

Contents

PART I: THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL FRAMES	17
1. Introduction	19
Reflections on a childhood memory	21
What is the problem?	22
How this project came about and what its aims are?	23
Diaspora as analytical concept	26
The Kurdish diasporic experience	29
<i>Geography of Kurdish dispersal</i>	29
<i>Some previous research on the Kurdish diaspora</i>	31
<i>Kurdish diasporic communities</i>	32
<i>Kurdish diaspora and Kurdish nationalism</i>	32
<i>Kurdish diaspora, media and publications</i>	33
Disposition of the work	34
Further considerations	37
2. The Kurdish Identity: a Historical Overview	39
Introduction	41
<i>Geography, population and language</i>	41
Kurdish nationalism and the history of denial and resistance	44
<i>The position of Kurds within the Persian and Ottoman Empires</i>	46
<i>The end of the Ottoman Empire and the Kurdish question</i>	47
The establishment of the nation-states, excluded identities and	
Kurdish responses	49
<i>Turkish nationalism: the politics of total denial and forced assimilation</i>	49
<i>Iraq: between cultural autonomy and genocide</i>	52
<i>Iran: neither denial nor recognition</i>	57
<i>Syria: systematic transfer, dispersion, and Arabisation</i>	60
Kurdish identities, continuities and changes	62
Summary	65
3. Global Migration, Citizenship and Politics of Belonging	67
Introduction	69

Citizenship and the challenge of global migration	69
<i>Nation — states and the paradoxes of global migration</i>	72
Contemporary migration: historical roots and geopolitics	75
<i>The migrant 'other' and hierarchies of mobile subjects</i>	78
<i>Forced migration and the state of exile</i>	80
South—North migration and the discursive exclusion of immigrant	
Other	83
Migration, aliens and Swedish society	86
Summary	91
 PART II: THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMES	93
 4. Diasporas	95
Introduction	97
The concept of diaspora: etymologies and definitions	97
<i>The metaphysics of return: (re)territorial notion of diaspora</i>	98
<i>"Location-in-movement": de-territorial notion of diaspora</i>	103
Essence-claim: essence or politics of position	109
Diasporic mobilisations as social movements: towards an analytical framework	113
<i>Diasporic consciousness, collective identities and collective action</i>	114
Dialectics of diasporic identification	117
<i>Diasporic yearnings: "homelessness" and the politics of "home"</i>	117
<i>Politics of location and meanings of homecomings</i>	121
Summary	123
 5. A Journey Through a Research Project: Reflections on Data, Theory and Methodology	125
Introduction	127
Methodological considerations	127
<i>Theory-data and macro-micro in mutual interaction</i>	127
<i>Experiences, articulations and discourses</i>	130
<i>Analysis: individual experiences and social processes</i>	134

<i>Validity of validation criteria in qualitative interviews</i>	136
Demarcation/selection and procedure	139
Micro-politics of research: ethics, roles and power relation	143
<i>Objects of study or co-creators: a discussion of ethics</i>	143
<i>The researcher's double role - the dilemma of research</i>	147
<i>Where do I stand?</i>	149
Summary	151
 PART III: "HOMELESSNESS", HOMING DESIRE AND POLITICS OF LOCATION	153
 6. Being a Citizen, Kurds and Immigrant Other in Sweden	155
Introduction	157
Experiences of displacement, exile and otherness	157
Meeting the two faces of Sweden: (I) democracy and "cultural freedom of choice"	162
<i>Paradoxes of multiculturalism</i>	164
<i>"In this society there is really freedom"</i>	165
<i>"It has been a very nice environment for me"</i>	167
Meeting the two faces of Sweden: (II) structural discrimination and everyday racism	169
<i>Experiencing otherness as invandrare (immigrants)</i>	172
<i>"I have seen many things like that but I have tried to ignore them"</i>	174
<i>"When you go to a shop you see that the assistants look at you suspiciously"</i>	176
<i>"A coloured man is less respected than a coloured woman"</i>	176
<i>"I am Master of Engineering and get a job as a cleaner"</i>	178
<i>Experiences of otherness as Kurds</i>	179
<i>"As if killing women is our culture"</i>	182
<i>"Did your father force you to marry?"</i>	185
<i>"It does not matter who I am. There is already a conception of me"</i>	187
Summary	188
 7. Tracing the Homeland	191
Introduction	193

Diasporic spaces of agency	193
<i>Kurdish migration: dispersal from the territory and gathering in the movement</i>	195
<i>"It was first during my escape that I met other Kurds"</i>	196
<i>Kurdish media and practices of stateless agents</i>	197
<i>Cultural associations and local radio stations in Gothenburg</i>	201
Kurdish cultural associations and Swedish multiculturalism	203
<i>Kurdish cultural associations: culture reservoirs or platforms</i>	203
<i>"We teach Kurdish culture"</i>	203
<i>"It is good to have a platform"</i>	205
Kurdish diaspora and Kurdish nationalism	207
<i>Exile, homesickness and nationalism</i>	208
Where/What is the homeland?	211
<i>A diasporised home: in the no-man's-land of diaspora spaces</i>	211
<i>The nationalist discourse</i>	212
<i>"Kurdistan is my mother"</i>	212
<i>The counter-discourse of the left</i>	215
<i>"Kurdistan is not holy for me"</i>	215
<i>Lived experienceSy political discourses and geo-political realities: positions in between</i>	216
<i>Hesitations, ambivalences and the uncertain homeland</i>	219
<i>A home(land) in Sweden?</i>	223
<i>"I don't want to belong anywhere /I am a citizen of the world"</i>	223
<i>"My children are Swedish. I cannot see myself as a guest here"</i>	226
<i>A "home" in diaspora community</i>	228
<i>"You are somebody in your own society"</i>	228
Summary	232
 8. To Be (come) a Kurd in Sweden: Strategies of Resistance and Survival and Politics of Identity	 235
Introduction	237
Interactions, identities and power relations	237
<i>To be(come) a Kurd: some pre-migratory experiences of oppression and resistance</i>	240

To be(come) a Kurd in Sweden: individual identity projects and political discourses	246
<i>Resisting imposed identities</i>	249
<i>"I am not a Swede, nor an immigrant. I am a Kurd"</i>	249
<i>Paradoxes of resistance</i>	255
<i>"Stone is heavier in its own place"</i>	255
<i>Internalising inferiority</i>	260
<i>"It depends on yourself and your social competence"</i>	260
<i>Kurdish identity and the counter-discourse of the Kurdish left</i>	264
<i>"The national question cannot define my identity"</i>	264
Summary	267
 9. Gender Strategies, Identities and Community Belonging	269
Introduction	271
The contexts and dimensions of Kurdish women's identity	271
<i>Third World woman, struggles and stereotypes</i>	272
<i>National liberation movements and gender question</i>	275
<i>Women and migration</i>	279
Gender strategies, identity and community belonging:	
(I) In relation to Sweden	284
<i>"Men are living in the past ...we think about the future"</i>	284
<i>"I have been good at adapting to Swedish society"</i>	288
<i>Obstacles, problems and the double pressure on women</i>	291
Gender strategies, identity and community belonging:	
(II) In relation to the Kurdish community	295
<i>"Politics with a big moustache"</i>	296
<i>"Maybe 70 percent of men don't want to have women in associations"</i>	299
<i>Women do social life and politics differently</i>	302
Explaining gender inequality	305
/. <i>National oppression</i>	305
<i>"In a Kurdish state, as a Kurdish woman I will be heard much better"</i>	305
//. <i>Women should blame themselves</i>	307
<i>"Men are not responsible. We are all children of our mothers"</i>	307
///. <i>Male dominance and patriarchal structures</i>	310

<i>"Kurdistan will not be free, as long as its women are not free"</i>	310
Summary	312
 PART IV: CONCLUDING REMARKS	 315
 10. Diasporic Movement for Location: the Kurdish Experience	 317
Introduction	319
<i>Central features of diaspora: homing desire, collective identity and movement</i>	320
Integrating the theory of diaspora and the theory of social movements	322
<i>Interactions in focus</i>	322
<i>Considering the political and the individual</i>	322
Kurdish diasporic experience and politics of location	324
<i>Considering power structures</i>	324
<i>Movement for location</i>	326
<i>Location in movement</i>	328
<i>Kurdish diaspora and gender relations</i>	330
 Final remarks: "new ethnicities", new generations	 331
 Appendix 1	 337
 Appendix 2	 338
 Bibliography	 339