25 Regulations and 5 memorandums. That is, there are numerous legal regulations from different levels that associate the term Turk with a bond of descent, which exceeds the bond of citizenship i.e. these documents are contrary to the Constitution. Cin (2005) has made a forensic assessment in which he maintains that the term “being of Turkish descent” - as treated in legal system - is a sociological phenomenon, stating that:

In the different legal regulations of Turkish law, terms such as “individuals of Turkish descent”, “those of Turkish descent”, “aliens of Turkish descent” are being used. The legislation neither gives definitions of “being of Turkish descent” or of “Turkish descent” nor clarifies this term based on what principles “Turkish descent” is established for an individual. The competent authorities are, thus, the ones to decide who is of Turkish descent. While citizenship stands for the legal bond between an individual and a specific state; the nationality and descent terms are sociological terms that encompass such factors as race, language, religion and culture, which technically and not legally-based. For this reason, there is a lack of strict criteria that can be used when determining what Turkish-descent is. “Being of Turkish descent” is a sociological phenomenon.

Laws, decree laws, cabinet decrees and regulations incorporate this non-constitutional sociological phenomenon into Turkey’s domestic law, thus allowing those foreign nationals deemed as being fellow descendants to “work in Turkey as they are exempt from obtaining a work permit, settle in Turkey, own a house, be granted an exceptional right to obtain Turkish citizenship much more easily, pay a much lower amount of tuition fees compared to other foreign students, attend hunting courses, obtain hunting licence, etc.”. Hence, they are granted significant advantages that are not given to other foreign nationals not deemed as being fellow descendants in many respects (Yaldız, 2018: 10). An important issue that needs to be emphasised at this point is that, the Settlement Law (2006) was foreseen as a condition that the immigrants are of Turkish descent. In many legal arrangements mentioned above, there are regulations concerning Turkish descendants. However, in the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (2013), there is no distinction as to whether or not foreigners are Turkish descendants. Hence, foreigners of Turkish origin (Turkish descendants) have a different legal framework than those of non-Turkish origin.

⁵ Within the context of national security, it is a significant detail to be noted here that a social reaction against the aliens in Turkey, especially those of Central Asian descent, arose following the terror attack in İstanbul on the night of January 1, 2017, which was carried out by a Kyrgyzstan national of Uzbek descent targeting a night club and leaving 39 dead.

Politics of Turkey

The contradicting statements used in legislative documents regarding citizenship and being fellow descendants are also observed in the rhetoric and actions of law practitioners and administrators. When criticising the government on July 13, 2013, Devlet Bahçeli, Chairman of Turkish Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), stated:

What has been the thing that keeps the AKP government so busy, while Turkmens are being buried with their coffins every day? Considering that the Prime Minister Erdoğan was almost about to wail for those killed in Egypt, it is a striking disloyalty and remorselessness that he did not even attempt to mention anything about our fellow Turkmens. For a person with such mentality, Gaza is more important than Kirkuk, Somalia is more valuable than Mosul and Cairo is dearer than Tuzhurmatu (Hürriyet, 2013).

In response to Bahçeli's criticism, on July 14, 2013, Hüseyin Çelik, Vice Chairman of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), expressed the view that the characterisation made by Bahçeli on the basis of co-ethnicity was ethnocentric, saying that: "Mr. Bahçeli, all those who died are human; all those who died are Muslims. We do not use such definitions as fellow descendants or non-fellow descendants. Those who prefer to use these definitions are the ones who are ethnocentric, as you are" (Hurriyet, 2013).

In January 2016, Yalçın Akdoğan, the then Deputy Prime Minister, noted that "Turkey provides all kinds of support for our fellow Meskhetian descendants" (TRTHABER, 2016) during a reception organised for a delegation of 20 delegates from nine countries chaired by the President of the World Union of Ahiska Turks. These statements made by Akdoğan use the term fellow descendant as one beyond citizenship.

On April 5, 2016, Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Prime Minister at the time said, "New flights for Diyarbakır and Nicosia airports will start soon... This is symbolically significant as well. Each flight from Diyarbakır to Arbil will deliver our greetings to both external Turks and external Kurds. Everyone should know that both external Turks and external Kurds are under our auspices," during a group meeting (Ensonhaber, 2016), thus using the term Turk beyond its constitutional definition by discriminating between external Turks and external Kurds. During a press conference on October 8, 2014, Selahattin Demirtaş, the then Chairman of the HDP (Halkların Demokratik Partisi / Peoples' Democratic Party), said, "Let's assume it is not Kobane, I wonder if the government would use gas and batons to disperse people, if it were Turkish people piling up at the border with Azerbaijan" (Hürriyet, 2014). This statement proves that, whether it be the ruling party or the opposition, the political rhetoric and perception have resulted in deep rift over the issue of the bond of ethnicity.

It is not just the speeches or statements made politicians where such terms as "citizens abroad, fellow descendants, and related communities" are used, for these terms are also observed being utilised by political parties and in government programmes.

In the 65th Government Programme announced on May 24, 2016, there is a specific chapter entitled "Citizens, Fellow Descendants and Related Communities Living Abroad" (Meclishaber, 2016). This 144-page Government Programme allocates four pages to this title, which cover quite detailed studies and objectives regarding citizens, fellow descendants and related communities living abroad. It is also stated in the programme that, "support needed for the establishment and development of Diaspora Research Institutes within universities will be provided."



In the Party Programme of the MHP dated November 8, 2009 (MHP, 2009), topics like “Citizens Abroad” and “descendants and related communities outside of Turkey” are included.

The Party Programme of the Republican People’s Party (CHP, 2019) incorporates the heading “A comprehensive programme to be implemented so that our citizens and fellow descendants abroad live and work with dignity and in a secure way,” also covering issues regarding all these people in various parts of the programme.

In the Party Programme of the Good Party (İyi Parti) topics like, “Turkish children living abroad, European Turks, Turkish descendants, our descendants”, are included (İyi Parti, 2017).

There is no statement made in the HDP’s Party Programme (HDP, 2019) regarding this topic.

As seen above, the rhetoric employed by the political parties and politicians also uses the term Turk, with a meaning attributed to it beyond its legal definition; featuring undefined terms, such as fellow descendant and related communities.

Diplomacy and Bureaucracy of the Republic of Turkey

During a visit paid to Western Thrace by the Turkish Ambassador in Athens, in 2012, he started his speech using the expression “Dear fellow descendants,” and continued saying, “I am convinced that you - as our fellow descendants who are bilingual in Greek and Turkish - will play crucial roles in Greece’s development as well as in further improving the relations between Turkey and Greece” (Batırakya, 2019), thereby attributing the term fellow descendant to the Turks of Western Thrace as well. Functioning as the main institution of the bureaucracy of the Republic of Turkey with regard to the diaspora issue, the President for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) used the term fellow descendant, which is included in numerous cases in its law of establishment (Organisation and Duties, 2010: Articles 1, 2, 9, 18, 28), in its institutional studies and in its rhetoric, without resorting to any kind of definition of the term. In his opening speech at the Roman Workshop held in Edirne on June 4, 2015, the President of the YTB, stated that:

As YTB, significant studies for fellow descendants and related communities have been being carried out... projects are being developed to eliminate the discrimination that our Roman citizens in the Balkans and other regions [face]... [within this scope] a Report on Romans will be prepared by Trakya University in collaboration with the YTB. (Radikal, 2015)

Moreover, the Turkish language training undertaken by Yunus Emre Foundation (YEE) in December 2015, in Pristina, Kosovo, was announced with the heading “In-Service Training for Turkish Descendant Teachers in Kosovo” (YEE, 2015).

As seen in the examples above, both the legal regulations and the rhetoric employed by the political, diplomatic and bureaucratic approaches to the term “fellow descendant”, these are solely based on descent through Turkish ethnicity and hence, not through being citizens of the Republic of Turkey. Oran notes that, “Members of the judiciary in Turkey construe ‘Turkish’ as a term associated with ethnicity, not with nationality,” referring to the legal regulations and practices regarding the term Turkish (Oran, 2016: 249-272). However, considering the details provided above and the diaspora policies in place in Turkey, it is concluded that members of the judiciary, as well as politicians, bureaucrats, diplomats and even academics construe the term Turk as an ethnicity-based term, not a nationality-based one. This situation indicates that the idea of equal citizenship

dating back to the Ottoman Period of Reform has yet to be adopted into the social culture and consciousness after a long period of 180 years. In particular, it has yet to be fully accepted by the legal system, politics and academia.

This conceptual confusion is evident both in the legal regulations as well as in practice. The term Turk and Turkish community, which are meant to constitute a basis for the Turkish diaspora, cannot be given a definition, because of the differences in legal and personal views. A basic question cannot thus be answered due to this situation, whether: Ali, who is a Turkish Citizen (i.e. a Turk), according to the Constitution and who pays his taxes to the Republic of Turkey as an individual of Turkish ethnicity and Veli, his relative from the Western Thrace, are fellow descendants or not? Legal regulations and implementations answer this question quite clearly, and the answer is “Yes.” So, in this case: Ahmet, who is a Turkish Citizen (i.e. a Turk), according to the Constitution and who pays his taxes to the Republic of Turkey as an individual of Arabic ethnicity and Mehmet, his relative in Syria, are they fellow descendants or not? The law and practice answer this question quite clearly, with the answer being “No.” (Yaldız, 2018: 14) Again, in this context, the term “relative” compulsorily expands the scope of the diaspora phenomenon, as the term is used in this context with no definition and hence, it cannot be based on substantive conceptual grounds, because of this basic problem. As it can be understood from the legal regulations as well as bureaucratic and diplomatic practice, the term “fellow descendant” is defined and used solely based on Turkish ethnicity, not on all ethnic identities constituting the whole components of Turkish citizenship.

Conclusion

In recent years, the concept of diaspora has received increasing interest in Turkey and the “Turkish Diaspora” has become a frequently used term. However, despite the growing awareness of the matter, the debate about what Turkish Diaspora means is still unresolved. In particular, the issue as to who is a subject of the Turkish diaspora remains unclear. This uncertainty causes the use of diaspora by the policy practitioners (politicians, diplomats, bureaucrats, academics, etc.) to be like a Swiss army penknife, i.e. with many functions as required, which detracts from the concept of the diaspora being clearly defined.

A broad and ambiguous use of the Turkish diaspora manifests itself much most clearly in the concept of fellow descendants. Aksel argues (2014: 205) that “The history of Turkey’s engagement with co-ethnics as a kin-state differs from the case of citizens abroad ... since the main determining factor is not emigration, but internal politics as well as immigration towards the country.” As discussed in this article, the term Turkish descendant is one of the important and problematic subjects of the Turkish diaspora and conceptual, legal and political developments regarding this term are problematic in several respects. Whilst in the Constitution, Turkishness is a legal concept based on citizenship rather than ethnic belonging, many legal regulations interpret and regulate Turkishness and Turkish descendants as an ethnic bond. These interpretations and regulations reveal a distorted situation regarding the existence of laws and other legal regulations that contradict the Constitution.

Politically, the concept of descendant is also becoming a controversial issue in Turkish political life. It is frequently used both in the debates and criticisms of politicians as well as in the official programmes of the political parties. The descendant concept undermines the inclusionary (everyone is equal without distinction regarding language, race, religion, etc.) approach of the Turkey and



leaves the question of “Why all Turkish citizens’ relatives/descendants are not equal for Turkey?” unanswered.

As in the case of fellow descendants, it is of utmost importance that academic research on social structures that can be considered as the subject of the Turkish diaspora is increased and political, legal and diplomatic arrangements are reconsidered in this context. Unfortunately, the concept descendant, which is ubiquitously used in Turkey, has not been adequately investigated; pronouncements are made and laws passed without asking questions, such as: What? Why? and How?. It is believed that this article has made a small, but valuable, contribution to the discussions on the Turkish diaspora and Turkish descendants.

References

- Acceptance and Settlement of Meskhetian Turks in Turkey. (1992, 11 July) Official Gazette (Law No: 3835). Accessed: <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.3835.pdf>.
- Adamson, F. B. (2019). “Sending States and the Making of Intra-Diasporic Politics: Turkey and Its Diaspora(s)”, *International Migration Review*, 53(1): 210-236.
- Aksel D. B. (2014). “Kins, Distant Workers, Diasporas: Constructing Turkey’s Transnational Members Abroad”, *Turkish Studies*, 15 (2): 195–219.
- Amending the Regulation Regarding Rules and Procedures on Hunter Training and Issuance of Hunting License. (2014). Official Gazette (Law No: 28942). <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/03/20140315-10.htm> (Accessed on 6 August 2019)
- “Bahçeli’den Erdoğan’a Sert Sözler” (2013). <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bahceliden-erdogana-sert-sozler-23724277> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- “Başbakan Yardımcısı Akdoğan’ın Kabulü” (2016). <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/basbakan-yardimcisi-akdoganin-kabulu-231005.html> (Accessed on 6 August 2019)
- Cabinet Decree No. 2016/9642. (2016). <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2016/12/20161227-1.pdf> (Accessed on 6 August 2019)
- “CHP Parti Programı” (2015). <https://chp.azureedge.net/1d48b01630ef43d9b2edf45d55842cae.pdf> (Accessed on 6 August 2019)
- Cin, M. (2005). “Türk Soylu Yabancıların Türkiye’de Çalışma Özgürlüğü”, *Mevzuat Dergisi*, 8(88): 1-14.
- “Çelik’ten Bahçeli’ye sert yanıt” (2013). <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/celikten-bahceliye-sert-yanit-23725101> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- “Demirtaş: Bayrak ve heykel yakanları kınıyorum” (2014). <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/demirtas-bayrak-ve-heykel-yakanlari-kiniyorum-27345547> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Davutoğlu, A. (12 May 2012). Conference at the YTB.
- “Davutoğlu: Dış Türkler ve dış Kürtler himayemiz altında” (2016). <http://www.ensonhaber.com/davutoglu-dis-turkler-ve-dis-kurtler-himayemiz-altinda-2016-04-05.html> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Facilitating Aliens of Turkish Descent to Perform Their Professions and Crafts Freely, and Their Employment in Public and Private Establishments or Businesses. (1981). Official Gazette (Law No: 2527). <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/3.5.85488.pdf> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- “Halkların Demokratik Partisi Programı” (2019). <http://www.hdp.org.tr/tr/parti/parti-programi/8> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Interim Article 5 in the Decree Law No. 375. (1989). <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/Metin1.aspx?MevzuatKod=4.5.375&MevzuatIliski=0&sourceXmlSearch=&Tur=4&Tertip=5&No=375> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- “İkamet Tezkereli Soydaşlara İstisnai Vatandaşlık Hakkı” (2017). <http://www.balturk.org.tr/ikamet-tezkereli-soydaslara-istisnai-vatandaslik-hakki/> (Accessed on 6 August 2019)
- “Kosova’da Soydaş Öğretmenler İçin Hizmet İçi Eğitim Düzenlendi” (2015). <https://www.yec.org.tr/tr/haber/kosovada-soydas-ogretmenler-icin-hizmet-ici-egitim-duzenlendi>. (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- “Mavi Kart (Eski Pembe Kart) Uygulaması” (2019). http://www.mfa.gov.tr/mavi-kart_ eski-pembe-kart _uygulamasi-tr.mfa (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Mencutek, Z.S., Baser, B. (2018). “Mobilizing Diasporas: Insights from Turkey’s Attempts to Reach Turkish Citizens Abroad”, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 20 (1): 86-105.

124 *Unbearable Lightness of Undefined Diaspora*

- “MHP Parti Programı” (2009). http://www.mhp.org.tr/usr_img/_mhp2007/kitaplar/mhp_parti_programi_2009_opt.pdf (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Oran, B. (2016). “Türk Teriminin Öyküsü”, In: E.Aktoprak and A.C. Kaya (eds.) 21. Yüzyılda Milliyetçilik: Teori ve Siyaset, İstanbul: İletişim Yay.
- Organization and Duties of Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (2010). Official Gazette (Law No: 5978). <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2010/04/20100406-1.htm> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Outreach for Teachers Who Are Foreign Nationals of Turkish Descent in Foreign Countries. (1960). Official Gazette (Law No: 168) <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.4.168.pdf> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Settlement Law. (2006). Official Gazette (Law No: 5543). <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5543.pdf>. (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- “T.C. Atina Büyükelçisi Kerim Uras Batı Trakya’da”, <http://www.batitrakya.org/bati-trakya-haber/tc-atina-buyukelcisi-kerim-uras-bati-trakyada.html> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- TDK, http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_bts (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- TMMOB, <https://www.tmmob.org.tr/sites/default/files/tara0001.pdf>, (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Turkish Citizenship Law (2009). Official Gazette (Law No: 5901). <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5901.pdf> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- Yaldız, F. (2018). “Türk Kamu Yönetiminde ‘Soydaş’ Sorunsalı: İç Politikadan Dış Politikaya”. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 51(4): 1-20.
- “YTB’den Roman Raporu” (2015). <http://www.radikal.com.tr/edirne-haber/balkan-romanlarinin-haklari-savunulacak-1392447/> (Accessed on 6 August 2019).
- “65. Hükümet Programı” (2016). https://meclishaber.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/haber_portal.aciklama?p1=137205 (Accessed on 6 August 2019)

