KURDISH TURKISH MIXED RACE INDIVIDUALS' IDENTITY
CONSTRUCTION PROCESSES COPING STRATEGIES AND THEIR VIEWS
ON PSYCHOTHERAPY


A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY


BY


PELŞİN ÜLGEN


IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY


JUNE 2018

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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**ABSTRACT**

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June 2018, 101 pages

The main aim of this thesis was to explore identity related experiences of Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals. Also, another aim was to investigate how these experiences influence participants psychological well-being and their attitudes toward psychotherapy and psychotherapist. A qualitative method was used to achieve these purposes. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight participants and they were analyzed through Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). As a result, five superordinate themes emerged from the data, which were (1) ethnic identification, (2) factors that influence identity, (3) mixed race difficulties in Turkey, (4) coping strategies, and (5) psychotherapy and mixed race identity. The result rection included these superordinate themes and their subordinate themes with the related quotations from participant's interviews. In the discussion section themes and their clinical implications were discussed in line with the relevant literature.

**Keywords:** Kurdish-Turkish Mixed Race, Identity Development, Coping Strategies, Ethnicity and Psychotherapy, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

# ÖZ

## KÜRT TÜRK MELEZİ BİREYLERİN KİMLİK GELİŞİM SÜRECİ BAŞ ETME STRATEJİLERİ VE PSİKOTERAPİYE DAİR GÖRÜŞLERİ

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Bu tezin temel amacı, Türkiye'de yaşayan, Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin kimlik deneyimlerini incelemektir. Ayrıca çalışmanın bir diğer amacı da bu bireylerin bahsedilen deneyimlerinin ve kimlikleri ile ilgili yaşadıkları 'sorunların' psikolojik sağlıklarını, psikoterapiye ve psikoteriste karşı tutumlarını (kimlik bağlamında) nasıl etkilediğini incelemektir. Bu hedeflere ulaşmak amacıyla nitel bir yaklaşım benimsenerek 8 katılımcı ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşmeler sonucunda elde edilen veriler Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz ile analiz edilmiştir. Bu analiz sonucunda (1) etnik tanımlama (2) tanımlamayı etkileyen faktörler (3) Türkiye'deki melezlerin yasadıkları zorluklar (4) baş etme stratejileri, ve (5) melez olmak ve psikoterapi isimli beş üst tema oluşturulmuştur. Sonuçlar kısmında bu beş üst tema ve onların alt temaları katılımcıların görüşmelerinden alınan alıntılar ile birlikte sunulmuştur. Tartışma bölümünde ise bu temalar, ilgili literatür de sunularak tartışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kürt-Türk Melezi, Kimlik Gelişimi, Baş Etme Stratejileri, Etnisite ve Psikoterapi, Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz

To the all invisible people…

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The population of mixed race individuals is increasing (Owen, 2001) and mixed race individuals are now the largest demographic group among U.S. citizens under the age of 18 (Greig, 2013). Yet, they are mostly overlooked by the mainstream media, educational materials, and psychological literature. It is a unique experience to develop a mixed race identity within a mono-racial context and mixed race individuals tend to struggle for developing a healthy identity (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). Mixed race individuals are generally considered as having a fragmented personality and are inherently marginalized (Mengel, 2001). These kinds of attitudes can result in unhealthy identity formation, psychological stress, and low self-esteem for mixed race individuals (Sue & Sue, 2003). There are an estimated one million Kurdish-Turkish mixed families living in Turkey (Ergil, 2000). Yet, in the Turkish psychology literature there is no study about Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals' identity construction experiences. Therefore, the aim of the current study is to understand mixed race identity development experiences of Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals in Turkey.

The contemporary view on race suggests that race is a social construct that changes with time, class, place, and gender (Olumide, 2002). Contrary to the contemporary one, the historical perspective on race views it as biologically determined (Blumenbach, 1968). According to this view, a predetermined number of races exist and each racial group has stable and inherent characteristics. This biologically based historical perspective caused oppression of minorities, strict sanctions for race mixing, and negative attitudes toward mixed race individuals (Root, 1992). Although there is increasing awareness about race as a social construct, the biological view on race still

1

plays a crucial role. For example, for the U.S. government, race is still a quantifiable category and an identity marker. The forms that U.S. Census Bureau (2000) uses still include questions asking racial classification (Das, 2010). With this example it is understood that race is still believed to be a measurable category. Laurie Mengel articulated about race discussions by stating that although race is not real, racism most certainly is (2001). In summary, the conflicts about race, whether it is a biologically determined notion or socially constructed phenomenon, continues. Meanwhile, social construction of race is challenged by the existence of mixed race individuals because they blur the picture (Das, 2010).

The term mixed race is difficult to define since its meaning changes with culture, class, ethnicity, gender, and other factors (Olumide, 2002, p. 1). Yet, in simple terms, mixed race means having biological parents belonging to different racial groups (Steele, 2012). Based on this definition, the term mixed race is related to the long history of anti-miscegenation laws in the United States. These laws banned the marriages of people from different races (Henriksen & Trusty, 2004) because mixed race individuals muddied boundaries of racial categories. These laws focused on Black and White marriages during the time of slavery. Although there were such rules, many mixed race children were born whose parents were white slave-owner men and black slave women (Sue & Sue, 2003). American Supreme Court abolished the law that forbade interracial marriages in 1967 (Spencer, 2006). This abolishment was followed by mixed race baby boom.

The language that is used to describe mixed race individuals has changed across time and contexts. For instance, the term *biracial* is a common term that is mostly used in the United States to describe mixed race individuals (Root, 1996). In addition to that, the term *half caste* was mostly used in England but now, it is considered pejorative (Ifekwunigwe, 2001). For the present study, I chose to use the term mixed race because biracial constrains the ancestry to two racial backgrounds and because half caste is considered as derogatory. In Turkey, there is no culture-specific term to describe

Turkish-Kurdish mixed race individuals because being Kurdish is not widely or officially recognized as an ethnic or racial identity.

Another issue that is still debated is mixed race identity. There were three different approaches about this issue (Steele, 2012). The first one is *Problem Approach.* Before 1950s, when racial inequality was prevalent in the U.S, mixed race individuals regarded as problematic (Thornton, 1996). In 1937, Stonequist was one of the researchers who adopted problem approach proposed *Marginal Person Model* which claimed that the identity construction of multiracial individual is marginalized since it leads to maladjustment, conflict, and confusion. The marginal man was described as a person who stucked between two identities but member of neither. Also, marginal man is defined as someone who is susceptible to experience isolation, rejection, and stigmatization both from majority groups and minority groups (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). For instance, a mixed race individual who has White and Asian parents discriminated not only by White people but also by Asian people in the United States (Root, 1996). Theorists called this as *dual minority status* (Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

The second approach is *Equivalent Approach*. With the changes in the climate of race-related politics in the United States in 1970s, researchers' perspectives about mixed race identity issues changed dramatically. It is assumed that there is no difference between the identity construction processes of mono-racial and multiracial individuals (Thornton, 1996). In order to describe mixed race individuals' identity construction processes scholars like Cross (1987) used general racial identity development models (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Yet, this model was criticized for not accounting mixed race individuals' possibility of identification with multiple groups (Poston, 1990). These models failed to describe mixed race individuals' identity development experiences even for the ones who identify themselves mono-racially (Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

The third and the last approach is *Variant Approach* which separated mixed race identity from mono-racial identity and viewed it as a special category (Thornton,

1996). Afterwards, specific mixed race identity development models were developed (Poston, 1990; Wijeyesinghe, 2001; Renn, 2004). These models shared common elements including a pressure to choose one of their identities, a stage in which great tension and conflict about racial identity were felt by multiracial individuals, and a final stage in which mixed race individuals experience appreciation, integration, acceptance, and valuing all sides of their multiracial identities (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Maria Root was one of the researchers who adopted variant approach. She presented a mixed race identity development model in 1990. She proposed that every person has critical periods that contain significant conflicts and these periods move them forward. The tension between the racial components is among these critical periods. Because strategies are neither linear nor mutually exclusive, Root deliberately preferred to use the term *strategies* rather than stages. In the model, there are four strategies.

*"Acceptance of the identity society assigns"* is the first strategy. Mixed race individuals who use this strategy identify themselves with the racial category imposed on them by the society. According to Root, this is a common strategy. With this strategy, a mixed race individual's identity becomes based on external or societal factors and a change in the social context may lead to change in *perception* of the individual's identity. For example, when a mixed race individual moves to a different part of a country, the perception of his or her racial identity may change. Consequently, by using this strategy, a mixed race individual may need to explain his or her chosen identity frequently, because the individual's *internal* identity is not likely to change with the place he or she moves (Root, 1990).

*"Identification with both racial groups"* is the second strategy that Maria Root proposed (p. 200). Those who use this strategy identify themselves with both or all of their racial background or as mixed race. Root claims that in order for a multiracial identity to be recognized, there must be a certain level of acceptance of boundary blurring. That's why this strategy is mostly seen in communities where there are large numbers of mixed race individuals. Mixed race individuals may feel privileged

4

because of belonging to both groups. On the other hand, if there is social resistance towards multiracial identification, mixed race individuals may need coping strategies to deal with such resistance.

"*Identification with a single racial group*" is the third strategy that Root suggested. A mixed race individual using this strategy chooses to define himself or herself with one of the racial groups. The difference between the first and the third strategy is that in the first, society assigns identity to the individual, whereas in the third the individual chooses one of the identities. If these individuals feel marginalized with their chosen identity in their proclaimed ethnic group, this strategy can be challenging. Also, if there is a difference between how individuals perceive themselves and how society identifies them, this strategy can also be challenging (1990).

*"Identification as a new racial group"* is the fourth, and the final strategy (Root, 1990, p. 201). Mixed race individuals using this strategy identify themselves almost entirely as mixed race. Rather than non-mixed race individuals, they feel kinship with other mixed race individuals. Although the ones using this strategy may face a lack of social recognition for their mixed identity, this is generally a positive strategy. The difference between the second and the fourth strategy is that in the second mixed individuals identify themselves with both or all of their identities such as both as Kurdish and Turkish. Yet, in the fourth strategy they identify as solely mixed apart from being Kurdish and Turkish.

In addition to Maria Root's Mixed Race Identity Development Model, Charmaine Wijeyesinghe developed Factor Model of Multiracial Identity (FMMI) based on a qualitative study of multiracial (Black/White) adults. In the study, a range of racial identities including Black, White, and Multiracial were chosen by the participants who varied in age, gender, socioeconomic class, and life experiences. Factors such as physical appearance, racial ancestry, cultural attachment, early experience and socialization, political awareness and orientation, spirituality, other social identities,

and social and historical context were investigated to understand mixed race individuals' choices of racial identity and experiences. There were overlapping relationships between many of the factors (Wijeyesinghe, 2001). Persons who identified themselves as mono-racial, mainly based their racial identity on their current political and cultural orientations, and physical appearance. On the other hand, individuals who identified themselves as multiracial, based their racial identity generally on their racial ancestry, early socialization, and physical appearances. The current study aims to explore the factors that have influence on Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals' racial identity development which will provide a deeper understanding in this issue and also will enhance the current literature.

People of mixed identity tend to face discrimination either when they are a visible minority or when they are placed into a mono-racial category by the society (Sue & Sue, 2003). The source of discrimination can be other individuals, the society as a whole, or institutions and governments. For example, the government of Canada used census forms that only allowed individuals to choose one ethnic or racial origin until 1996. However, in 1996, Statistics Canada started to use open-ended questions that enabled mixed race individuals to indicate their ethnic origin freely without forcing to choose one of their identity. United State did this revision in their census form for the first time in 2000 (Davis, 2006). Although there are such regulations in official areas, there still are beliefs regarding race and race mixing in daily life which continue to have effects on the mixed race individuals' identity construction process (Das, 2010). In the history of North America, especially United States and Canada, being mixed race has been considered as being the product of an unnatural mixture (Stonequist, 1937). Mixed race individuals were treated badly due to their ambiguous ethnicity. They were marginalized because of being mixed race. These kinds of experiences had negative effects on the mental health of mixed race individuals (Reuter, 1938). Likewise, because they were marginalized in the society, it was reported that mixed race individuals tend to have neurotic personality traits (Park, 1950). It is important to note that such personality traits do not arise because these individuals are mixed race,

but because there is systemic discrimination against them. Otherwise, it will result in pathologizing mixed race people for being mixed which implies that they are less than a whole (Mengel, 2001) and which reciprocally enables anti-miscegenation theorists who argued that mixed race individuals were inherently pathological to support their arguments (Das, 2010).

Discrimination against mixed race individuals is still continuing. Research consistently indicated that mixed race individuals faced with the pressure to choose only one of their racial identities and they are exposed to discrimination and racism (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). They are also exposed to conflicting messages about race from community and family (Piskacek, & Golub, 1973). Also, they experience double rejection from both dominant and minority groups (Root, 1996). According to the result of a study, there is a significant correlation between the pressure (especially by peers) to identify with only one race and mixed race individuals' social anxiety (Coleman & Carter, 2007). Sometimes discrimination was verbal and sometimes there were physical attacks that targeted a mixed race individual's racial minority status or his or her mixed race identity (Jackson, 2009). For instance, results of a study showed that compared to mono-racial Black students, mixed race students experienced physical discrimination like being shoved, pushed, and elbowed more frequently. They also perceived the racial discrimination more than mono-racial Black students do (Brackett et. al, 2006). These kinds of discriminatory acts are significant risk factors for the well-being and health of mixed race minorities (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). That is why mixed race individuals need to cope with such discriminatory encounters in order to keep their health and well-being.

Coping is defined as a process that involves individuals' cognitive or behavioral efforts to manage internal and external requests that exceed their resources (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000, p. 79). The relationship between a stressor like racial prejudice or discrimination and stress that derived from it can be mediated with coping responses (Lazarus, 1990). In a qualitative study investigating the coping strategies of

mixed race students in response to discrimination and prejudice, researchers (Museus, Sariñana, & Ryan, 2015) found four general coping responses. The first one was *educating others* which indicated educating others about one's racial identities and trying to increase awareness about multiracial issues. The second one was *utilizing support networks,* which amounted to mixed race students' search for and effort to create support networks. *Embracing fluidity* was the third one and it meant that students challenged racial boundaries with the help of their multiracial identities. By doing this, multiracial students interacted with students who have different ethnic or racial identities. The fourth and the last one is *avoiding confrontation,* which indicated that mixed race students lessened the discrimination and prejudice they face by decreasing the salience of these experiences. The authors found two kinds of avoidance: physical and cognitive avoidance. While physical avoidance meant intentionally evading the places that participants felt they were more likely (re)-face with racial exclusion or identity invalidation. Cognitive avoidance indicated rationalization of discrimination as benign in order to avoid conflict (Museus et al., 2015).

In another study Jackson, Wolven, and Aguilera (2013) reported that Mixed Mexican Americans used eight interrelated protective processes in order to navigate the stressors related to mixed race identity. These protective processes were grouped into three general categories: internal strengths, interpersonal skills, and external supports. Internal strengths included *ethnic pride, critiquing race,* and *exploring culture*; interpersonal skills contained *flexing ethnicity, strategic relations,* and *defending the self*; and external supports consisted of *culturally affirming spaces* and *creative outlets.* Participants who used *ethnic pride* explained that they are proud of their non-Mexican and mixed race identities both. They explained that being mixed race made them feel closer to their racial group and reciprocally lessened the feeling of isolation. *Critiquing race* was the second internal strength and it meant that participants questioned false beliefs regarding race being a biological phenomenon. This enabled them to lessen the effects of discrimination. *Exploring culture* was the last internal strength and it

indicated that participants explored their ethnic origins by reading about history, learning the language, and taking classes in the college. This helped them develop bonds with their ethnic group, which in turn increased the pride about being mixed race.

About interpersonal skills, *flexing the ethnicity* was the first process and it meant that by claiming membership to one ethnic identity or by showing stereotypical characteristics of a certain racial group, participants shifted their ethnicity from one situation to another one. By doing this flexing, they avoided discriminatory actions of others. Another interpersonal strategy that participants used was *strategic relations.* Participants appeared to make conscious decisions when forming their social network and get closer to some ethnic or racial groups and stay away from others. By doing this, they prevented conflicts or discomfort associated with their past prejudicial experiences. *Defending the self* was the final strategy. Participants who used this strategy defended their ethnic identity when they faced with discrimination by using sarcasm, passive aggression, or physical aggression (Jackson et al., 2013).

When it comes to external supportive factors, the first one was *having culturally affirming spaces* where participants' chosen identities were accepted, which made them feel more comfortable. By looking into the cultural composition of the individuals in the settings, participants differentiated supportive settings (including persons who look like them) from unsupportive ones. In these settings participants felt safer and they could be themselves. The second and the last externally supportive factor that participants reported was *having creative outlets,* which included creative activities like writing poetry, sewing, listening to music, and writing graffiti. Such activities enabled participants to affirm the experiences associated with their racial or ethnic identities (Jackson et al., 2013). The current study aims to investigate the coping strategies that Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals use in the face of discrimination.

Sometimes these coping strategies may not be sufficient for mixed race individuals in dealing with such difficulties. In that point, they may need psychotherapy. Here, the important thing becomes mixed race individuals' attitudes toward psychotherapy and psychotherapist. In the literature, there was not any study that shows Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals' attitudes toward psychotherapy or psychotherapist. In this regard, the present study will be the first. Therefore, the literature mentioned in this section was mostly about Black and White mixed race issues related to psychotherapy or counseling. For instance, Fielder's theory of assumed similarity indicates that if the counselor thinks that her personal characteristics resemble those of the client, the therapeutic relationship is enhanced. That is, White counselors may think that White clients have had similar experiences to them, the same might be true for Black counselors and clients. On the other hand, it is difficult for a therapist to know how similar a mixed race client is to themselves, therefore, multiracial individuals may be perceived as different by their therapists, which hinders the therapeutic relationship (1951). Mixed-race therapists emphasized the complexities of the transference and countertransference feelings when working with a patient of similar race (Millar, 2014). For instance, while White therapists generally indicated that their Black patients were impulsive, aggressive, and lacking insight, they also noted their uncomfortable but powerful countertransference feelings like feelings of superiority and guilt of social injustice because of being a member of a White-dominant culture. On the other hand, Black patients generally reported the feeling of being devalued, misunderstood, persecuted, and paranoid. Yet, at the same time, they indicated the feeling of envy of their therapist's position. That is, they also idealize their therapist (Yi, 1998). In the opposite situation which is a new dynamic -Black Therapist and White patient- the White patient can have feelings like hostility, superiority, devaluation of the ethnic therapist's linguistic and intellectual competence and paranoid fears about the aggressive power of the Black therapist. On the other hand, Black therapist feels inferior, aggressive and as a paranoid object through the transference or countertransference mechanisms (Yi, 1998).

Contemporary theorists suggested that mixed race individuals experience marginalization because of system-based discrimination (Sue & Sue, 2003). Also, mixed race individuals are usually exposed to exclusion and rejection by others or even by friends and family members, which may result in identity related distress (Root, 1992). Although changing the system or increasing the awareness of individuals who discriminate against mixed race individuals may be the ideal solutions to the problem, it is rather difficult to achieve. Also, despite such coping strategies, mixed race persons still experience identity related distress (Root, 1992), and their well-being and health is affected by their negative experiences (Williams et al., 2003). That's why, culturally sensitive counselling strategies should be used by psychotherapists in order to promote healthy mixed race identity development (Sue & Sue, 2003). Sue and Sue (2003) recommended some strategies for psychologists to have better clinical practices when working with mixed race individuals. They suggested that when working with a mixed race client, it is important for a psychologist to have basic historical, social, political and psychological knowledge related to certain ethnic group. Also, they proposed that psychologists should become aware of their own prejudicial thoughts and beliefs about interracial marriages and mixed race individuals; through this, they can refrain from imposing those beliefs upon their clients. Moreover, they recommended psychotherapists to avoid stereotyping their clients because those stereotypes may result in ignoring the clients' uniqueness. Also, they proposed that therapists should always remember that mixed race individuals try to cope with isolation, marginality, and loneliness which are the results of external factors like prejudice and discrimination. Finally, they claimed that it is important for psychologists to underline multiracial individuals' freedom to choose their identity. In addition to Sue and Sue's guideline, Maria Root claimed that when working with mixed race clients, psychologist should first recognize their own racist attitudes and thoughts about mixed individuals. Afterwards, they should challenge these notions and only then they can work with these individuals (1990). Because the current study aimed to understand mixed race individuals' lived experiences, difficulties they faced, and their attitude toward psychotherapist and therapy in general, the results of the study will help

11

psychotherapists to increase knowledge and awareness about mixed race individuals, which in turn may increase the effectiveness of therapy with them. Therefore, it is important that researchers and psychotherapists to take appropriate steps in order to promote healthy mixed race identity development and to decrease the effect of difficulties and discrimination that mixed raced individuals face by focusing on supportive measures.

In Turkish context, Kurdish people are the largest minority and they too face discrimination and difficulties regarding their ethnic identity development. According to 2001 statistics there are 13 million Kurds living in Turkey, which corresponds to over 20 percent of Turkey's population (Karimova & Deverell, 2001). According to Chakrabarty, the history of Kurds in Turkey can be identified as the *minority history*. He argued that sometimes an ethnic group that is the majority in numbers can be considered as a minority (Chakrabarty & Wong, 2001). Based on Chakrabarty's argument, it can be said that Kurdish people in Turkey have minority status even though in some parts of the country they are the majority. These parts are the Eastern regions of Turkey (Gündoğdu, 2017). Eleven provinces of the southeast Turkey is concentrated with the Kurdish population (Karimova & Deverell, 2001). In the eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey, Kurds constitute 70 percent of the population (Mutlu, 1996).

After World War One, only the non-Muslim communities in Turkey gained a minority status with the Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed in 1923. Majority of Kurds are Muslim and consequently, they were not given ethnic, national, or linguistic minority status (Karimova & Deverell, 2001). Turkish state has accepted Kurds as citizens with the condition of giving up Kurdish identity and accepting Turkish identity (Göçek, 2011). Perhaps as a result, there is no exact statistics about the number of Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals living in Turkey. Ergil stated that there are an estimated one million Kurdish-Turkish mixed families living in Turkey. Also, according to the results of a survey which is conducted by Politics, Economy and Society Research

Foundation, SETA (Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2010) to investigate Kurdish and Turkish citizens' attitudes toward each other, 33,8 % of the Turkish participants reported that they have a close Kurdish relative while 67% of the Kurdish participants reported that they have a close Turkish relative. These statistics showed that more than one-third of Turkish and more than half of the Kurdish citizens have kinship with the other group. That is, although there is no accurate number of Kurdish-Turkish mixed race population in Turkey, it can be assumed that the number is not small. Moreover, when considering the increasing migration from east side where Kurdish population is concentrated to the West of Turkey where Turkish population is concentrated, the number of mixed race Kurdish-Turkish individuals may be on the rise, which again makes it important to study this subject.

As the largest ethnic minority group without an official minority status, Kurds have been exposed to discrimination and animosity in Turkey (Ergil, 2000). The image of being a barbarian, backward and vulgar is attributed to Kurdish population. Similarly, mainstream media represents Kurds as backward Muslims, members of tribes, smugglers, and as economically and culturally underdeveloped (Sonnenschein, 2013). Mesut Yeğen argued that Kurds are regarded as *Pseudo-Citizens*, *Prospective-Turks,* or *Turks-to-be* in contemporary Turkey (Yeğen, 2009). The government prohibits the teaching of Kurdish in schools and the broadcasting of Kurdish radio and television programs, although Kurdish is the mother tongue of as many as one in five citizens of Turkey (Ergil, 2000). Also, lynching Kurdish seasonal workers is not rare in western cities of Turkey (Saraçoğlu, 2010). According to result of a study conducted in İzmir (a western city of Turkey), two common stereotypes about Kurds were that they are *scroungers* and *they disrupt urban life* (Saraçoğlu, 2010). Moreover, there has been news about Kurdish passengers who are kicked out of interurban bus because of speaking Kurdish (Sol Haber, 2011). A Kurdish word that is also used in Turkish exemplifies the negative bias against Kurdish people in Turkey. The word *kıro* means being coercive, non-urban, and behaving unmannerly in Turkish. Yet, this word comes from Kurdish and means *son*. Although there are some findings regarding the

discrimination and stereotypes that Kurds face, we know very little about the kinds of discrimination that mixed race individuals face. Therefore, the present study aimed to increase our understanding of the difficulties and discrimination that Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals face.

In summary, there is extensive empirical and theoretical work on Black and White mixed race experience in the North American academic literature. However, the amount of information on Non-Black-White mixed race individuals in general and Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals in particular was surprisingly very little in Turkish literature. Moreover, to the best of this author's knowledge, there is not any study on Kurdish-Turkish mixed individuals' identity construction. Consequently, the present study aimed to explore the following research questions:

1. What are the experiences of Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals in Turkey?
2. How do they perceive and cope with discrimination and difficulties they face because of being mixed race?
3. How do mixed-raced individuals relate mixed race difficulties with the need to receive psychotherapy?

# CHAPTER 2

## METHOD

While human beings try to make sense of the world, they construct their reality and meaning. Qualitative researchers aim to discover those meanings (Howitt, 2010). Qualitative methodology is especially preferred when the social situation that will be investigated is a complex and a novel one (Howitt, 2010). Qualitative research design was thought to be the most appropriate for the current study, because the aim of the current study was to understand the experiences of Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals in Turkey, which is a complex social situation that has not been researched much previously. More specifically, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used in the current study. IPA aims to explore in detail how individuals perceive the particular situations they face and how they make sense of their personal and social world, rather than making more general claims of the world prematurely (Smith & Osborn, 2003). IPA has its roots in health psychology; however, with time, it spread to other areas of psychology like social and clinical psychology (Howitt, 2010).

The epistemological standing of the researcher was a *contextual constructionist* position, which rejects the notion that one can achieve reality with the help of correct methodology (Madill, Jordan, & Shirley, 2000). The subjectivity of researcher is very significant, because she or he has an important role in the process of knowledge construction. Accordingly, researcher and participants are conscious beings who try to make sense of the world around them (Madill et al., 2000). Therefore, informing readers about the researcher and the meaning construction process is crucial (Willig, 2013), which was included in the Reflexivity part of the methodology. Ontologically, researcher adopted a *critical realist* position, which means that although there is an objective truth, only a small part of it can be known by individuals (Howitt, 2010).

## 2.1 Participants

In IPA, large sample sizes are not recommended because it has an idiographic approach that emphasizes a detailed exploration of each participant's experience. Usually, 1-15 sample size is recommended (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Consistent with the IPA guidelines, the researcher aimed to have a homogenous sample that provides a more reliable basis to investigate the similarities and differences of participants (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). In order to have a rather homogenous sample, which is consistent with IPA guidelines, purposive sampling method was used. Participants were included in the study if they had one parent who was Kurdish and one who was Turkish, if they had been raised at a metropolis where the majority of the population is Turkish, specifically Ankara or Istanbul, and if they were older than 20 years of age. Eight (2 male and 6 female) Kurdish-Turkish Mixed race individuals were accepted as participants. Their ages ranged between 22 and 35 ($M = 26.75$, $SD = 3.88$). Three of the participants had Kurdish mother and Turkish father. Five of them had Turkish mother and Kurdish father. Two of them were raised in Istanbul and six of them were raised in Ankara. Four of the participants had received psychotherapy, one of them was still receiving psychotherapy at the time of the interview, while three of them had never received psychotherapy (see Table 1).

Table 1

*Sociodemographic and Psychological Information of Participants*

| Name of the Participants | Gender | Age | Where They were Raised | Socioeconomic Status | Previous Psychotherapy Experience |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kerim | Male | 25 | Ankara | High | No |
| Öykü | Female | 29 | İstanbul | High | Yes |
| Başak | Female | 27 | İstanbul | Moderate | Yes |
| Zelal | Female | 24 | Ankara | Moderate-High | Yes |
| Ümit | Male | 22 | İstanbul | Low | Yes |
| Su | Female | 25 | Ankara | High | No |
| Yekbun | Female | 35 | Ankara | Moderate | Yes |
| Gözde | Female | 26 | Ankara | Moderate | No |

**2.2 Materials**

Initially, a socio-demographic question form was used which was established beforehand by the researcher and her supervisor (see Appendix A). It included questions regarding participants' age, gender, city where they were raised, marital status, socioeconomic status, employment status, and previous psychotherapy experience. Further, a semi-structured interview protocol was constructed by the researcher and reviewed by her supervisor (Assoc. Prof. Deniz Canel Çınarbaş) in order to gather information about Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals' experiences (see Appendix B). While constructing interview questions, literature was reviewed in order to have an idea about the questions that studies with similar research topics used. After that, the questions were tested in a pilot study. However, no changes were made regarding questions after the pilot interview. Semi-structured interview format is the most widely used one in Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. This

method of data collection is recommended (Willig, 2013) if the researcher is interested in collecting extensive and detailed information about a lived phenomenon.

## 2.3 Procedure

Initially, permission from Middle East Technical University's Ethical Committee was obtained for the study. Later, the researcher used snowball sampling method and asked friends whether they know someone whose parents are Kurdish and Turkish. Which parent (mother or father) is Kurdish or Turkish was not controlled. After getting information about potential participants, the researcher reached them via e-mail or telephone. Participants were informed about the study, their questions about the study were answered, and an appointment was made if they were willing to participate. Six of the interviews took place in the psychotherapy rooms of the Department of Psychology at Middle East Technical University, one of them took place in the participant's office, and one of them was at a coffee shop. First, informed consent was obtained from the participants which included an explanation about the aim and the process of the study, confidentiality principles, and ethical considerations (see Appendix C). All of the interviews were recorded with a tape recorder. Demographic questions were asked initially to provide a warm up before the interview questions. After that, the interview questions were asked and probed as needed.

## 2.4 Analysis

IPA has three main features which are idiographic, inductive, and interrogative (Smith, 2004). Idiographic feature means that the researcher conducts a detailed examination of one case until some degree of closure is achieved. Inductive feature of IPA indicates that instead of hypotheses, a researcher should establish broader research questions that allow topics to emerge from data. Finally, interrogative feature means that the researcher should make a contribution to psychology through interrogating and

illuminating the existing research. That is, the results of the analysis are discussed in relation to the existing psychological literature (Smith, 2004).

Fundamental principles of IPA combine Husserl's phenomenology and Heidegger's hermeneutics. The former one permits an investigation of individual's lived experiences which are called phenomena. The latter one, which is based on Heidegger's hermeneutics, indicates that the focus is on how people make sense of these experiences (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). In addition, IPA is based on double hermeneutics, which indicates that in the process of meaning making both the researcher and the participant have active roles. That is, while participants are trying to make sense of the world, researchers are trying to make sense of those participants' sense making by looking from their perspective, by entering into the personal world of participants, and by exploring their experiences in detail (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

In line with these guidelines, all the records of participants were transcribed verbatim and in order to gain sufficient amount of familiarity, the transcription of the first interview was read several times. Afterwards, the researcher took notes on the left margin of the transcript. These notes included summary of what participants said, their meanings, and researcher's observations about the interviewees. Afterwards, the themes that emerged from these notes were written on the right margin of the transcripts, which is called theme abstraction process (Smith & Osborn, 2003). The emergent themes were listed on a sheet of paper and the researcher tried to make sense of the connections between them. Some of the themes (subordinate) clustered together and created a superordinate theme. Then, for the first interview, the superordinate and subordinate themes were created and the connections between all the themes were noted. The same procedure was repeated for all of the participants. Finally, in order to detect recurrent themes, cross-case comparison was made and a table was formed with key sentences from the interview transcripts (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

## 2.5 Trustworthiness of the Study

In qualitative studies there are some standards which allow researchers to have credible results. Fischer (2009) and Morrow (2005) explained 4 standards which are subjectivity, reflexivity, adequacy of data, and adequacy of interpretation. In the current study, all of these standards were taken into consideration. First of all, for the current study it was assumed that researcher's perspective had effects on interpretations and could never be separated from the process of attaining knowledge (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, the subjective position of the researcher was included as a part of data analysis (Fischer, 2009).

Reflexivity is the second standard of trustworthiness in qualitative research. It indicates transparency of the researchers in terms of informing readers about their own processes. Reflexivity helps readers to be involved in the study process more and also enables them to develop alternative readings of the study (Fischer, 2009). Researchers try to bracket out their sociocultural background, personal experience, and assumptions about the research topic in order to be open to the emerging themes. In accordance with the reflexivity standard of the qualitative study, this researcher's own influence was questioned and reported in the reflexivity section. There are a number of strategies that are suggested for being aware of the subjective position of the researcher which were attempted to be used for the current study (Finlay, 2002). For example, researcher's observations about the participants which contain relevant information were included in the reports (Elliott, Fischer, & Rennie, 1999). Also, self-reflective notes were taken during the research process. Moreover, from participant's interviews, several direct quotations were used for supporting the emerging themes. In addition to that, during the analysis process, a peer who is also using IPA in her thesis and the thesis supervisor (Assoc. Prof. Deniz Canel Çınarbaş) were consulted for feedback about the emerging themes.

When it comes to the third standard which is collection of adequate data, for the current study, multiple sources of data were employed in order to reach this aim. Researcher used her reflexive notes, interview contents, and participant checks. For participants check the researcher restated or summarized the information that participants reported and then questioned the participants to determine accuracy during the interviews. The final standard which is adequacy of interpretation was employed by reading the interview transcripts several times in order to get immersed in the data. Also, the audio records listened to several times and the researcher's self-reflective notes were re-read during the process of analysis (Frost, 2011).

## 2.6 Reflexivity

My interest in this topic comes from my personal experience. I am Kurdish, but I was born and raised in İstanbul where majority of the population is Turkish. Although both my father and mother are Kurdish, I have been raised in a bicultural environment; at home as Kurdish and outside of our home as Turkish. Being in between two cultures was a difficult experience. Belonging to one side, or another, or both always made me feel confused since my childhood. These difficulties brought up some questions for me such as: How do mixed-race children identify themselves; how do they experience the identity construction process; what kinds of difficulties or discrimination do they face because of being mixed-race?

I did not tell the participants about my personal experience during the interviews. Yet, generally at the end of the interviews I shared my own experiences with them if they asked me in order ease the process for the participants. That is, I wanted them to be open and not to answer the questions in a socially desirable way. However, I think almost all of them had known my ethnic origin since the beginning of the interviews, because of my research interest and my name which is Kurdish. This may have influenced the participants when deciding which ethnic side they identified themselves with and to which side they felt closest. That is, they may have had difficulty in

identifying themselves as solely Turkish, because although almost all of the participants reported that they *feel* Turkish when they were asked '*…how do you define yourself…*' no one defined himself or herself as solely Turkish. This may be because of my ethnic origin or because of social desirability since choosing the dominant culture could be seen as an inappropriate attitude for individuals who are university students or graduates.

Also, the participants might have had difficulty in openly reflecting their negative attitudes and anger towards Kurds, because most of the participants showed subtle internalized racism toward Kurdish people during the interviews. Also, I observed this socially desirable attitude most when I was asking questions about psychotherapy and ethnic identity. One of the questions was asking whether the ethnic identity of the psychotherapist is important to them and almost all of the participant answered this saying that it did not matter. I thought that because I am a Kurdish psychologist, it might be difficult to admit that it would matter. Only one participant answered this question in the following way: "I would prefer a Turkish psychologist, because being Kurdish somehow means being less professional."

In the interview, there was a question about participants' discrimination experiences due to being mixed race. There were participants who responded with *"No, I do not remember any discrimination"* but who also reported discrimination experiences before that question. At those times, I tried to give information about what discrimination means, reminding the examples that they had previously mentioned. During the process of analysis this attitude of participants was coded as lack of political awareness in relation to discrimination recognition because some of the participants were surprised when I told them what they reported before was actually discrimination. For some others, it was coded as cognitive avoidance, because they had political awareness (they knew what discrimination was), however they seemed to be avoiding the burden of being discriminated against, and they believed that they had not suffered any discrimination. Also, I might have had the implicit motivation to make the

participants aware of the discriminatory action of others. Through this, I might have tried to increase their awareness since in general I am sensitive and reactive about the negative experiences of minority individuals in Turkey.

Also, I felt disappointed after the first few interviews, because I realized that all the participants that I interviewed saw themselves as Turkish and had a negative attitude toward Kurdish people. Additionally, I felt uncomfortable during some interviews because participants used pejorative language while talking about Kurdish people, calling them uncivilized, dirty, unprofessional, rude etc.

Lastly, at the end of the thesis I realized that I found or interpreted very few findings about the advantages of being mixed race which might have resulted from my assumptions related to mixed race experiences. That is, I might have had the preassumptions like being mixed race or minority in Turkey brings only negative experiences.

# CHAPTER 3

## RESULTS

As a result of the analysis of eight interviews, five superordinate themes were abstracted. An overview of the superordinate and subordinate themes were presented in Table 2.

Table 2.

*List of Superordinate and Subordinate Themes*

| Superordinate Themes | Subordinate Themes |
| --- | --- |
| Ethnic Identification | Identity as a Changing Construct |
| | Identification as mixed race |
| | Identification with hometown |
| | Identification as Kurdish |
| | No racial identification |
| | Identity that society assigns |
| | |
| Factors that Influence Identity | Influence of family |
| | Influence of being raised in the West |
| | Influence of discrimination |
| | Influence of language |
| | |
| Mixed Race Difficulties in Turkey | Discrimination |
| | Lack of belongingness -being in between |

Table 2. (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| Coping Strategies | Avoidance |
| | Overt reaction |
| | Devaluation of the discriminator |
| | Strategic relationships and culturally affirming spaces |
| | Critiquing race |
| | Shifting the ethnicity |
| Psychotherapy and Mixed Race Identity | Evaluations about mixed race difficulties and psychotherapy |
| | Evaluations about psychotherapists |

## 3.1 Ethnic Identification

The first superordinate theme was named *ethnic identification*. It includes participants' descriptions of their ethnic identification. That is, this theme encapsulates how participants identified themselves racially. Some of the participants identified themselves as mixed race and some others as Kurdish while some of them rejected to identify themselves with an ethnic category. Also, it is important to remark that although participants identified themselves diversely (as Kurdish, as mixed, or with no racial identification), when it came to feelings, almost all of the participants reported that they felt Turkish. This superordinate theme has five subordinate themes which are: (3.1.1) identity as a changing construct; (3.1.2) identification as mixed race; (3.1.3) identification with hometown; (3.1.4) identification as Kurdish; (3.1.5) no racial identification; and (3.1.6) identity that society assigns.

### 3.1.1 Identity as a Changing Construct

Participants' identifications changed either during the interview or in different stages of their lives. Four participants have changed their identification during the course of their lives. One of them was Gözde, who chose to identify herself as Turkish until she started university. After that, she preferred to identify herself as mixed race. She explained the reason of this change as follows:

> I think it is about political awareness. Until university, I can say that I identified myself solely as Turkish. Yet, at the university I met people from different ethnic backgrounds who were debating about politics, ethnicity etc. I realized that everyone had an opinion about such issues and I did not because I did not encounter these kinds of talks in my family until that time. Then, I became aware of these issues and felt comfortable in expressing my identity as mixed race.

Also, participants' identification seemed to change from one situation to another or from one place to another in their lives. That's why, participants who identified themselves as Kurdish and who were included in the *identification as Kurdish* subordinate theme could also be included in the *no racial identification* theme at a different time or in a different situation.

### 3.1.2 Identification as Mixed Race

The first subordinate theme was *identification as mixed race*. This theme represents the thoughts of five participants. Participants who identified themselves as mixed race embraced both Kurdish and Turkish identity. A quote from Ümit's interview can be given as an example: "In general, I do not say I am Turkish. When somebody asks me, I say I am half Turkish, half Kurdish." Similar to Ümit's response, Yekbun said, "When they ask me about my identity, I say that my father is Kurdish and my mother is Turkish. That's why, I am half Kurdish and half Turkish."

### 3.1.3 Identification with Hometown

The second subordinate theme of ethnic identification was *identification with hometown*. Seven of the participants reported that they felt that they belonged to their birth place which is either İstanbul or Ankara. Yekbun explained this in the following way:

> We [siblings] were not raised as Kurdish because we were raised in Ankara. Actually, we were neither raised as if we were from Siirt [a Kurdish city, father's hometown] nor raised as if we were from Muğla [a Turkish city, mother's hometown]. In that sense, one or two years ago, I asked myself who I was, to which city I feel that I belong. In the end, I answered this question by deciding that I am from Ankara and I feel that I belong to Ankara where I was born and raised.

### 3.1.4 Identification as Kurdish

The third subordinate theme was *identification as Kurdish*. Among participants two of them identified themselves as solely Kurdish. An excerpt from Zelal's interview will exemplify this: "I identified myself as Kurdish. I feel like I am Kurdish which is maybe because of the things that I experienced related to my ethnic identity."

Seven of them reported that when there is a discrimination towards Kurdish people, they identify themselves as Kurdish as a reaction to the discrimination. Başak explained this issue in the following way:

> Although I do not have Kurdish features and I feel and look like Turkish, when faced with someone that denigrates the Kurdish people or Kurdish issues, I react by becoming provocative and aggressive and defend the Kurds. At this time, my Kurdish side comes to the fore.

Similarly, Kerim, in response to the discrimination that he faced at the university said, "I began to defend and embrace my Kurdish identity when people treated me in a bad manner because of my Kurdish identity at the university."

## 3.1.5 No Racial Identification

The fourth subordinate theme was *no racial identification*. Some participants refused to identify themselves with an ethnic or racial category. Two participants totally rejected identification. They refused the notion of race, racial boundaries, racial categories and the pressure of identification with an ethnic cathegory. To clarify the no racial identification subtheme, a quote from Öykü's transcript can be given as an example:

> I am a world citizen. It is really like this. The identity issue is not important to me at all. I see racial identities in terms of cultural values. Also, I do not have any features with which I can relate my ethnic identity. I cannot say I act like this because I am Turkish or I behave like that because I am Kurdish. I am none of them; neither Kurdish nor Turkish.

## 3.1.6 Identity that Society Assigns

The last subordinate theme was termed as *identity that society assigns*. Participants indicated that people in the society have a presumption about their ethnic identity. Except for Zelal, who has a Kurdish name and who indicated that people assign her the Kurdish identity, all participants reported that people attribute them the Turkish identity. Also, participants reported that when they express their identity as mixed race or Kurdish, people are surprised and sometimes they do not even believe them. An excerpt from Gözde's interview can exemplify this:

> Society assigns me the Turkish identity because of these reasons: I was raised in the capital of Turkey [Ankara]; I do not have the physical features that society associates with Kurdish individuals; and I do not have a Kurdish accent.

When I express my identity, they are surprised. One of them even said, 'How can your mother be Kurdish, you do not look like Kurds. Kurdish people are not blonde and blue-eyed. You should check your ethnicity again.' They challenged my ethnicity and insisted that I check it.

Similarly, Öykü said, "Society attributes a Turkish identity to me, which is perhaps because I do not know Kurdish, I do not speak with a Kurdish accent, and my name is Turkish."

## 3.2 Factors that Influence Identity

The second superordinate theme was called *factors that influence identity*. Participants provided that their family, the region that they were raised in, the language they speak, and their discrimination experiences have affected their identity choices. Therefore, this superordinate theme has four subordinate themes which are (3.2.1) influence of family; (3.2.2) influence of being raised in the West; (3.2.3) influence of discrimination; and (3.2.4) influence of language.

### 3.2.1 Influence of Family

*Influence of family* was the first subordinate theme. This theme included participants' comments about their immediate and extended family members' influences on their identification process. Also, this theme included the observations of the researcher. Some participants reported that their Kurdish parents were not traditionally Kurdish; did not try to keep Kurdish rituals alive and did not teach these rituals or Kurdish language to their children, which affected their identification process. That is, five of the participants indicated that their Kurdish parent was assimilated into the Turkish way of life. A quote from Öykü's interview can be given as an example:

There was no difference between being Kurdish or Turkish for me because my mother [Kurdish parent] was very similar to a Turkish woman. She had lost her cultural values. She knows nothing about Kurdish culture. As a child, I could

not understand whether being Kurdish is something different from being Turkish because my mother was not different from my father [Turkish parent].

Similar to Öykü, Gözde said, "My mother is Kurdish and my father is Turkish but they did not live differently. They are the same. I did not feel as if I lived with two different cultures. My mother was not sustaining her Kurdishness, she was like my father." On the other hand, it was observed that participants with a politically aware parent who emphasized Kurdish cultural values and who also tried to teach these values to their children, identified themselves as Kurdish. An excerpt from Su's interview can clarify this issue:

> My father [Kurdish parent] explained everything clearly; where we came from and our ethnicity. I have known that I am Kurdish since my childhood. My father told me everything about the history of the Kurdish people. He told me what is and is not written in the school books. He bought me a lot of books to read in order to understand the Kurdish issues.

These participants identify themselves as Kurdish by indicating that because Kurds are minority in Turkey, it was politically appropriate to identify oneself with the minority side. For instance, Zelal said, "They ask me how I define myself, I say I am Kurdish. This is perhaps because I am leftist and Kurds are a minority in Turkey."

Some participants indicated that their extended family members like uncles, aunts, and distant relatives forced them to choose one side, which might have affected these individuals' identity construction process and forced them to choose either Turkish or Kurdish identity. For instance, Kerim said:

> During a summer vacation, I went to Diyarbakır [Kurdish father's hometown], a distant relative approached me and told me 'come to Diyarbakır, do not become Turkish in Ankara, you are Kurdish, come and live in Diyarbakır, do not live in a Turkish city [Ankara]' and I felt like the Kurdish identity was forcibly imposed on me.

Also, all of the participants reported that although their immediate families did not force them to choose one ethnic side, they taught them what to say when somebody asks their hometown. To illustrate, a quote from Başak's interview can be given:

> Before starting primary school, my father and mother taught me how to respond to the questions related to my hometown. They said to me 'when somebody asks where your hometown is, tell them my mother's hometown is Artvin, my father's hometown is Malatya and I was born and raised in İstanbul.' And when somebody asks me this question I have always given the same answer since my childhood.

### 3.2.2 Influence of Being Raised in the West

The second subordinate theme was named *influence of being raised in the West.* All eight of the participants mentioned how their identity construction processes were affected by the region in which they were raised, which was Ankara or İstanbul (metropolis of Turkey). As an example to this theme Su said, "I was raised as a Turk because I was raised in the capital, Ankara. Here, every morning we used to sing the Turkish national anthem." Similar to Su, Yekbun said, "In recent times I have questioned why I identify myself as Kurdish. I grew up in Ankara where I was not raised as Kurdish but as Turkish. I decided that I was from Ankara."

### 3.2.3 Influence of Discrimination

*Influence of discrimination* was the third subordinate theme. Except for Öykü, all of the participants reported that when they are discriminated against because of being half Kurdish, they identify themselves more as Kurdish at that moment. Although this is explained in the discrimination subordinate theme, it seemed important to include this pattern in the factors that influence identity, because the discrimination they faced affected their ethnic identification and led them to identify themselves as Kurdish. To clarify this issue, a quote from Ümit's interview can be given as an example: "In high school our class was full of nationalists. There, for the first time I started insisting on

31

my Kurdish identity. Even though I was excluded by most of my classmates, I did not refrain from expressing my Kurdish identity." Zelal had a similar experience. She was discriminated against by one of her teachers in high school because of having a Kurdish name. The teacher made fun of Zelal's name by opening a Turkish dictionary and searching for her name in it. After that, she started making fun of the phonetic of Zelal's name in front of all her classmates. Zelal said, "After that, my mother came to school and took action against that teacher, and she apologized to me. However, after having too much of these experiences, I started to embrace and express my Kurdish identity more."

At the same time, some participants indicated that they started to hide their Kurdish identity after they experienced a kind of discrimination. As an example of this, Kerim's experience can be given; Kerim identified himself as mixed race since primary school until the beginning of university. However, at the university, he was humiliated and belittled by his friends because of his Kurdish identity for the first time. Since then, when people asked his hometown he just said Aydın (his Turkish mother's hometown) or Ankara where he was born and raised. On this issue, Kerim said:

> I do not feel bad because my father is Kurdish. Yet, when people learn this, they start treating me badly. Therefore, sometimes I feel the need to hide my Kurdish identity in some places. Especially at the university, when they asked me about my hometown, I said that I was from Aydın or from Ankara, or I tried to change the topic in order not to reveal my father's hometown, which is Diyarbakır.

### 3.2.4 Influence of Language

The last subordinate theme was named *influence of language*. Participants, while talking about the reasons for their ethnic identification choice, mentioned the importance of language. That is, six of the participants indicated that because they do not know the Kurdish language, it is hard for them to identify themselves as Kurdish. As an example to this theme a quote from Ümit's interview can be given:

32

I do not know Kurdish language and I know very little about Kurdish culture. That's why, it was hard for me to identify myself as Kurdish. What kind of Kurd am I not knowing Kurdish language? Because of that, I had always been hesitant to express my Kurdish identity. I stayed away from that culture because my mother tongue became Turkish although my mother is Kurdish.

Similar to Ümit, Başak mentioned the importance of language in the identification process several times during the interview and said:

I feel like Turkish, but I would have liked to learn Kurdish. I associated it [the identity] more to language. I believe that one's identity comes more from language than from where she or he lives because the language is a great tool of communication for transmitting culture. However, I feel more of a connection with my Turkish side. Yet, if I knew the Kurdish language, it would not be the same.

**3.3 Mixed Race Difficulties in Turkey**

The third superordinate theme was named *mixed race difficulties in Turkey*. This theme includes participants' reports on difficulties that they experienced related to their identity. Mixed race individuals experience various kinds of difficulties that were listed as the following subordinate themes: (3.2.1) discrimination; and (3.3.2) lack of belonging- being in between.

**3.3.1 Discrimination**

The first subordinate theme was *discrimination*. Participants reported different kinds of discrimination experiences. For instance, they talked about *system-based discrimination* in which participants complained about individuals representing the education system, government, or state officials. As an example to system-based discrimination, Gözde said, "At schools, we always learned Turkish history. I did not know anything about what Kurds have done in history because there was not a class to teach this." Another one was given by Zelal, she said, "In government offices, my

name [a Kurdish name] has always been misspelled. Also, when they saw my identity card with my name and my hometown, which is Diyarbakır [a city that is mostly populated with Kurdish people], they reacted negatively."

Participants also reported that they were *discriminated by Turkish people*. Kerim's quote can be given as an example to the discrimination from the Turkish side: "I met a girl at the university. We met and we were talking, we were about to date. Then, she learned that I am from Diyarbakır and she stopped talking to me. She even stopped greeting me. Also, my other Turkish friends at the university... They were humiliating and ridiculing me."

Six of the participants reported that they were discriminated against not only by Turkish people but also by Kurdish people. Ümit gave an example to *being discriminated against by Kurdish people*:

> My ex-girlfriend was Kurdish and she had nationalist Kurdish friends. When I went to their home, I always sensed that look which said that I was not Kurdish. Even sometimes while hanging out with such people, I was trying to prove my Kurdish identity by telling stories about my Kurdish uncles.

He also reported discrimination from Turkish side in the following way: "I had a friend in high school, he was telling bad jokes about Kurdish people. He was saying that Kurdish people were ignorant and stupid people who had bad accent. I was getting mad when he was talking like this."

Most of the participants indicated that they have experienced *mono-racism,* which is the pressure to choose only one of their racial identities. Zelal's quote can be given as an example to mono-racism: "I was going to be either Turkish or Kurdish. When I say my father is Kurdish and my mother is Turkish, it means nothing to people because afterwards, the question of what I am comes. People and society do not accept this form which brings these two identities together."

34

Finally, almost all of the participants showed a kind of *internalized racism*. This included participants' internalized stereotypes and discriminatory sentences about Kurdish people. Some of them did this overtly and some others subtly. For instance, while talking about her mother and father's relationship Kerim said, "You know my mother [Turkish] civilized my father [Kurdish]. Kurdish people are primitive." Similarly Zelal said, "When I go to Diyarbakır, I find their culture odd and people there seem dirty to me."

### 3.3.2 Lack of Belonging- Being in Between

The second subordinate theme of difficulties that mixed-race individuals faced was *lack of belonging- being in between*. Seven of the participants reported that they feel in between and lack of belonging. For example, Ümit explained that the Turkish side of his family was prejudiced against his Kurdish mother and behaved badly towards her. He added:

> One of my sides [Kurdish side] was talking another language [Kurdish] and I could not get involved with them. Also, the other side [Turkish Side]... I was not able to include myself and be with them either. Maybe because of that, I was too introverted as a child.

Similar to Ümit, Yekbun said, "I have never felt that I belong to any side. I am in between. In that sense, I cannot determine my position. That is exactly the feeling of belonging to neither side."

### 3.4 Coping Strategies

The third superordinate theme was named *coping strategies*, which indicated the strategies that participants used to deal with the difficulties they experienced because of being mixed race and in response to the discrimination they faced. This superordinate theme had seven subordinate themes which are: (3.4.1) avoidance;

(3.4.2) overt reaction; (3.4.3) devaluation of the discriminator; and (3.4.4) strategic relationships and culturally affirming spaces; (3.4.5) critiquing race; and (3.4.6) shifting the ethnicity. Participants used these strategies to cope with the negative feelings in response to a difficulty or discrimination related to their identity.

### 3.4.1 Avoidance

The first subordinate theme of coping strategies was *avoidance*. Participants avoided the places or people that they felt they are more likely to (re)-face racial exclusion or discrimination. Also, they mentally avoided the discrimination and difficulties they faced because of being mixed race. All eight participants used this strategy. For example, Kerim summarized the physical avoidance after he was discriminated against by his friends from university in the following way: "After they discriminated against me, I have not even spoken to some of them [friends]. I broke away from them. I had my own friends. Whether these persons are in my life or not, it did not change anything. Therefore, I excluded them from my life." Similarly Gözde said: "They [discrimination experiences] were not the things that I exaggerated and obsessed with. As I said before, just while talking to you, I realized that they are actually discrimination. For me, they were just disturbing things for that moment and then I forgot about them."

### 3.4.2 Overt Reaction

The second subordinate theme of coping strategy that participants disclosed was *overt reaction* in response to discrimination. Participants either reacted aggressively or tried to confront the discriminator. Seven of the participants reported that they had this kind of experience. For instance, Zelal told a story about a state official. The state official looked at Zelal's identity card and saw her Kurdish name and her hometown, which is Diyarbakır where mostly Kurdish people reside. Then, he reacted with a negative attitude. Zelal said, "When they do this kind of things to me, I always reply like 'yes,

36

I am. Is there something wrong?' [with an aggressive tone of voice]." Similar to Zelal, Su's response to her Turkish boyfriend's discriminatory jokes can exemplify this: "I reacted aggressively. I said I did not like the jokes he made. They make me feel bad. After saying all these things, I treated him in a bad way."

### 3.4.3 Devaluation of the Discriminator

*Devaluation of the Discriminator* was the third coping mechanism that the participants reported. Participants used this strategy when they were humiliated because of being mixed race, specifically because of being a *half Kurdish*. Six of the participants said that they use this strategy. That is, they devalued the discriminator in order to lessen the effect of discrimination. In order to clarify this subordinate theme Gözde's quote can be given as an example: "How do you cope with these kinds of discrimination?…Generally at the beginning I react. Yet, then I do not worry because if there is discrimination then I think the opponent is unjust, which means I am smarter than him. Then, I just ignore it." Similar to Gözde, Kerim responded to one of his friends who humiliated him because of his Kurdish identity in the following way: "I said to that guy that he acted as if he was from Amsterdam. 'You are from Elazığ [a city located at the East of Turkey]. You are a peasant.' I said. He was making fun of my hometown but his hometown was not cool either."

### 3.4.4 Strategic Relationships and Culturally Affirming Spaces

*Strategic relationships and culturally affirming spaces* were two interrelated coping mechanisms that participants disclosed. All eight of the participants indicated that they use this strategy. As stated above, some participants reported that they had never been discriminated against. They added that they always had good friends and affirming spaces in which there was no discrimination. For instance, Öykü summarized this issue in the following way:

The topic of identity, specifically being Kurdish or Turkish is really rarely talked about among us [her friends]. When I say I am from Bingöl, they ask me if I am Kurdish or not. Then, I say 'yes my mother is Kurdish'. Then, they ask if I am Alevi or not. Then, I say 'no', and it finishes. We never talk about identity after that. Having a Kurdish mother and Turkish father does not affect my life because I am with egalitarian and libertarian individuals, friends. The environments that I am in has never been nationalist.

**3.4.5 Critiquing Race**

The fifth coping strategy was *critiquing race*. Participants who critiqued the concept of race were trying to reduce and even erase the importance of race or ethnicity. Seven of the participants disclosed this strategy during their interviews. A quote from Ümit's interview can exemplify this "I define myself as half Turkish and half Kurdish but these are just cultures. I reject them as a race. I am studying biology and we know that we are all monkeys in actuality. And, if you look at Turkish history there are sixty nations and they were all mixed up." Other participants emphasized the fact that *we are all humans*. For instance, Kerim explained this issue in response to the question regarding his feelings about being mixed race: "What do I feel... Maybe because of that [being mixed race], there is nothing more stupid than race. I think humans are humans."

**3.4.6 Shifting the Ethnicity**

The last coping strategy that participants expressed was *shifting the ethnicity*. They explained this as an advantage of being mixed race. Shifting the ethnicity meant that participants changed their reported ethnic identity (either as Turkish, Kurdish or mixed race) from one situation to another as they saw fit. An excerpt from Zelal's interview can be given as an example in order to clarify this subordinate theme:

When you are trying to turn things to your advantage, it [being mixed race] makes it easier. For example, if you went to a restaurant and saw that the waiter is Kurdish and if he realized that you are also Kurdish he would try to make

things easier because he sees you as 'one of them.' But also, for example I did my internship in a state bank last year. There, they asked my hometown, I said I was from Ankara [although she identified herself as Kurdish and from Diyarbakır] and they asked where my father and mother are from and I said Adana [mother's hometown]. I did not mention Diyarbakır [father's hometown where mostly Kurdish people reside] because, if I said so they could have made my job difficult.

## 3.5 Psychotherapy and Mixed Race Identity

The fourth superordinate theme was *psychotherapy and mixed race identity*. This theme includes both participants' evaluations about the relationship between mixed race difficulties and the need to receive psychotherapy and their views on psychotherapists. That is, participants interpreted both the psychotherapy and psychotherapists in relation to mixed race identity. Therefore, this theme has two subordinate themes which are (3.4.1) evaluations about mixed race difficulties and psychotherapy; and (3.4.2) evaluations about psychotherapists.

## 3.5.1 Evaluations about Mixed Race Difficulties and Psychotherapy

The first subordinate theme was termed as *evaluations about mixed race difficulties and psychotherapy*. Mainly, there were two kinds of reactions in relation to psychotherapy. Four of the participants related mixed race experiences with the need to receive psychotherapy. Ümit, for example, had received psychotherapy before and stated:

> Firstly, there is the effect of being discriminated against. There is the feeling of belonging to neither Turkish side nor Kurdish side. Also, my mother and father were fighting a lot and half of the reasons were because of my father's relatives [grandmother who discriminates and does not like the Kurdish daughter-in-law and always tries to create a rift between them]. I did not have a room until the age of fourteen and I was sleeping in the living room where they were fighting and I had nowhere to go. All these things affected my psychology in a negative way.

39

Kerim's response to the same question can be given as another example:

> For now, I do not need psychotherapy because I solved the problem by myself. But, if I knew then what I know now I would certainly have gone to the therapy because at that time I was feeling terrible. If I had decided to receive psychotherapy at that time it would have helped because some people treated me very badly, they humiliated me. Due to reasons beyond my control [identity], they underestimated me which made me feel bad. I was feeling guilty, I really felt guilty although I had not committed a crime. At the end, I felt anger. That is, because they made me feel guilty without any reason, I became very angry with them.

On the other hand, three other participants did not relate mixed race difficulties with the need to receive psychotherapy. A quote from Su's interview can explain this issue:

> I would not receive psychotherapy about my identity. If I have a problem with my identity, I think this is something that I should handle by myself. Although I am a psychologist and I am ashamed to say this, still this is about me, this is not something that I can take to the therapy. This is about internalizing the cultural values. This is not something a psychologist can give me. It is something that I get from my family and my extended family. I would not go to psychotherapist for that.

### 3.5.2 Evaluations about Psychotherapists

The second subordinate theme was *evaluations about psychotherapists.* During the interviews, participants disclosed their thoughts about the ethnic identity of the therapist and how a therapist can be discriminatory towards the clients.

Except for Yekbun, all the other seven participants reported that the identity of the therapist (whether Turkish or Kurdish) did not matter to them. Four of them indicated that the professionalism of the therapist is the important thing. A quote from the interview of Öykü who has received psychotherapy can epitomize this: "The identity of the therapist was not important to me, I paid attention to the education of the therapist more. Identity was not the thing that concerns me about the therapist." Similar

to Öykü, Gözde said, "Of course the identity is not important to me, probably I would go to the cheaper one." Two of the participants (Ümit and Zelal) indicated that they would prefer a nonjudgmental therapist. An excerpt from Ümit's transcript can be given as an example: "I would prefer a female psychologist. The language of the therapist should be nonviolent, so I would feel safe. Also, she should be nonjudgmental in every way including ethnicity." The only participant who indicated a preference for the ethnic identity of the therapist was Yekbun. A quote from her interview can clarify her point:

> Very interesting! Now an idea came to my mind; I would prefer Turkish therapist. Why do l have such a perception? It is shameful. It is like if she is Kurdish, she probably knows less about psychotherapy. That is, as if she is less educated. Why I think this, I do not know. It means that I have such a perception about Kurds [laughing]. Oh my friend, I am discovering all this right now!

Six participants reported that they would understand if the therapist is biased against Kurdish people from her or his nonverbal messages, such as tone of voice, the intentions behind the identity related questions that are asked, and the eye movements of the therapist while asking about ethnicity. Also, verbal messages including generalizations or biased attitudes towards any minority group were reported by the participants as signs of a discriminatory therapist. A quotation from Gözde's interview can exemplify this:

> If she asks questions about ethnicity without a reaction, it does not disturb me. By reaction I mean... I may be disturbed by the way she looks at me after she asked the question. If I feel disturbed, then I think she is a discriminatory therapist and I do not want to see her again.

Similar to Gözde, Yekbun's excerpt can illustrate this attitude:

> If the therapist asks me if l am Kurdish with a judgemental tone of voice and as if she looks down on me, then I would be uncomfortable. However, if she

41

asks it with a nonjudgemental tone of voice… I mean if she asks as if she is trying to understand something or analyze something about me, then it is okay.

As a reaction to discriminatory therapists, four of the participants said that they would quit therapy. Two of them indicated that their attitude toward the therapist would change in a negative way and two of them stated that they would talk through the issue with the therapist. For instance, Kerim stated that "If [he] understands that [his] therapist is a discriminatory one, [his] attitude toward her would change, [he] would become irritated and [he] would quit therapy." On the other hand, Su who is a psychologist, explained:

I would talk to my therapist like I am talking to you right now with the same tone of voice and with the same flow. I would talk to her about what made me irritated or what I thought when she asked me that question [question related to identity]. What was her intention? I would talk like this.

Yekbun's quote can be given as another example of talking through:

If I understand that my therapist is a discriminatory one, first I would try to talk to her. If she continues to do or say similar things [discriminatory actions], then I would quit therapy because if she is a discriminatory one, then she thinks that I am bad, terrorist etc. That is, the peace between us would be broken, and I would quit therapy.

## 3.6 Explanation of the Relationship between the Superordinate Themes

The relationship between the superordinate themes is illustrated in Figure 1. As it can be seen from the figure, there is a relationship between *ethnic identification* and *factors influencing identity*. During the interviews, participants identified themselves in certain ways and they explained the reasons for their identification by stating the influencing factors.

Also, participants experienced various difficulties and discrimination with respect to their mixed race identification. Their chosen or attributed identities were strongly related to the discrimination and difficulties they had experienced. They indicated that identification as mixed race or as Kurdish led to more discrimination. Also, they reported that if they had Turkish parents, they might have experienced less discrimination. For example, some participants expressed that they identified themselves as Turkish when they sense that the environment they were in is racially prejudiced against Kurdish minority. They claimed that by doing this they avoided possible discrimination that they were going to face.

In order to minimize the negative effects of the difficulties they had, participants developed certain coping strategies.Therefore, *coping strategies* were related to the second superordinate theme which is *mixed race difficulties in Turkey*.

Finally, all of the themes were related to *psychotherapy and mixed race identity* theme. To clarify, it was observed that participants who used avoidance coping strategy more in both identity related issues and difficulties they experienced did not think the difficulties and discrimination they faced should be a reason to seek psychotherapy. On the other hand, there were participants who used less avoidance and more overt reaction coping mechanism in such issues. These participants indicated that the discrimination or difficulties they experienced would be a reason to seek psychotherapy.

Also, they expressed that ethnicity should be a topic of psychotherapy. To summarize, all of the themes are interrelated with each other. In the discussion part, these findings will be discussed along with the relevant literature findings.
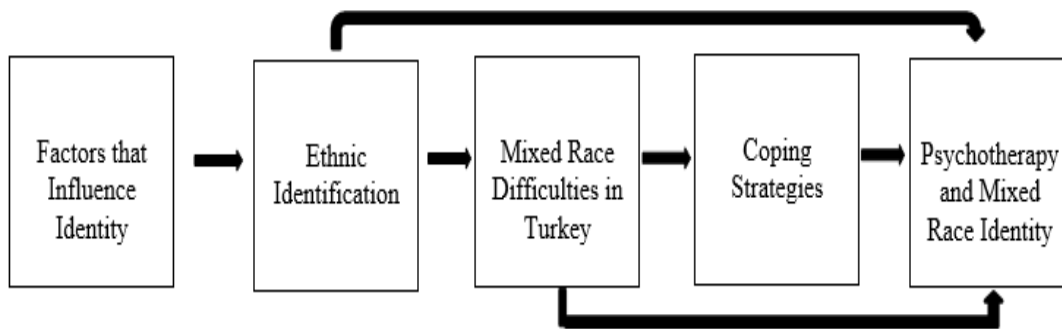


*Figure 1.*

Interrelationships between the Superordinate Themes

**CHAPTER 4**

**DISCUSSION**

In the present study, most of the participants identified themselves as mixed race or as Kurdish. Also, most of them identified themselves with their own hometown. Yet, some others refused to identify themselves racially. Beside these identifications, most of the participants reported that they were raised as Turkish and they feel Turkish. Also, participants indicated some factors as having an influence on their identity construction processes or on their identity choices. Participants indicated that their families' political attitude, the region that they were raised in, discriminations they experienced, and the language they know influenced their identity choices. Also, participants reported two kinds of difficulties they experienced because of being mixed race: Discrimination and feeling in between. Participants indicated various coping strategies in response to the difficulties they faced: They avoided thoughts or people and places that were related to discrimination; they overtly reacted to discriminators and sometimes devalued them; they had strategic relationships and culturally affirming spaces through which they decreased the probability of being discriminated; some of them criticized the notion of race by which they lessened the pressure to identify themselves with a racial category; and finally, they shifted their ethnicity in different social settings. Participants also evaluated the relationship between the difficulties they faced and need to seek psychotherapy. While some of them found psychotherapy as something necessary in dealing with such difficulties, others indicated that these two things are irrelevant.

*Ethnic identification* emerged as a superordinate theme in the present study. Kurdish-Turkish mixed race participants' evaluations about their own identity varied. Also, participants' identifications were observed to change in different stages of their lives.

Similarly, Wijeyesinghe (2001) proposed that identity is not something fixed. Instead, it is something evolving and changing with the changes in the factors that influence it. Also, it changes with the critical experiences that occur in life. Similarly, Root (1990) proposed that every person has critical periods of significant conflicts and these periods might lead to a change in their ethnic identity. Similar to what Wijeyesinghe and Root claimed, four participants reported that they had critical periods such as starting university education, meeting people from different ethnicities, or questioning identity in psychotherapy which changed their racial identifications.

The findings of the present study were also parallel with Root's (1990) Mixed Race Identity Development Model. In the present study, some of the participants identified themselves as Kurdish-Turkish mixed race. In her model, Maria Root stated that such individuals use *identification with both racial groups* strategy. She claimed that these individuals seem to feel privileged because of belonging to both groups (Root, 1990). Similar findings were also observed in the present study. That is, participants who identified themselves as mixed race expressed that they love being mixed because they associate it with richness in cultural values. Also, these participants indicated that they felt privileged because they had different options of cultural values that they can select as they wish (Kurdish and Turkish).

On the other hand, some of the participants identified themselves as Kurdish. These individuals chose to define themselves with one of their racial groups. Root called this strategy *identification with a single racial group* (1990). These participants explained that Kurdish people are the minority in Turkey; therefore, it is politically appropriate to choose a disadvantageous group. It was observed that generally, participants who have left political orientation and who have more knowledge about what the Kurdish minority experienced in the past identified themselves as Kurdish. Also, it was observed that identification as Kurdish was an intentional political choice. Root claimed that if these individuals feel marginalized with their chosen identity in their proclaimed ethnic group, this strategy can be challenging. Similarly, participants who

identified themselves as Kurdish reported that sometimes they were discriminated or excluded by Kurdish people which is challenging since it made them feel not belonging to anywhere.

Another extracted theme was the *identity that society assigns*. Almost all participants reported that the society assigned them the Turkish identity by looking at their appearance, speech (without accent), the origin of name, and education level. Harris and Sim (2002) conceptualized this as *observed identities*, which indicates that other people attribute a racial identity to multiracial individuals based on their phenotypes. Maria Root (1990) also discussed that the society assigns an identity to mixed-race individuals and named this strategy as the *acceptance of the identity society assigns.* In the present study, although participants showed an awareness that the society assigned them an identity, they did not identify themselves with this attributed identity. That is, among participants, no one identified himself or herself solely as Turkish. Yet, almost all of them reported that they have felt Turkish since their childhood. This pattern can be interpreted as resulting from social desirability. Most of the participants were from a government university which is known for its leftist standing in Turkey. Also, being interviewed by a Kurdish researcher who also has a research interest in mixed race identity may have influenced the participants' statements. These factors might have made it difficult for participants to identify themselves solely as Turkish.

Another theme that was reported by almost all of the participants was *identification with hometown*. In Turkey, people are officially recorded as they are from their fathers' hometown. Seven of the participants criticized this practice and rejected to define themselves as coming from their fathers' hometown. These individuals reported that they chose to identify themselves with the city they were born and raised in which is either İstanbul or Ankara. Wijeyesinghe and Jackson (2012) claimed that the region in which mixed race individuals are raised contributes to their identity choices. Also, in their study, Miville, Constantine, Baysden, and So-Loyd (2005) found that *critical places* such as where participants were born, raised, or attended schools have important

effects on racial identity construction processes of mixed race individuals. Moreover, Maria Root (2003) claimed that the geographical regions' ethnic relationships and history of a race show us an important understanding of what racial identity choices are available for mixed race individuals. All the participants were from Ankara or Istanbul, which are mostly populated by Turkish and where Turkish cultural values are predominant. Maybe, because of that they reported they feel Turkish and raised like Turkish. That is, if the participants were recruited from Kurdish cities such as Diyabakır, is quite possible that their ethnic identification with the Kurdish side would have been stronger.

On the other hand, some participants refused to racially identify themselves which was coded as *no racial identification*. These individuals indicated that they do not identify themselves with an ethnic category. They criticized the value placed on the racial identification by the society. Similarly, Song, and Aspinall (2012) investigated the way mixed race individuals identify themselves and found that some participants refused to identify themselves racially by claiming that they transcended racial categories. In the present study, such participants seemed to have had confusions about their identity at earlier stages of their lives and they chose not to identify themselves as a solution to this confusion. That is, no racial identification was a strategy to deal with identity-related difficulties. It seemed that these participants were in denial and avoided the issue of ethnic identity. They did not remember experiencing any discrimination, they forgot the researcher's questions several times, and they were very distracted throughout the interview. This seemed to exemplify how difficult the issue can be for these individuals.

Similarly, participants who identified themselves with an ethnic group also reported that the racial categories are meaningless and unimportant. In general, participants indicated that racial boundaries make no sense, humans are humans, and this categorization is meaningless. This is referred to as *color blindness*, a racial ideology indicating that all people are fundamentally the same. Thus, racial differences should

be ignored, and consequently, prejudice and discrimination can be avoided (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Yet, ignoring racial categories may also result in obscuring the real effects of ongoing inequality (Markus, Steele, & Steele, 2000). Also, Saguy, Dovidio, and Pratto (2008) claimed that color-blindness maybe a way of ignoring racial inequalities, which benefit the majority.

It was found that several factors, such as families' political attitude, discriminations they experienced, and the language they know influenced the participants' identity choices. As stated in the results section, most of the participants' families had either middle or high socioeconomic status (SES). It was claimed that economic class of mixed race individuals has an effect on the communities they live and socialize in, which in turn affect their identification (Root & Kelley, 2003). Similarly, Wijeyesinghe and Jackson (2003) proposed that socioeconomic status or class that ethnic groups belong to influence how others perceive them and how they perceive others. Most of the participants in the present study expressed that they went to private or semi-private schools and they were raised in wealthy neighborhoods in which they mostly likely socialized with Turks. According to result of a research conducted by KONDA Research and Consultancy (2010) while 78% of Kurds have the lowermost household income level (0-1200 TL), only 33% of Turks belong to this group. Also, only 6% of citizens who have highest income level in Turkey are Kurdish, but 10% of them are Turkish. Moreover, 53% of Kurdish people live below the poverty line and 23% of them live below to the hunger limit, whereas 15% of Turks live below to the poverty line and 4% live below the hunger limit. That is, different from general Kurdish population in Turkey, participants in the current study were from middle or high SES. To sum up, in the present study, it was observed that SES have influenced the way participants lived, the people they socialized with, the cultural values they acquired and as a result the way they identified themselves. Perhaps because of the high SES level of the present sample, the participants reported that they feel Turkish, they were raised like monoracial Turks, and they did not suffer much discrimination.

Families' political attitudes seemed to have an effect on the identification process of participants. That is, parents' political attitudes and cultural values affected participants' political orientation, which in turn influenced the participants' identity choices. Similarly, Renn (2003) claimed that previous experiences, political and social orientations of the individuals and their families, and the family background have an influence on the identity choice of mixed race individuals. For instance, some participants reported that their Kurdish parent is not culturally assimilated; on the contrary, is embracing his or her identity and cultural values. These participants seemed to embrace their Kurdish identity more than the ones who reported that their Kurdish parent is assimilated and does not keep cultural values and rituals alive. Root (1990) indicated that in mixed race families there is often silence around the topic of race because it evokes pain. O'Donoghue (2004) added that this can be because parents lack awareness and understanding of their children's mixed race experiences because they are mono-racial themselves. Similarly, in the present study participants' parents were monoracial and some of them did not talk about such issues with their children.

Research consistently indicated that mixed race individuals are pressured to choose only one of their racial identities by their families, relatives, or by the society (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Similarly, participants in the present study reported that some of their extended family members like uncles, aunts, grandparents, or other distant relatives forced them to choose one of their identities. Since Turkish culture is a collectivistic one, extended family members have important roles in people's lives (Hofstede Center, 2014). They can interfere with private issues such as nuclear family affairs and issues related to their grandchildren, in this case; ethnic identification. Yet, participants indicated that neither their fathers nor mothers forced them to choose any of their identities. Some participants even reported that their siblings identified differently from themselves. For example, Zelal identified herself as Kurdish but she said that her brother identified himself as Turkish.

Another subordinate theme was about participants' evaluations related to *the influence of discrimination* on their identity choices. Some participants indicated that they identified themselves more as a Kurdish when they are discriminated against because of being half Kurdish. Recent studies showed that racism-related stress influences racial identity and sense of self (Takeuchi et al., 2007). In addition, Social Identity Theory proposed that if an individual from a minority group recognizes that persons from the powerful majority are prejudiced and discriminating against the minority, he or she increases identification with his or her in-group minority (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Also, it was found that the stronger the bonds with ethnic identity are, the more protected an individual will be in the face of discrimination (Mossakowski, 2003).

As opposed to those who identified with their Kurdish side more strongly in reaction to discrimination, some participants reported that they started to hide their Kurdish identity after facing discrimination. Because there is no obvious physical difference between Kurdish and Turkish individuals, people who are mixed race, or even mono-racial Kurdish people who do not have a Kurdish accent, sometimes can and may need to hide their identities in the face of discrimination. Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (1996) conducted a study in order to see how Samis, who are a minority group in Norway, identified themselves in different regions of Norway. One of the regions was the Coastal area where Samis were assimilated and discriminated the most. The other region was Highland where Sami population was high and the effect of assimilation politics was weaker. The results of the study showed that while at the Coastal area most of the Sami adolescents with mono-racial heritage identified themselves either as bicultural or Norwegian, in the Highland most of them identified themselves as Sami. Also, mixed race Sami adolescents in the Coastal area identified themselves strongly as Norwegian by hiding their Sami ethnic background, but they identified themselves as bicultural in the Highland. Based on these findings, it can be claimed some of the participants in the present study felt the need to hide their Kurdish identity because of the mono-racial and discriminatory environment that they live in.

*Influence of language* was another subordinate theme under the *influencing factors* superordinate theme. This theme was the most frequently expressed influencing factor reported by the participants. Kurdish and Turkish people's physical features are pretty much the same, their religion is the same (Islam), their cultural values and norms are very similar. The biggest difference between these two nations is the language. Kurdish is very different than Turkish. Perhaps because of that, participants felt close to the ethnic group that they know the language of. They reported that because they do not know Kurdish, it was difficult for them to identify themselves as Kurdish. Similarly, both Wijeyesinghe (2001) and Root (2003) proposed that a mixed race individual's identity choice or experience of that identity is strongly affected by the languages spoken in the home environment. Also, in a study conducted with mixed race individuals with Asian and White ancestry, it was found that participants who have the knowledge and ability to speak Asian language had a greater degree of acceptance of Asian identity (Khanna, 2004).

The third superordinate theme included the difficulties of being mixed race in Turkey. Participants expressed difficulties such as discrimination they experienced and having no sense of belonging to either side; that is, being in between. Several participants reported that they have never experienced discrimination, although before that question they had reported a number of discrimination experiences. At this point, the researcher gave a brief explanation of what discrimination is with the examples they provided previously. Some participants' political awareness of discrimination was limited; they conceptualized discrimination as an overt and a very devastating experience. That's why, they did not recognize the subtle ones. Yet, they identified acts of discrimination after the explanation. On the other hand, some of the participants had political awareness about discrimination, but they still said that they have never experienced discrimination, which may have been an indication of avoidance. For these participants, recognition of discrimination seemed to be difficult. Therefore, when they were informed that what they had talked about before was discrimination, they were surprised. Öykü said that she had never been discriminated even after the

researcher's explanation. However, one day after the interview, she phoned the researcher and said that she had suffered discrimination just after the interview. This event demonstrated how difficult the issue of identity and discrimination may be for these participants.

Participants' reported various kinds of discrimination, such as being rejected by both Kurdish and Turkish people. They indicated that they were placed into a mono-racial category either by the society at large or by their relatives. According to the result of a study which is conducted by Wise Persons Strategic Research Center, 74.1% of the Kurdish participants reported that they experienced discrimination. Also, 11.3% of Turkish participants reported that they do not want to live with Kurdish people in Turkey (Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2014). Root (1990) also stated that mixed race individuals often receive messages that put pressure on them to choose only one of their racial identities. These messages also contain the idea that being *mono-racial* is the ideal and being mixed race is marginal or different. The result of a study conducted by Song and Aspinall (2012) showed that among 17 of the Black-White mixed participants, 8 of them indicated that they were seen as mono-racial (Black) as opposed to how they identified themselves (mixed). These participants also reported that their mixed identity was validated rarely either by Whites or by Blacks. Similarly, participants of the current study reported that they were accepted neither as Kurdish nor as Turkish which made them outsiders for both sides.

Participants in the present study also reported experiencing system-based discrimination. Ergil (2000) stated that Kurds have constantly been exposed to systemic discrimination. For example, the government prohibited teaching Kurdish in schools and broadcasting Kurdish radio and television programs, although Kurdish is the mother tongue of as many as one in five citizens of Turkey. Even in the cities that are populated mostly by Kurds, education in Kurdish is not allowed. In those cities, children try to get education in a language that they do not understand and speak (Kaya, 2012).

In the present study, participants also showed internalized racism toward their Kurdish side. Some of them did this overtly and some of them in subtle ways. Internalized racism means acceptance of negative beliefs, attitudes, stereotypes, ideologies, and the prejudices that dominant society perpetuated as if they are true about one's own racial group (Jones, 2000). Psychoanalyst Fakhry Davids (2011) described internalized racism in the following way; people sometimes let others' ideas penetrate their psyche which creates the illusion that these ideas actually originated in them. He further described this notion as "nothing short of a psychotic moment," because the stable sense of self which must be under the control of self is separated and this enables others to influence the self temporarily (Davids, 2011). Similarly, Nakashima (1992) argued that mixed race individuals have been placed into a mono-racial system where they might have internalized the images that were constructed by the society. In the present study, participants were born and raised in the Turkish society which contain prejudiced thoughts, stereotypes, and discrimination toward Kurdish people (Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2014). Perhaps as a result, participants acquired, internalized, and expressed those kinds of prejudiced thoughts and stereotypes.

The second category of difficulty that the participants faced was *lack of belongingness-being in between*. Most of the participants reported that they felt they belonged to neither the Turkish side nor the Kurdish side which placed them in between. This theme was different from all other themes in that participants got emotional while talking about their lack of sense of belonging. Belongingness means being recognized and accepted by the other group members (Hagerty, Williams, Coyne, & Early, 1996) and lack of this is a difficult experience. Shih and Sanchez (2005) claimed that mixed race individuals who feel uncertain about racial group membership may feel lack of belonging to an ethnic community. This may make their identification process more difficult and result in identity confusion or lessened ethnic engagement. Moreover, Maria Root (1992) claimed that some multiracial individuals may seem successful in fitting into either the dominant culture or minority culture. Yet, still an inner feeling

of not belonging may simultaneously accompany which is especially likely to occur when both the minority and the majority communities have rigid racial classifications and biases in favor of mono-raciality. In the present study, participants reported that they feel bad about their lack of sense of belonging. Also, they indicated that they were excluded by both Kurdish and Turkish side. Therefore, similar to what Root and Shih and Sanchez claimed, participants might not have felt a total acceptance by the both group members which may place them in between, make their identification process more difficult, and lessen their ethnic engagement to any group.

The fourth superordinate theme was named *coping strategies*. This theme included different kinds of strategies that Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals used in order to deal with the difficulties they faced and in order to stay psychologically healthy. The first one was *avoidance*. All of the participants either mentally avoided the discrimination and difficulties they faced or evaded the places or people that they thought would be discriminative. Although it is a coping strategy and brings immediate relief, it was observed that avoidance can also result in isolation and loneliness. In a study on how mixed race college students cope with discrimination or prejudice, Museus et al. (2015) found that multiracial college students denied or avoided the problems they faced in response to discrimination. Also, in her book named *Raising Mixed Race: Asian Children in the Post-Racial World*, Chang (2015) stated that Asian mothers and fathers used avoidance coping mechanism for the discrimination they faced. Because of that they could not insist on their identity. Since the burden of being discriminated is heavy, participants in the present study either tried not to come across these kinds of experiences or they tried to lessen or even erase their importance by avoiding the thoughts related to them. Although this coping strategy brings immediate relief, it may not be effective in the long run. For instance, according to a study conducted with Korean Canadian immigrants, there was a strong correlation between perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms among participants who used passive acceptance and avoidant coping (Heppner, Cook, Wright, & Johnson, 1995).

The second coping strategy that participants used was *overt reaction.* Participants who used this strategy either acted aggressively or tried to confront the discriminator. This coping strategy was given various names in different studies. In a study which aimed to investigate the moderating effects of coping, acculturation, and ethnic support on the relationship between perceived discrimination and depression of Korean immigrants, Noh & Kaspar (2003) found three types of coping mechanisms. One of them was *personal confrontation,* which included either verbally protesting or talking with the offender. The results of this study showed that active problem-focused coping mechanisms like personal confrontation were more effective in decreasing the impact of perceived discrimination on depression. On the contrary, emotion-focused coping strategies like *passive acceptance* had negative effect on mental health (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). Similarly, participants in the current study indicated that after they overtly react to the discriminator, they calmed down, relaxed and even forgot it easily.

The third coping strategy was named *strategic relationships and affirming spaces.* Participants indicated that they had close friends who did not marginalize or discriminate against them. Also, they preferred places where they felt that they would be less likely to incur prejudice or discrimination. Consequently, they reduced the probability of facing discrimination or prejudice. Similarly, the results of a study which focused on the resilience of mixed Mexican American individuals in Arizona showed that participants made purposeful choices when choosing friends by distancing themselves from certain people in their lives. By doing this, participants attempted to prevent psychological discomfort or possible conflicts (Jackson et al., 2013). Similarly, Museus et al. (2015) conducted a study to investigate multiracial college students' coping strategies in response to discrimination. They found that participants tried to cope with marginalization, exclusion, and lack of belonging by actively seeking support networks for mixed race students.

Another strategy that participants reported was *critiquing race*. Almost all of the participants questioned and criticized the notion of race. In their study, Jackson and

his coworkers (2013) also found that multiracial participants were critical of racial categorization. They claimed that by critiquing race, participants lessened the effect of pressure to identify themselves with an ethnic group. Being mixed race does not provide a well-defined racial class that has definite boundaries, and by criticizing race, participants in the present study tried to lessen the importance of ethnicity or race and tried to get rid of the pressure to identify themselves with an ethnic category.

The last coping strategy that participants expressed as a mixed race advantage was *shifting ethnicity*. Participants in the present study shifted their racial identities in different social settings as they saw fit. Vasquez (2010) named this phenomenon as *flexible ethnicity* and described it as multiracial individuals' ability to navigate through different ethnic identities in different contexts. As a result, they can be considered as an insider among several ethnic groups. Other researchers also demonstrated that mixed race individuals shift their ethnic identities at different settings such as on race reporting forms, in different social settings, or during different periods of one's life (Nayani, 2010; Rockquemore, Brunsma, & Delgado, 2009). This process provides mixed race individuals some resources and privileges. For instance, by obtaining the status of a certain ethnic group, they can apply for ethnic minority college scholarships or with the help of their White side they can easily enter into White social settings (Jackson, 2012; Jimenez, 2004).

Sometimes these coping strategies are insufficient in protecting mixed race individuals in the face of discrimination and they may need psychotherapy to cope with difficulties. The last superordinate theme was *psychotherapy and mixed race identity*. While some participants stated that psychotherapy can be a source of help to cope with the difficulties related to being mixed race, others did not think psychotherapy would be helpful in dealing with such difficulties. According to the result of a study (Meyer & Zane, 2013), ethnic minority clients placed more significance on issues related to race and ethnicity in relation to psychotherapy than White clients did. Also, ethnic minority clients reported that they were less satisfied with treatment when these

elements were not included in the therapy process. That is, culturally sensitive care is important in how ethnic minorities respond to mental health care services.

In the present study those who said they may seek psychotherapy indicated that the ethnic identity of the therapist would not be important for them. This is contradictory to other research findings. According to the results of a study, clients reported that they assess the race and ethnicity of the therapist above everything else (Ward, 2005). In a related article, Millar (2014) emphasized the complexities of transference and countertransference feelings when working with a patient of similar or different race. For instance, Ruth Lijtmaer (2006) claimed that in therapy settings a Black person is experienced as aggressive, inferior, and a paranoid object, regardless of whether she or he is the patient or the therapist, through the processes of transference, countertransference. Similarly, participants in the present study reported having concerns about therapists' depreciative attitudes, and they expressed that if they sense that the therapist's attitude is humiliating, they would negatively react towards the therapist or even quit therapy.

Several researchers also investigated the relationship dynamics between the Black patients and White therapists (Altman, 2000; Aralepo, 2003; Greene, 1985). For instance, Altman (2000), referred to society as a sort of third person in the therapy room. He explained it in the following way:

> Both Mr. A [his Black patient] and I [white analyst] knew that racism is in us, at some level, simply because we are members of North American society. If we said that racism is "out there," in racist society, and not "in here," in our very psyches, we would be splitting off and denying an important "bad object" experience between us.

*Cultural countertransference* is a term which was articulated first by Pérez Foster (1998) in her book named *The Clinician's Cultural Countertransference: The Psychodynamics of Culturally Competent Practice*. It indicates therapists' beliefs or

thoughts consisting of dominant culture's value system, subjective biases about ethnic groups, and about their own ethnicity. She claimed that these feelings have powerful influence on therapy, because they are generally perceived by the clients even if they are not put into words. Similarly, participants of the present study reported that they would understand discriminatory therapists from their nonverbal or verbal prejudiced messages. Therefore, therapists may have open dialogues about issues of ethnicity with their Kurdish-Turkish mixed clients to promote an environment of trust, which consequently will benefit the treatment process (Cardemil & Battle, 2003).

## 4.1 Clinical Implications

In Turkey, Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals face discrimination, pressure to choose only one ethnic identity, and lack of belonging to any ethnic group. All of these may have an adverse effect on their general well-being and mental health. Therefore, some key issues should to be taken into consideration by mental health workers. Sue and Sue (2003) recommended some strategies for psychologists when working with mixed race individuals, which are also applicable to Turkish-Kurdish mixed race individuals. That is, not only Turkish therapists but also Kurdish or Kurdish-Turkish mixed race therapists should take these reccomendations into consideration. First of all, it is important for therapists to be aware and knowledgeable about experiences of this population and to be able to transfer this awareness and knowledge into skills when working with Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals. Participants in the present study reported that they understand prejudiced therapist from his or her nonverbal or verbal messages. Therefore, therapists should become aware of their own prejudicial thoughts and beliefs about interracial marriages, about Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals, and about Kurdish minority in Turkey. Moreover, they should try to challenge and replace such beliefs to effectively work with these individuals (Root, 1990). Psychologists should avoid using stereotypes and generalizations when working with Kurdish-Turkish mixed race clients. Clinicians can also remind their mixed race clients that identity-related difficulties are not because of what is missing

in them but because of how the society and other people treat them. This may help clients feel empowered and avoid internalized racism. Finally, therapists should underline mixed race individuals' freedom to choose their own identity (Sue & Sue 2003).

Moreover, clinicians can help their clients by discussing possible benefits and costs of using certain coping strategies. For instance, because suppressive coping strategies like avoidance leads to isolation and sometimes depression, and reactive coping strategies like overt reaction may decrease depressive feelings (Heppner et al., 1995), discussing costs and benefits of various kinds of coping strategies may be fruitful. Furthermore, it is important for the clinician to be aware of transference and countertransference responses. Clinicians may need supervision when working with minority clients regardless of their own ethnic identity, because powerful transference and countertransference feelings may emerge (Lijtmaer, 2006).

## 4.2 Limitations and Future Directions

This study is not free from limitations. First of all, in Turkey, hometown is a very important determinant in ethnic identification, which also emerged as a theme in the present study. Certain cities in Turkey, such as Diyabakır, are mostly populated by Kurdish people and therefore are associated with Kurdish identity and culture. In other cities such as Malatya, on the other hand, there is a more equal distribution of Kurdish and Turkish populations, and are not necessarily associated with Kurdish identity or culture. In the current study, participants' Kurdish parents' hometowns varied and some hometowns may have associated the participants with the Kurdish identity more readily than others. This variation might have created a difference in the identification process and in discrimination experiences of participants. Considering the study's methodology and the requirement for a small and homogenous sample, it would have been better if the study was conducted with participants whose parents were from the same Turkish and Kurdish hometowns.

In addition, the age of the participants was critical because they indicated that their ethnic identification changed in different periods of their lives. Participants' ages were between 22 and 35. Again, considering the requirements of the IPA, further studies may have more homogenous samples with different age groups like adolescents, young adults, middle-aged adults, and older adults. Through this way, they may have the chance to see the age related changes in; ethnic identification, types of discrimination, coping strategies, and attitude toward psychotherapy and psychotherapist. Thirdly, although most of the participants had highly educated families who had either moderate or high SES, one of them was from low SES background. His experiences were significantly more negative than the other participants. That's why future researchers might examine low-class Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals' identity-related experiences. Finally, as stated previously, most of the participants answered the question related to their discrimination experience as they have never been discriminated even though before that question they disclosed a number of cases of discrimination as they spoke. At this point, the researcher gave a brief explanation of what discrimination is. After that, participants reported their discrimination experiences. This intervention may have led them to remember or recognize those experiences as discriminatory actions of others. That is, those experiences did not emerge naturally but with an intervention. Thus, the researcher might have influenced the participants' responses.

Lastly, as stated previously, the researcher interpreted very few findings about the advantages of being mixed race which might have resulted from her assumptions related to mixed race experiences. Therefore, future researchers should focus on the advantages of being Kurdish-Turkish mixed race in Turkey.

**4.3 Conclusion**

Notwithstanding its limitations, the current study is the first research which focused on Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals' experiences. In the present study

participants' identity choices varied. While some of them identified themselves as mixed race or as Kurdish, others refused to identify themselves with an ethnic category. No one identified themselves as Turkish; yet, almost every participant reported that they feel Turkish and they were raised as Turkish. Participants also indicated various factors that had an influence on their identity choices. Their families' SES and political attitude toward Kurdish ethnicity affected their ethnic identity choices. Also, they expressed that while the discrimination they experienced strengthened their Kurdish identity, the region they were raised in made them feel Turkish. These individuals experience different kinds of difficulties. They were rejected and discriminated by both Kurdish and Turkish people. Also, they expressed lack of sense of belonging to an ethnic group. Finally, it was striking that participants showed internalized racism toward Kurdish people. They used pejorative words during the interviews.

To the best of our knowledge, there is no other research project that previously investigated the identity process of mixed race Kurdish-Turkish individuals. Therefore, the present study provided an initial understanding of mixed race individuals' experiences in Turkey. Due to lack of previous research, using qualitative methodology was especially appropriate to gain a more in-depth understanding of their experiences. Also, because experiences of Kurdish people in general, but also Kurdish-Turkish mixed race individuals are mostly ignored in Turkey, this study shed some light onto their experiences and difficulties. Studies that are conducted outside of Turkey focused predominantly on Black and White mixed race individuals (Millar, 2014). Blacks and most Black-White mixed race individuals are visible minorities and thus, have experiences related to being more visible. Yet, Kurdish-Turkish mixed individuals are not as visible and therefore, their identity-related experiences were different from Black and White mixed race individuals' experiences. Consequently, this study also highlighted the different experiences of non-visible minorities in Turkey.

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## A. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC QUESTION FORM

Tarih:

İsim Soyisim:

1) Yaşınız:

2) Cinsiyetiniz:

3) Doğup büyüdüğünü yer:

4) Medeni durumunuz:

5) Çalışıyor musunuz?

□ Evet    □ Hayır

Evet ise açıklayınız: ............................................................

6) Ailenizin aylık kazancını düşündüğünüzde gelir durumunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız?

□ Çok düşük    □ Düşük    □ Orta    □ Yüksek    □ Çok yüksek

# B. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1- Ebeveynlerinizin etnik kimlikleri neler?

- Anneniz ve babanız nasıl tanışmışlar?

- Sizce anne ve babanız farklı etnik kökenden oluşlarından dolayı zorluklar yaşadılar mı? Nelerdir?

- Geniş ailenin, örneğin dedelerinizin, anneanne, ve babaannenizin bu evlilikle ilgili ve sizinle ilgili tavırları nelerdir?

- Toplumun genelinin bu evlilikle ilgili tavırları neler olabilir?

- Aileniz bu durumu sizden sakladılar mı?

    - Ailenizin etnik kökenini ne zaman ve nasıl öğrendiniz?

    - Öğrendiğinizde ne hissettiniz?

    - Ailenizin tavrı nasıl oldu?

2- İki farklı etnik kökenden ebeveyne sahip olmak size ne ifade ediyor?

- Her iki ebeveyni de Türk olan birine kıyasla hayatınızdaki farklılıklar neler olabilir?

- Her iki ebeveyni de Kürt olan birine kıyasla hayatınızdaki farklılıklar neler olabilir?

3-Kendi kimliğinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

- Nerelisin diye sorulduğunda nasıl cevap veriyorsunuz?

- Bu soru size nasıl hissettiriyor?

- Çocukluğunuzdan bu yana kendinizi daha çok Kürt gibi mi hissettiniz ? Türk gibi mi?

- Diğer etnik kökenlere karşı nasıl hissediyorsunuz ?

  - Yeni bir ortama girdiğinizde yakınlaşacağınız kişiyi nasıl seçersiniz? Etnik kökenin bu yakınlaşmada nasıl bir etkisi olur?

- Bu tanımlamanız hayatınız boyunca değişiklik gösterdi mi? Gösterdiyse bu değişikliği nelere bağlıyorsunuz?

- Böyle tanımlamanız hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi?

- Kolaylaştırdı mı? Zorlaştırdı mı? Hangi yönlerden kolaylaştırdı/zorlaştırdı?

4- Bu tanımlamada nelerin etkili olduğunu düşüyorsunuz?

- Geniş ailenizin nasıl bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

- Fiziksel görüntünüzün nasıl bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

- Sosyal çevrenizin nasıl bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz ?

- Diğer sosyal kimliklerinizin (kadın olmak, yaşlı/genç olmak, engelli olmak) nasıl bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

- Toplumun size bir kimlik atfettiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Bununla ilgili bir anınız var mı ? Bu durum size nasıl hissettirdi?

5- İki ayrı kökenden ebeveyne sahip olduğunuz için, kimliğiniz üzerinden ayrımcılığa uğradınız bir anınız var mı? Anlatır mısınız?

- Ne hisettiniz?

- Bu durumun psikolojik sağlığınızı nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?

- Bu ayrımcılığın kimlik seçiminiz üzerinde nasıl bir etkisi oldu?

6- Bu tür ayrımcılıklarla nasıl başedersiniz?

8- Daha önce psikoterapi aldınız mı?

Evet ise:

- İki farklı etnik kökenden ebeveyne sahip olmanın psikoterapiye gitmenizde nasıl bir  etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

- Yaşadığınız ayrımcılıkların psikoterapiye gitmenize nasıl bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

- Terapistinizin etnik kökenini biliyor muydunuz?  Bu durum sizin için önemli midir? Mümkün olsa terapistinizi etnik kökenine göre seçer misiniz?

- Terapistinizin etnik köken meselesine veya azınlıkların karşılaştıkları zorluklara duyarlı olup olmadığını anladınız mı? Nasıl?

- Bunu anladığınızda psikoloğunuza dair düşünceleriniz değişti mi? Nasıl değişti?

- Etnik köken meselesi psikoterapide konu edildi mi/edilmeli miydi sizce? Konuyu kimin ve nasıl açmasını tercih edersiniz?

Hayır ise: Bir gün psikoterapiye gitmeniz gerekse;
- İki farkı etnik kökenden ebeveyne sahip olmanın psikoterapiye gitmenize nasıl bir etkisi olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?

- Yaşadığınız ayrımcılıkların psikoterapiye gitmenize nasıl bir etkisi olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?

- Terapistinizin etnik kökeni sizin için önemli olur mu?

- Mümkün olsa terapistinizi etnik kökenine göre seçer misiniz?

- Terapistinizin etnik köken meselesine veya azınlıkların karşılaştıkları zorluklara duyarlı olup olmadığını nasıl anlarsınız?

- Bunu anladığınızda psikoloğunuza dair düşünceleriniz değişir mi? Nasıl değişir?

- Etnik köken meselesi psikoterapide konu edilmeli mi sizce? Konuyu kimin ve nasıl açmasını tercih edersiniz?

- Herhangi bir takma isim kullanmamı ister misiniz çalışmada ? Nedir?

# C. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

## ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu çalışma ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Doç. Dr. Deniz Canel Çınarbaş danışmanlığında olan yüksek lisans öğrencisi Pelşin Ülgen tarafından yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

### Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Bu çalışmanın amacı Ankara veya İstanbul'da yaşayan Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin kimlik gelişimleri, yaşadıkları ayrımcılıklar ve bu durumun psikolojik sağlığa etkilerini incelemektir.

### Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Sizinle gün ve saat belirledikten sonra, yukarıda belirtilen amaç doğrultusunda size sorular soracağız. Sohbet gibi sürecek olan bu görüşmenin uzunluğu yaklaşık 1 saat kadar sürecektir.

### Katılımınızla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:

Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. Herhangi bir yaptırıma veya cezaya maruz kalmadan çalışmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya çalışmayı bırakabilirsiniz. Araştırma esnasında cevap vermek istemediğiniz sorular olursa boş bırakabilirsiniz.

Görüşmeler ses kaydına alınacaktır. Bu kayıtlar güvenli bir yerde saklanacak sadece araştırmacı ve danışman hoca tarafından dinleyebilecek, ve gerekli süre dolunca ses kayıtları imha edilecektir. Araştırmaya katılanlardan toplanan veriler

tamamen gizli tutulacak, veriler ve kimlik bilgileri herhangi bir şekilde eşleştirilmeyecektir.

**Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:**

Çalışmayla ilgili soru ve yorumlarınızı araştırmacıya e185369@metu.edu.tr adresinden iletebilirsiniz.


*Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.*

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).


İsim Soyad                    Tarih                    İmza


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## KÜRT-TÜRK MELEZİ BİREYLERDE KİMLİK GELİŞİMİ, BAŞ ETME STRATEJİLERİ VE PSİKOTERAPİ HAKKINDA GÖRÜŞLERİ

## BÖLÜM 1

## GİRİŞ

Melez insanların sayısı git gide artıyor (Owen, 2001). Örneğin, Amerika'da 18 yaş altı popülasyonda melezler şu anda en büyük gruptur (Greig, 2013). Toplum tarafından melezlerin genellikle parçalı bir kişilikleri olduğu varsayılır ve bu yüzden genellikle ötekileştirilirler (Mengel, 2001). Bu tarz tutumlar melezlerde sağlıksız kimlik gelişimine, psikolojik strese, ve düşük öz güvene sebep olur (Sue & Sue, 2003). Türkiye'de yaklaşık 1 milyon Kürt-Türk melezi yaşadığı tahmin ediliyor (Ergil, 2000). Fakat, Türk psikoloji literatüründe Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin kimlik gelişim deneyimleri ile ilgili herhangi bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Dolayısı ile bu çalışmanın amacı Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin kimlik gelişim süreçlerini, bu süreçteki deneyimlerini, yaşadıkları zorlukları, bu zorluklarla nasıl baş ettiklerini incelemek ve tüm bunların psikolojik sağlıklarını, psikoterapiye ve psikoterapiste karşı tutumlarını nasıl etkilediğini incelemektir.

Güncel yaklaşım ırkı sosyal bir fenomen olarak görüyorken (Olumide, 2002) eski yaklaşımlar ırkı biyolojik bir olgu olarak tanımlarlar (Blumenbach, 1968). Biyolojik temelli bu yaklaşımlar azınlıkların baskılanmasına, farklı etnik kimlikten insanların evlenmelerine karşı katı yaptırımların uygulanmasına sebep olmuştur (Root, 1990).

Laurie Mengel şöyle demiştir "ırk diye bir şey olmamasına rağmen ırkçılık kesinlikle vardır." (2001). Bütün bunların yanında melezler ırk kavramına meydan okuyorlar gibi kabul edilebilir çünkü onlar keskin etnik sınırları sahip oldukları kimlik ile bulanıklaştırıyorlar (Das, 2010).

Bu konuda süregelen tartışmalardan bir diğeri de melez kimliği gelişimidir. Bu konuda 3 farklı yaklaşım bulunmaktadır. İlki *Problem Yaklaşımı*'dır. Bu yaklaşıma göre melezler problemli bireyler olarak görülmektedir. Stonquist (1937) bu yaklaşımı benimseyenlerden biridir ve melezler için Marjinal İnsan Modeli'ni ortaya atmıştır. Bu model melezlerin kimlik gelişim süreçlerinin uyumsuzluk ve çatışma ile sonuçlandığını bunun da onları marjinal kıldığını iddia etmiştir. *Eşitlik Yaklaşımı* ikinci yaklaşımdır. Bu yaklaşım tek kimlikli bireyler ile iki kimlikli bireylerin kimlik gelişim süreçleri arasında bir fark bulunmadığını savunur (Thornton, 1996). Üçüncü ve son model *Varyant Yaklaşımı*'dır. Bu yaklaşım bu iki grubun kimlik gelişim süreçlerinin farklı olduğunu vurgulamakla birlikte melezleri ayrı bir kimlik kategorisi olarak ele almıştır (Thornton, 1996). Maria Root bu yaklaşımı benimseyen araştırmacılardan biridir ve 1990'da melezler için ayrı bir kimlik gelişim modeli sunmuştur. Bu modelde melezlerin kimlik gelişiminde kullandığı 4 stratejiyi sunmuştur. *Toplumun atfettiği kimliği benimsemek* ilk stratejidir. İsminden de anlaşılacağı üzere bu stratejiyi benimseyen melezler toplum tarafından kendilerine atfedilen kimlik ile kendilerini tanımlarlar. *İki kimlikle birden tanımlama* ikinci stratejidir. Bunu benimseyen bireyler sahip oldukları iki kimlikle de kendilerini tanımlamayı seçerler. *Tek bir kimlikle tanımlamak* üçüncü stratejidir. Bu stratejiyi benimseyen melez bireyler sahip oldukları kimliklerden yalnızca bir tanesi ile kendilerini tanımlamayı tercih ederler. *Yeni bir etnik grup olarak tanımlamak* dördüncü ve son stratejidir. Bu stratejiyi kullanan melez bireyler kendilerini sahip oldukları kimliklerden bağımsız olarak 'yalnızca melez' olarak tanımlamayı tercih edenlerdir.

Melez bireyler ya görünür bir azınlıkken, ya da tek kimlikli bir kategoriye konulmaya çalışılırken ayrımcılığa uğrarlar (Sue & Sue, 2003). Bu ayrımcılık diğer bireyler tarafından, toplumun kendisi tarafından, kurumlar ya da devlet tarafından yapılmaktadır (Davis, 2006). Tarihte melez bireyler 'muğlak' kimlikleri dolayısı ile kötü davranıldı ve ötekileştirildiler. Bu tür tutumlar melez bireylerin ruh sağlığını olumsuz yönde etkiledi (Reuter, 1938). Günümüzde ise melez bireyler hala ayrımcılığa uğruyorlar. Araştırmalar melezlerin sıklıkla tek bir kimliği seçmeye zorlandıklarını (Johnston & Nadal, 2010), toplumdan ve ailelerinden kimliklerine dair karmaşık mesajlar aldıklarını (Piskacek, & Golub, 1973), hem dominant grup tarafından hem de azınlık grup tarafından reddedildikleri için çifte azınlık statüsü ile yaşadıklarını göstermektedir (Root, 1996). Melez bireylerin sıklıkla sözel olarak yaşadıkları bu ayrımcılıklar zaman zaman fiziksel saldırı boyutuna bile ulaşabilmektedir (Jackson, 2009). Melez bireyler bu durumlarla baş etmek ve ruh sağlıklarını korumak için için belirli stratejiler geliştirmişlerdir.

Melez bireylerin yaşadıkları zorluklar ve ayrımcılıklarla baş etme mekanizmaları bir çok araştırmacı tarafından çalışılmıştır. Örneğin Jackson, Wolven, and Aguilera melez bireylerin kullandığı 8 ayrı baş etme stratejisi bulmuştur. Katılımcılar kendi kimlikleri ile *onur duyarak*, *kültürlerini araştırarak* ve *ırk olgusunu eleştirerek* yaşadıkları ayrımcılıklarla baş etmeye çalıştıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Öte yandan bu katılımcılar, *stratejik ilişkiler kurarak,* yani ayrımcılığa uğramayacakları insanları ve *kültürel olarak olumlayıcı ortamları seçerek* yaşadıkları zorlukları ve ayrımcılıkları azaltmaya çalışırlar. Ayrıca, kimi katılımcılar *kimliklerini esnek bir biçimde kullanarak* yani farklı ortamlarda farklı kimliklerini ortaya koyarak bu durumlarla beş etmeye çalıştıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bazı katılımcılar ayrımcılığa uğradıkları anda *kendilerini savunarak* bu durumla baş etmeye çalışırken bazıları yaşadıkları bu zorlukları şiir yazarak, örgü örerek, ve grafiti çizerek, yani daha *yaratıcı yollarla* baş etmeye çalıştıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Başka bir çalışmada da dört genel baş etme stratejisi bulunmuştur. Bunlar: *başkalarını eğitmek, destek kanallarından faydalanma, değişikliği kucaklamak* ve *kaçınma*dır (Museus, Sariñana, & Ryan, 2015).

Bazen yukarıda bahsedilen mekanizmalar yaşanılan zorluklarla baş etmede yeterli olmayabilir. Bu durumlarda ruh salığı çalışanları, spesifik olarak psikologlar, melez danışanlar ile çalışırken sağlıklı bir kimlik gelişimine katkıda bulunmak amacı ile belli başlı stratejiler kullanmalıdırlar. Sue and Sue 2003'te terapistlere bazı öneriler sunmuşlardır. Bu çalışmanın amacı Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin yaşadıkları zorlukları, bu zorlukların psikolojik sağlıklarını, psikoterapiste ve terapiye karşı tutumlarını nasıl etkilediğini incelemek olduğu için bu çalışmanın sonuçları ile terapistler bu grup hakkında bilgi edinip klinik pratiklerinde bu çalışmanın bulgularından faydalanabilirler.

Türkiye'de 2001 istatistiklerine göre 13 milyon nüfus ile Kürtler en büyük azınlık grubudurlar (Karimova & Deverell, 2001). Türkiye'deki Kürtler ülkenin kimi yerlerinde nüfus yoğunluğu olarak çoğunluk olsalar da azınlık statüsündedirler (Gündoğdu, 2017). 1923'te imzalanan Lozan anlaşması ile yalnızca gayrimüslim gruplar azınlık olarak kabul edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda Müslüman olan Kürtler azınlık statüsü kazanamamışlardır (Karimova & Deverell, 2001). Kürtler Türk kimliği ile Türkiye vatandaşı olmuşlardır (Gökçek, 2011). Dolayısı ile Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin sayısı ile ilgili kesin bir bilgi yoktur. Fakat, Ergil Türkiye'de yaklaşık bir milyon melezin bulunduğunu belirtmiştir. Öte yandan Siyaset ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı'nın yaptığı araştırmada Türklerin üçte birinin Kürt bir akrabası ve Kürtlerin yarısından fazlasının Türk bir akrabası olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu çalışma kesin bir sayı vermese bile Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin sayısının az olmadığını düşündürmektedir.

En büyük azınlık grup olan Kürtler ayrımcılığa ve ötekileştirmeye maruz kalmışlardır (Ergil, 2000). Kürt popülasyonuna barbar, gerici, ve kaba gibi imajlar atfedilmiştir. Ana akım medya kürtleri gerici Müslüman, aşiret üyesi, kaçakçı, ve ekonomik ve kültürel olarak gelişmemiş olarak yansıtmaktadır (Sonnenschein, 2013). Öte yandan devlet ülke nüfusunun yaklaşık üçte biri Kürt olmasına rağmen Kürtçe'nin okullarda

öğretilmesini yasaklamıştır (Ergil, 2000). Dünya literatüründe genellikle Beyaz-Siyahi melezlerin yaşadıkları ayrımcılıklar yer almaktadır ve diğer melezlerle (Beyaz-Siyahi melezi olmayan) ilgili çalışmaların çok az olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Türkiye literatüründe ise Kürtlere yapılan ayrımcılığa dair belli bulgular olmasına rağmen Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin yaşadıkları zorluklar ve ayrımcılıklarla ilgili herhangi bir bulgu yoktur. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma ilk olacaktır.

## BÖLÜM 2

## YÖNTEM

İnsanoğlu dünyayı anlamaya çalışırken gerçekliği ve anlamı inşa eder. Nitel araştırmacılar da bu anlamı keşfetmeye çalışır (Howitt, 2010). Özellikle araştırma konusu yeni ve ve kompleks bir fenomen olunca nitel araştırma yöntemi tercih edilmektedir. Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin deneyimleri daha önce çalışılmayan kompleks bir olgu olduğu için nitel araştırma yönteminin en uygun yöntem olduğuna karar verilmiştir. Bu çalışma için daha spesifik olarak Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz (YFA) kullanılmıştır.

### 2.1 Katılımcılar

YFA ilkeleri doğrultusunda amaçlı örnekleme kullanılmıştır ve yine bu ilkeler doğrultusunda 8 Kürt-Türk melezi katılımcı ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Katılımcıların kabul kriterleri; anne veya babasından birinin Kürt birinin Türk olması, Ankara veya İstanbul'da büyümüş olması ve 20 yaşından büyük olması şeklinde belirlenmiştir. Katılımcılardan 2'si erkek 6'sı kadındır. Katılımcıların yaşı 22 ile 35 yaş arasındadır ($M = 26.75$, $SD = 3.88$).

**2.2 Materyaller**

Araştırmacı ve danışman hocası tarafından sosyo-demografik form (EK A) ve melez deneyimleri sorgulamayı amaçlayan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme soruları hazırlanmıştır (Ek B). Bu sorular hazırlanırken literatürdeki benzer çalışmalar ve görüşme soruları incelenmiştir. Yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme YFA'nın önerdiği bir protokoldür (Willig, 2013).

**2.3 Prosedür**

Öncelikle Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'nin Etik Komite'sinden çalışma için izin alınmıştır. Ardından kartopu örnekleme yöntemi ile katılımcılar bulunmuştur. Katılımcılar çalışma hakkında bilgilendirilmiş. Öncelikle bilgilendirilmiş onam formu katılımcılara doldurtulmuştur (EK C). Ardından demografik form ve yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme soruları sorulmuştur. Tüm görüşmeler ses kayıt cihazı ile kaydedilmiştir.

**2.4 Analiz**

Tüm görüşmeler ses kayıt cihazı ile kayıt altına alınmıştır. Ardından veriye aşina olmak amacıyla yazı dökümü yapılan görüşmeler tekrar tekrar okunmuş ve incelemiştir. Katılımcıların yazı dökümleri YFA esasları doğrultusunda analiz edilmiştir. (Howitt, 2010). Öncelikle ilk katılımcının yazı dökümü tekrar tekrar okunmuş incelenmiş belirli notlar alınmış ve en son kodlanmıştır. Kodlamanın ardından ortaya çıkan temalar kaydedilmiştir. Bu işlem diğer tüm katılımcıların yazı dökümleri için uygulanmıştır. Ardından, tüm görüşmelerden ortaya çıkan temalar detaylı bir şekilde karşılaştırılmış ve benzerliklerine göre gruplandırılmıştır. Son olarak genel bir tema listesi oluşturulmuştur.

## 2.5 Çalışmanın Güvenirliği

Araştırmacı bu çalışmanın niteliğini değerlendirmek adına Fischer (2009) ve Morrow (2005) tarafından sunulan 4 standardı temel almıştır. Bunlardan ilki *öznellik*-tir. Yani araştırmacının perspektifinin ve öznel tutumunun yorumlar ve analiz üzerinde etkisi olabileceği kabul edilmiştir. Diğer standart *düşünümsellik*-tir (reflexivity). Yani araştırmacı okuyucuları çalışmaya etkisi olabileceğini düşündüğü bireysel süreçleri ile ilgili bilgilendirmiş, bu sayede okuyucuların çalışmayı farklı bir gözle de okumasına olanak tanımıştır (Fischer, 2009). Üçüncü standart *uygun veri toplama*-dır. Bu amaca ulaşmak için, çalışmada birden çok kaynaktan veri toplamak amaçlanmıştır. Araştırmacı bunun için kendi öz-düşünümsel notlarından, görüşme içeriklerinden ve görüşme sırasında yorumlarını görüşmeciler ile paylaşarak onların da kontrol etmesini sağlayarak bu amaca ulaşmaya çalışmıştır. Son standart *uygun yorumlama*-dır. Bu amaca ulaşmak için araştırmacı analiz esnasında görüşmeleri tekrar ve tekrar dinlemiş ve yazı dökümlerini defalarca okumuştur (Frost, 2011).

## Öz-Düşünümsellik

Bu konuya olan ilgim kendi bireysel deneyimimden kaynaklanmaktadır. Katılımcılardan farklı olarak her iki ebeveynim de Kürt; fakat, İstanbul'da doğup büyüdüğüm için ben de iki kültürle büyüdüm. İki kültürün arasında kalmak ve herhangi bir tarafa aidiyet hissetmek zordu benim için. Bu zorluklar benim melez bireylerin yaşadıkları zorluklara, nasıl baş ettiklerine, psikolojik sağlıklarının bu durumdan nasıl etkilendiğine ilgi duymamı sağladı.

# BÖLÜM 3

## SONUÇLAR

Analiz sonucunda (1) etnik tanımlama (2) kimlik tanımını etkileyen faktörler (3) Türkiye'de melez olmanın zorlukları (4) baş etme stratejileri (5) psikoterapi ve melez kimliği olmak üzere beş üst tema oluşturulmuştur.

### 3.1 Etnik Tanımlama

Bu üst tema katılımcıların kendi kimliklerini nasıl tanımladıklarını kapsamaktadır. Katılımcıların bu tanımlaması çeşitlilik göstermiş olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Öte yandan katılımcılar bu tanımlamaları görüşme sırasında veya hayatlarının belli dönemlerinde de değiştirmişlerdir. Bazı katılımcılar kendilerini Kürt-Türk melezi olarak tanımlamışlardır.

Bir çok katılımcı kendini geleneksel olarak babalarının memleketi ile tanımlamayı reddetmiş kendilerini kendi doğup büyüdükleri şehirlerle tanımlamayı tercih etmişlerdir. Bu şehirler Ankara veya İstanbul'dur. Öte yandan bazı katılımcılar kendilerini Kürt olarak tanımlamayı seçmişler ve bu seçimlerini Kürtlerin Türkiye'de azınlık ve dezavantajlı bir grup olmalarına ve dezavantajlı bir grup ile tanımlamanın politik olarak daha doğru olduğunu belirtmişlerdir.

İki katılımcı kendini etnik bir kimlik ile tanımlamayı reddetmiş olup kendilerini kimliksiz, ulussuz olarak tanımlamayı tercih etmişlerdir. Son olarak katılımcıların çoğu Türkiye toplumunun kendilerine Türk kimliği atfettiğini belirtmişlerdir. Bu atfın da kendilerinin dış görünüşlerine, şivelerinin olup olmamasına, isimlerinin Kürtçe olup olmadığına bakılarak yapıldığını ifade etmişlerdir.

## 3.2 Kimlik Tanımını Etkileyen Faktörler

Görüşme sırasında katılımcılar kimlik seçimlerini etkileyen dört ayrı faktörden bahsetmişlerdir. Katılımcılar dört ayrı faktörden bahsetmişlerdir. Bunlar; (3.2.1) ailenin etkisi, (3.2.2) batı'da büyümüş olmanın etkisi, (3.2.3) ayrımcılığın etkisi, ve (3.2.4) dilin etkisi'dir.

Katılımcılar ailelerinin politik tutumlarının (Kürt olan ebeveynin Kürt kimliğine sahip çıkıp çıkmamasının, Kürt kültürünü yaşatıp yaşatmamasının ve tüm bunları çocuklarına öğretip öğretmemesinin) kimlik seçimlerinde etkili olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca katılımcıların ailelerinin sosyoekonomik düzeylerinin de kimlik seçimleri kimliklerini nasıl yaşadıkları ve yaşattıkları üzerinde etkisi olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Ayrıca, katılımcılar Türkiye'nin batısında büyütüldükleri için ki buralar Türk nüfusunun fazla olduğu ve Türk kültürel değerlerin yaygın olduğu şehirler oldukları için kendilerinin daha çok Türk gibi büyütüldüklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Katılımcılardan bir kısmı Kürt kimliklerine yönelik yaşadıkları ayrımcılığın kendilerini Kürt kimliği ile daha fazla tanımlamaya ittiğini ifade etmişlerdir. Öte yandan bir kısım katılımcı ise yaşadıkları ayrımcılıkların Kürt kimliklerini saklama ihtiyacını doğurduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Son olarak katılımcılar hangi dili bildiklerinin kimlik seçimi üzerinde etkisi olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda katılımcılardan çoğu Kürtçe'yi bilmedikleri için kendilerini Kürt kimliği ile tanımlamanın zor olduğunu belirtmişlerdir.

## 3.3 Türkiye'de Melez olmanın zorlukları

Katılımcılar Kürt-Türk melezi olduklarından dolayı belli zorluklar yaşadıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Bunlar (3.3.1) ayrımcılık ve (3.3.2) aidiyet duygusunun yokluğu isimli iki alt temayı oluşturmuştur. Katılımcıların çoğu Kürt-Türk melezi olduklarından dolayı ayrımcılığa maruz kaldıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Katılımcılar çeşitli ayrımcılık deneyimlerinden bahsetmişlerdir. Örneğin katılımcıların çoğu sistemin uyguladığı ayrımcılıktan söz etmiştir. Bu bağlamda Türk eğitim sisteminde, okul müfredatlarında

Kürt tarihini anlatan herhangi bir dersin bulunmaması, devlet memurlarının ismi Kürtçe olan katılımcılara karşı sergiledikleri ayrımcı tavırlar örnek olarak verilmiştir. Öte yandan katılımcılar hem Kürt insanı hem de Türk insanı tarafından ayrımcılığa maruz kaldıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda her iki gruba da dahil olamadıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca, katılımcıların çoğunda Kürtlere yönelik içselleştirilmiş ayrımcılık olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bağamda katılımcılar görüşme sırasında Kürtlerle ilgili olumsuz kalıp yargılar ve ayrımcı sıfatlar kullanmışlardır. İkinci bir zorluk olarak katılımcılar iki etnik kimliğin arasında kalmış gibi hissettiklerini, herhangi bir tarafa tam anlamıyla ait hissetmediklerini ifade etmişlerdir.

## 3.4 Baş Etme Yöntemleri

Katılımcılar yaşadıkları bu zorluklarla (1) kaçınma (2) açıktan tepki gösterme (3) ayrımcılık yapanı değersizleştirme (4) stratejik ilişkiler ve kültürel olarak olumlayıcı çevreler (5) ırkı eleştirme (6) etnisite değişimi olmak üzere altı tane baş etme yöntemi ile baş etmeye çalıştıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Katılımcılar ayrımcılığa uğrayacakları kişilerden ya da da mekanlardan kaçındıklarını böylelikle ayrımcılık yaşama ihtimallerini azalttıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Öte yandan kimi katılımcıların ayrımcılık deneyimleri ile ilgili düşüncelerden veya duygulardan kaçınarak baş ettikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bazı katılımcılar ayrımcılık yaşadıkları zaman ayrımcılığı yapan kişiye ya da kuruma açıktan sözel olarak tepki gösterdiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Öte yandan bir kısım katılımcının ayrımcılık yapan kişiyi değersizleştirdiği ayrımcılığın kendileri üzerinde bıraktığı etkiyi azalttığı gözlemlenmiştir. Ayrıca, katılımcılar ayrımcılık yapma ihtimalleri az olan insanlarla ilişki içinde olduklarını veya ayrımcılığa uğrama ihtimallerinin az olduğu çevrelere dahil olduklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Bu yolla katılımcıların ayrımcılığa uğrama ihtimallerini azalttıkları düşünülmektedir. Bazı katılımcıların ırk etnisite gibi olguları ve toplumun bu olgulara yükledikleri anlamları eleştirdikleri ve değersizleştirdikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Son olarak katılımcıların çoğu sağladığı avantaja bağlı olarak bazı ortamlarda kendilerini

Kürt, bazılarında Türk ve bazılarında ise Kürt-Türk melezi olarak ifade ettiklerini bu yolla ayrımcılık yaşama ihtimallerini azalttıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

**3.5 Psikoterapi ve Melez Kimliği**

Psikoterapi ve melez kimliği üst teması (1) melez olmanın zorlukları ve psikoterapi ile ilgili değerlendirmeler (2) psikoterapist ile ilgili değerlendirmeler olmak üzere iki alt temadan oluşmaktadır. Katılımcılardan bir kısmı Kürt-Türk melezi olmaktan dolayı yaşadıkları sıkıntıları psikoterapiye gitme ihtiyacı ile ilişkilendirirken. Diğer bir kısmı bu yaşanılan zorlukların psikoterapiye gitmek için bir neden olamayacağını belirtti. Ayrıca, katılımcıların çoğu psikoterapistin etnik kimliğinin kendileri için önem arz etmediğini dile getirmişlerdir. Öte yandan katılımcılar bir psikoterapistin nasıl ayrımcı olabileceği ve kendilerini terapi sürecinde bunu nasıl anlayabileceklerine dair de görüşlerini bildirmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda katılımcılar terapistin sözel olmayan mesajlarından (göz devirme, kimlik ile ilgili sorular sorarken ki ses tonu) ayrımcı biri olduğunu anlayabileceklerini belirtmişlerdir. Öte yandan bir diğer kısım katılımcı ise terapistin Türkiye'de yaşayan herhangi bir azınlık gruba yönelik kullandığı ayrımcı cümlelerin de terapistin ayrımcı biri olduğunu gösterebileceğini bildirmişlerdir. Katılımcılar terapistin ayrımcı olduğunu anladıkları zaman ya terapiyi bırakma ya da terapist ile bu durumu konuşma gibi iki türlü tepki göstereceklerini ifade etmişlerdir.

**BÖLÜM 4**

**TARTIŞMA**

Etnik kimlik tanımı ile ilgili bulgular Root'un modeli ile paralellik göstermiştir. Örneğin melez olarak tanımlama Root'un modelinde İki kimlikle birden tanımlama olarak isimlendirilmiştir ve Root bu kişilerin iki kimliğe de sahip olduklarından dolayı

imtiyazlı hissedebileceklerini belirmiştir. Benzer şekilde katılımcılar da kendilerini şansı hissettiklerini çünkü iki kimlik ile tanımlamanın kültürel zenginliği beraberinde getirdiğini vurgulamışlardır. Kürt olarak tanımlama Root'un modelinde tek bir kimlik ile tanımlamak olarak isimlendirilmiş, toplumun atfettiği kimlik ise Root'un modelinde toplumun atfettiği kimlik ile tanımlama olarak isimlendirilmiş; fakat bu çalışmadaki katılımcılar toplumun atfettiği kimliğin Türk olduğunu belirtmelerine karşın kendilerini bu kimlik ile tanımlamamışlardır. Fakat katılımcıların neredeyse hepsi kendilerini Türk gibi hissettiklerini de ifade etmişlerdir. Bu durumun sosyal istenirlikten kaynaklandığı düşünülmüştür. Öyle ki katılımcıların çoğu solcu duruşu ile bilinen bir devlet üniversitesinde öğrencidir. Öte yandan görüşme Kürt bir araştırmacı tarafından yapılmıştır. Bu iki durumun da katılımcıların kendilerini dominant kültür ile tanımlamalarını zorlaştırmış olabileceği düşünülmüştür.

Bazı katılımcılar kendilerini memleketleri ile tanımlaşmışlardır.Constantine, Baysden, and So-Loyd (2005) çalışmalarında melez bireylerin doğup büyüdükleri yer, okula başladıkları yer gibi önem teşkil eden yerlerin kişilerin kimlik seçimlerinde önemli rol oynadığını bulmuşlardır. Benzer şekilde katılımcılar İstanbul ve Ankara'da doğup büyüdükleri için kendilerini Türk olarak tanımlamasalar bile Türk gibi hissettiklerini ve Türk gibi büyütüldüklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Katılımcılar Diyarbakır gibi Kürtlerin yoğunlukta yaşadığı illerden toplanmış olsaydı belki kendilerini daha çok Kürt olarak tanımlayacaklardı.

Bazı katılımcılar kendilerini etnik bir kimlik ile tanımlamayı reddetmişlerdir. Çalışmada katılımcıların hayatlarının erken dönemlerinde kimlikle ilgili sıkıntılar yaşayanlar bu sıkıntılara çözüm olarak kendilerini etnik bir kimlik ile tanımlamayı tercih etmeyenler oldukları gözlemlenmiştir.

Kimliği etkileyen faktörlere gelince Wijeyesinghe and Jackson (2003) ailelerin sosyoekonomik durumlarının kimlikleri üzerinde etkisi olduğunu iddia etmişlerdir. Benzer şekilde katılımcılar orta ya da yüksek gelir grubundan oldukları ve Türkiye'de yüksek gelirli aileler genellikle Türk kökenli aileler oldukları için (KONDA, 2010)

Türk gibi yetiştirdiklerini belirtmiş olabilecekleri düşünülmüştür. Çalışmada ailelerin politik tutumlarının yani Kürt ebeveynin kendi kimliğini yaşatıp yalatmamasının katılımcıların kimlik seçimleri üzerinde etkili olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Benzer şekilde Renn (2003) ailelerin politik tutumlarının melez bireylerin kimlik seçiminde etkisi olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Root genellikle melez bireylerin ailelerinde kimlik ile ilgili konularda pek konuşulmadığını gözlemlediğini belirtmiştir. O'Donoghue (2004) da konuşulmamasının sebebini ailelerin melez olmadıklarından dolayı çocuklarının ne yaşadıklarını bilmemesine bağlamıştır. Güncel çalışmanın katılımcılarının ailelerinde de benzer bir örüntü olduğu bunun da kimlik gelişim sürecini etkilediği gözlemlenmiştir.

Katılımcılar ayrımcılığı bir diğer kimliği etkileyen faktör olarak belirtmişlerdir bu bağlamda kimisi ayrımcılık yaşadıktan sonra Kürt kimliğine daha çok sahip çıktığını ifade etmiştir. Benzer şekilde, sosyal kimlik kuramı azınlık bir birey azınlık grubun çoğunluk tarafından ayrımcılığa maruz kaldığını fark ettikten sonra, kişinin azınlık taraf ile kendini tanımlamasının arttığını iddia etmektedir (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Öte yandan kimi katılımcılar yaşadıkları ayrımcılıktan sonra Kürt kimliğini saklama ihtiyacı hissettiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (1996) yürüttükleri çalışma bulguları da Norveç'te azınlık olan Sami'lerin ülkede ayrımcılığın fazla olduğu yerlerde etnik azınlık kimliklerini sakladıklarını bulmuşlardır.

Bir diğer etkileyen faktör de dilin etkisidir. Kürtler ve Türkler fiziksel özellikler, din, kültürel pratikler konusunda bir hayli benzeşmektedirler. Bu bağlamda bu iki etnik kimliği ayıran en büyük faktör dildir. Kürtçe Türkçe'den çok farklı bir dildir. Buna paralel olarak katılımcılar bu iki kimliği dil ile ayırmış olup kendilerini dilini bildikleri kimliğe daha yakın hissettiklerini ve bu kimlik ile tanımlamanın kendileri için daha kolay olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca Wijeyesinghe (2001) ve Root (2003) da evde konuşulan dilin kimliği belirlemede önemli bir faktör olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir.

Katılımcılar melez olmanın zorluklarından biri olarak yaşadıkları ayrımcılık deneyimlerinden bahsetmişlerdir. Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi'nin 2014'te yaptığı anket sonuçlarına göre Türk katılımcıların yüzde 11.3'ü Kürtlerle beraber yaşamak istemediklerini belirtirken Kürt katılımcıların yüzde 74.1'i ayrımcılığa uğradıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Bu çalışmadaki katılımcılar sistemin uyguladığı ayrımcılıktan bahsetmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda Ergil (2000) Türkiye'de Kürtlerin sürekli sistem bazlı bir ayrımcılığa maruz kaldıklarını. Devletin okullarda Kürtçe öğretilmesini, Kürtçe radyo ve televizyon programı yapılmasını yasakladığını belirtmiştir. Ayrıca Kaya (2012) Kürtlerin çoğunlukta yaşadıkları yerlerde bile Kürtçe ana dilde eğitime izin verilmediğini bu bağlamda Kürt çocuklarının bilmedikleri bir dilde eğitim görmeye başladıklarını ifade etmiştir. Ayrıca katılımcıların görüşmeler sırasında Kürtlere yönelik içselleştirilmiş ayrımcılık sergiledikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bağlamda Nakashima (1992) melez bireylerin tek ırklılığın/etnikliliğin vurgulandığı toplumlarda kendileri ile ilgili ortaya atılan olumsuz yorumları, kalıp yargıları içselleştirebileceklerini iddia etmiştir. Türkiye toplumu Kürtlere yönelik ayrımcı, ön yargılı düşünceleri bünyesinde barındıran bir toplum olması (Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, 2014) dolayısı ile katılımcıların bu yargıları içselleştirmiş olabileceği düşünülmüştür.

Bir diğer zorluk olarak katılımcılar aidiyet duygusunun yokluğunu öne sürmüşlerdir. Bir çok katılımcı ne Türk tarafa ne de Kürt tarafa tam olarak ait hissettiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Bu temanın diğer tüm temalardan katılımcılar bu aidiyet yokluğundan bahsederken duygulanmaları sebebi ile farklılaştığı düşünülmektedir. Bir gruba ait olmak grubun diğer üyeleri tarafından tanınmak, kabul görmek anlamına gelmektedir (Hagerty, Williams, Coyne, & Early, 1996). Bu bağlamda bunun yokluğu zor bir deneyimdir. Ayrıca Shih and Sanchez (2005) bu aidiyet yoksunluğunun melez bireylerin kimlik gelişimlerini daha da zorlaştırdığını iddia etmişlerdir.

Dördüncü üst tema baş etme yöntemidir. Katılımcılar melez olmaktan dolayı yaşadıkları zorluklarla ilgili olarak altı farklı baş etme yönteminden bahsetmişlerdir.

İlki kaçınmadır. ayrımcılığa uğramanın psikolojik yükü fazla olduğu için katılımcıların ayrımcılığa uğramayacakları çevreleri ve insanları seçtiği gözlemlenmiştir. Ayrıca katılımcıların ayrımcılık ile ilgili düşüncelerinden yaşadıkları ayrımcılık deneyiminin önemini azaltarak hatta yok sayarak kaçındıkları gözlemlenmiştir. Museus ve çalışma arkadaşları da melez bireylerle yaptıkları çalışmada çok benzer bir sonuç bulmuşlardır. Bu baş etme yönteminin ilk etapta etkili olduğu düşünülse bile uzun vade de olumsuz sonuçlar doğurabileceği düşünülmüştür. Öyle ki Heppner, Cook, Wright, ve Johnson, 1995'te bir çalışma yürütmüş ve yaşadıkları ayrımcılıklar karşısında kaçınma yöntemini kullanan katılımcıların depresyona daha meyilli olduklarını bulmuşlardır.

Bir diğer baş etme yöntemi açıktan tepkidir. Bir çok çalışmada melez bireylerin ayrımcılık karşısında bu yöntemi kullandıkları bulunmuştur. Noh ve Kaspar (2003) çalışmalarında bu yöntemi kişisel yüzleştirme olarak isimlendirmişler ve bu yöntemin ayrımcılığın depresyon üzerindeki etkisini azaltıcı bir etkisi olduğunu bulmuşlardır. Benzer şekilde şimdiki çalışmada katılımcılar tepkilerini ortaya koyduktan sonra rahatladıklarını, sakinleştiklerini ve daha kolay unutabildiklerini ifade etmişlerdir.

Stratejik ilişkiler ve kültürel olarak olumlayıcı çevreler katılımcıların kullandığı bir diğer baş etme yöntemidir. Meksika-Amerika melezleri ile yapılan bir çalışmada katılımcıların belli insanlarla yakınlaşıp arkadaş olurken belli insanlardan da uzaklaştıkları bu yolla yaşayacakları ayrımcılık, huzursuzluk ve çatışma olasılıklarını azalttıkları gözlemlenmiştir (Jackson et al., 2013). Bir diğer baş etme yöntemi de ırkı eleştirmektir. Aynı çalışmada Jackson ve çalışma arkadaşları (2013) katılımcılardan çoğunun ırkı olgusunu sorgulayıp eleştirdiklerini bulmuşlardır. Araştırmacılar bu durumu katılımcıların bu olguyu eleştirerek kendilerini bir kimlik ile tanımlama zorunluluğunu azaltmaya çalıştıklarını iddia etmişlerdir. Melez olmak sınırları belli olan kesin, net bir kimlik sunmadığı için, ırk olgusunu eleştirerek Kürt-Türk melezi bireyler de benzer şekilde kimliğin önemini azaltarak herhangi bir kimlik ile de tanımlama zorunluluğunu hafifletmeye çalıştıkları düşünülmektedir. Son olarak

katılımcılar farklı ortamlarda sağladıkları avantaja bağlı olarak kimliklerini Kürt Türk veya Kürt-Türk melezi olarak ifade ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Vasquez (2010) bunu *esnek etnisite* olarak adlandırmıştır ve melez bireylerin bu yolla birden fazla sosyal ortamda 'içerden biri' olarak görülmelerini sağladığını vurgulamıştır. Bu temanın melezlerle yapılan bir çok çalışmada ortaya çıktığı görülmüştür (Nayani, 2010; Rockquemore, Brunsma, & Delgado, 2009).

Bazen bu yöntemler yetersiz kalabilir ve melez bireyler yaşadıkları sıkıntılardan dolayı psikoterapiye ihtiyaç duyabilirler. Bir çalışmanın sonuçları etnik azınlık danışanlar ırk ve etnisite konularının terapide işlenmesine Beyaz (çoğunluk) danışanlardan daha çok önem verdikleri göstermiştir (Meyer & Zane, 2013). Şimdiki çalışmada katılımcılar terapistin etnik kimliğinin önemli olmadığını ifade etmişlerdir. Bu bulgu literatürdeki diğer bulguların aksini ortaya koymuştur. Öyleki bir çalışma danışanların terapistin etnisitesine herşeyden önce değer biçtiklerini belirtmişlerdir (Ward, 2005)**.** Terapide Siyahi kişiler danışan da olsa terapist de olsa aktarım ve karşı aktarım süreçleri dolayı ile agresif, aşağı, ve paranoid olarak algılanıyorlar (Lijtmaer, 2006). Benzer şekilde şimdi ki çalışmada katılımcılar terapistin aşağılayıcı bir tonu olabileceğinden korktuklarını hatta bunu hissederlerse terapiyi bırakacaklarını ifade etmişlerdir.

## 4.1 Klinik Etkiler

Sue and Sue 2003'te aşağıda belirtilen bazı öneriler sunmuşlardır bu önerlerin Kürt-Türk melezi bireylere de uygulanabilir olduğu düşünülmektedir. Öncelikle psikologlar Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerin deneyimleri ile ilgili bilgi sahibi olmalıdırlar. Ayrıca terapistler Kürtlere, Kürt-Türk melezi bireylere yönelik kendi ön yargıları ve ayrımcı tutumları hakkında farkındalık geliştirmelidirler ve bunları ortadan kaldırmaya çalışmalıdırlar ancak o zaman kendi düşüncelerini danışanlara yansıtmaktan geri durabilirler. Öte yandan psikoterapistler melez danışanlarına kalıp yargılar ile yaklaşmamalıdırlar, çünkü bu yargılar danışanın gerçekliğini yansıtmıyor olabilir ve danışanın biricikliğini göz ardı etmeye sebep olabilirler. Terapistlerin melez bireylere

kimlikleri ile ilgili yaşadıkları zorlukların kendilerindeki bir eksiklikten kaynaklanmadığını aksine toplumun onlara bu durumu yaşattığını vurgulamaları da önem arz etmektedir. Ayrıca, terapistler melez danışanlarına kendilerini istedikleri gibi tanımlama özgürlükleri olduğunu vurgulamalıdırlar. Ayrıca terapistler danışanların kullandıkları baş etme yöntemlerinin fayda ve zararlarını kendileri ile konuşup bu bağlamda farkındalık geliştirmelerini sağlamalıdırlar. Son olarak terapistler bu grupla çalışırken aktarı ve karşı-aktarım duygularının farkında olmalıdırlar.

## 4.2 Sınırlılıklar ve Sonraki Araştırmalar için Yönergeler

Öncelikle çalışmada memleket kimliği belirlemede önemli bir faktör olarak belirmiştir. Katılımcıların Kürt olan ebeveynlerinin memleketleri çeşitlilik göstermiştir. Kimisinin kürt ebeveyninin memleketi Diyarbakır'ken (kürtlerin yoğunlukta yaşadığı ve Kürt kimliğini açıkça ortaya koyan bir memleket) bazılarının ki Malatya (Kürt kimliğini açıkça ortaya koymayan bir memleket) gibi şehirlerdi. Homojen örneklemin önemli olduğu YPA için katılımcıların Kürt ebeveynlerinin memleketlerinin benzer ya da aynı olması daha iyi olabilirdi. Sonraki çalışmalar bunu göz önünde bulundurabilir.

Ayrıca, çalışmada yaş da kimlik üzerinde önemli bir faktör olarak belirmiştir çünkü katılımcıların kimlik tanımı farklı yaşlarda değişkenlik göstermişlerdir. Çalışmada katılımcıların yaş aralığı 22-35 idi. Bu bağlamda yine YPA'nın daha homojen örneklem vurgusu düşünüldüğünde bundan sonraki çalışmalar ergen, genç, orta-yaşlı ve yaşlı bireylerle ayrı çalışmalar yapıp yaşın bu tanımlamalar üzerindeki etkisini karşılaştırmalı olarak çalışabilirler. Ayrıca, katılımcıların çoğu orta-yüksek gelir grubundan olmalarına rağmen bir katılımcı çok düşük gelir grubundandı. Onun deneyimlerinin diğer katılımcıların deneyimlerinden çok daha olumsuz olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Sonraki çalışmalar düşük gelir gruplu Kürt-Türk melezi bireylerle benzer çalışmalar yürütebilirler. Son olarak bazı katılımcılar daha önce hiç ayrımcılık

yaşadınız mı sorusuna bu sorudan önce ayrımcılık deneyimlerinden bahsetmiş olmalarına rağmen yaşamadık şeklinde cevap vermişlerdir. Burada araştırmacı ayrımcılık tanımı yapıp, katılımcıların daha öncesinden verdiği örneklerle bu tanımı pekiştirmiştir. Bu müdahaleden sonra katılımcılar yaşadıkları ayrımcılık deneyimlerini daha kolaylıkla rapor etmişlerdir; fakat bu deneyimler doğal bir şekilde değil bir müdahale ile ortaya çıkmışlardır. Bu bağlamda araştırmacının katılımcıların cevaplarını etkilemiş olabileceği düşünülmekte

# E. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

**ENSTİTÜ**

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☒ X

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

**YAZARIN**

Soyadı : Ülgen
Adı     : Pelşin
Bölümü : Psikoloji

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : Kurdish Turkish Mixed Race Individuals' Identity Construction Processes Coping Strategies and Their Views on Psychotherapy

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** :  Yüksek Lisans  ☒ X          Doktora  ☐

1.  Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın. ☐

2.  Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullancılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ☐

3.  Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ☒ X

Yazarın imzası ..........................          Tarih ...........................

101