

Kurds Stuck in Pain: A View of Kurdish Identity in the Way of Performativity

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Abstract

Why can Kurds not be happy, peaceful, joyous, and live a lifestyle on the top that they deserve just as many other ethnic identities have already done? Why do Kurds not have an independent state with a healthy and wealthy society just as many other populations, even the smallest, have achieved? Is it the destiny of Kurds? Or is it about behaviours? The answer emerges from the pain that Kurds are stuck in. In this paper, Judith Butler's concept of performativity is used to argue the aggrieved discourse that accompanies Kurdish identity with a tricky position called victim mentality. Analyzing limited and repeated discourses about Kurdish identity is used to attempt to suggest a new way of doing so, discursively. The idea that using a style of linguistic acts with embodied practices enables one to go beyond the current binary political framework for Kurds is explored.

Keywords: Discourse, Kurdish Identity, Kurds, Linguistic Acts, Performativity.

1. Introduction

Performativity is a concept that Judith Butler argues with different contexts in her popular books such as *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* and especially in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* and *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. Butler's vision on performativity mainly contains repeatability and reference. Accordingly, performativity is not a singular and deliberate action; it is a repeatable and referential practice (Butler, 1993, pp. 2). It is a practice that is created from a reference to a precedent norm or set of norms (Butler, 1993, pp. 12).

This paper explores a historical question: Why do Kurds not have an independent state? Discussions about the social, cultural, and political rights of Kurds eventually result in this single question. The answer is buried in the pain that creates a specific position for Kurds. It is a position, which performs discursively in every aspect of Kurdish identity. In this regard, this paper tries to adapt Butler's concept of performativity to the Kurdish identity associated with the aggrieved discourse that leads to a trap called victim mentality. Then, the paper argues the shapes of discursive positions at issue, an attempt is made to suggest a new way of using the act of language, which supports embodied acts.

1.1. What is the Meaning of Performing the Kurdish Identity with a Specific Position?

Performativity expresses that being a subject is not a pre-determined category but occurs during actions. It means the subject does not exist before an action. It is made available through performative practices (Butler, 1997, pp. 119). These practices are not singular acts. They are based on repetitions such as religious ceremonies. Signs and values within certain acts set off symbolic performances. A symbolic series of actions exercises its power ceremoniously to establish a set of meanings socially and politically, that confirms stylized forms publicly as regulations in general. The process is especially supported by historical moments for the need of naturalness because collective identities can be consolidated by "collective agreements" (Butler, 1999, pp. 178). Therefore, performative practices activate their effects notably related to historical combinations. History joins them in a very basic way to effectively maintain so-called features. What does an identity want? Can we know this in advance? The formulations link to the social and political actions, which create

conditions, that intertwine the past, present and future. This is the special way of naturalization. Impelling the effects of certain acts primarily gets strength from historical performances. The point is about repeated forms derived from embodied ideals or fictions. Hence, the main need to achieve the operation is enough time (Butler & Athanasiou, 2013) that is why Butler opposes the concept of subject as an autonomous category she claims that it is performative in all the ways (Butler, 1999) thus, it can be easily said that no identity is natural. Subjects are prolific productions in reference to naturalness for political purposes. Power literally produces subjects with an aim to naturalize their basics and hide itself insidiously (Butler, 1999, pp. 5). That plays by adorning itself with norms and prohibitions. Butler underlines how the force of prohibitions can form a truth about the being of the subject. A subject defines itself with a prohibition in the line of particular sentences that are not beyond the given (Butler, 2004b, pp. 199).

Claiming truths about the subject puts definite categories on the table in which there are standards to be used by given performances. It is a result of a norm that comes from pushing identities to be made to believe in the “naturalized effect” as Butler hints (Butler, 1993, pp. 129). As pointed out above, the naturalized effect always requires a performance that is repeated. Repetitions can span years or even centuries if a renewed act does not intervene. The truths validate themselves by exercising plurality of alike actions. In other words, “whatever form it has prior to its performative exercise is not the same as the form it takes as it acts, and after it has acted” (Butler, 2016, pp. 56). Let us approach Kurdish identity in this crucial frame of reference. Kurdish identity is a performative practice referring to several prohibitions and norms. These prohibitions and norms build the binary political opposition, which is actually considered to be kind of natural. There is always an opposite-identity towards the Kurdish identity. One side has possession of subjectivity, the other one has lack of it. This sort of political matrix creates a consistent relationship between Kurdish identity and request. Namely, Kurds act in accordance with their given-role and request something that is generally about a right from the opposite-identity. At this point, ethnicity of the opposite-identity does not matter. Names may change such as Turkish, Arabic or Persian, but the act of the request by Kurds is always there. As required by its given-role, the opposite-identity can return the requests of Kurds in a positive or negative way according to its pleasure. It is between its two lips. Here, as well as the position of identities, the condescending side and the receiving side are considered to be natural. The opposite-identity is the condescending side, and the Kurdish identity is the receiving side. It is quite worthy to mention a historical moment because such status always hits the highest point with a supportive action.

In the year of 1514, some twenty Kurdish mirs sent a formal statement to the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire by Idris Bitlisi. They wanted a deal with the Sultan Selim to oppose Shah Ismail who occupied Kurdistan by Qizilbash troops to set up his sovereignty. Kurds succeeded to expel Qizilbash troops, but they opened the gates of Kurdistan to the Ottoman armies in return. Their performative act was not limited to this. The Kurdish mirs were seriously complaining about the leadership problem in Kurdistan. Instead of choosing somebody from within themselves, they preferred the Ottoman ruled them. Their only intentions were leading to their own territories. They did not politically think about the great picture of Kurdistan. When Selim asked who could be the leader among mirs, Idris answered: “they are all more or less equal, and none of them will bow his head before any other” (Van Bruinessen, 1992a, pp. 144). But they did not see any harm in bowing in front of the Ottoman. The Ottoman sent Biyikli Muhammad to be the head of Kurdistan. From that moment on, a huge part of Kurdistan was in the Ottoman Empire’s possession. Hereby, the mirs also ignited the wick of naturalized effect. During the Paris Peace Conference, which started early in 1919, a representative insisted on establishing an independent Kurdistan. Immediately after, many influential Kurdish tribal leaders wrote their opposite opinions on a piece of paper, and sent it to the members of the conference, to announce their allegiance to the new state of Turkey (Van Bruinessen, 1992b, pp. 140). In February 1920, Sayyid Abdul Qadir expressed the thought of brotherhood between Kurds and Turks which is still a repeated form today. According to him, whatever was desired in the Treaty of Sevres was not more than a request for autonomy (Van Bruinessen, 1992b, pp. 145-146).

The answer of what is real or unreal about Kurds can be found in their naturalized terms. As seen in their letters, Kurds did not think of the possibility to rule each other. The texts sent to the Sultan Selim, or the Peace Conference are just two examples of their performative acts of politics. Contrast to this naturalness, the vision of performativity state that the power of identities is determined through linguistic acts. For Butler, an identity is a practice as the following result of the widespread discourses that run into itself. It is a reference to language, which is a method to naturalize its effects. Furthermore, it is not an easy task. It needs to be supported by continuous and repeated acts of linguistics through practices of identity (Butler, 1999, pp. 184). If this vision is formulated to Kurds, performativity turns Kurdish identity into a continuous act of performance, and there is no Kurdish identity prior to performativity. Language stubbornly pushes Kurds to create a specific form as historically. The request act of Kurds is a repeated form based on past linguistic actions that reaches out to the present time. It is a performative act with results. The most important point is integrating language to action with quite a lot of repetition. What if Kurds had chosen a leader among them in 1514?. First, they would have written a letter to declare the person they had chosen. After receiving the letter, Idris Bitlisi

would have reported it to the Sultan Selim. In this way, language would have turned into action. Then, the chosen Kurdish personality would have started ruling Kurdistan. Following this act, all actions would have shifted, and the naturalized effect would have opened new ways of Kurdish politics that would continue up to the present time.

Performativity is a practical tool to help understand the basic approach of Kurdish politics as it is now. The repeated acts are so powerful that they can even perplex the mind of a Kurdish nationalist. For example, Jaladat Badr Khan was a Kurdish nationalist. He was one of the leaders of the Khoybun, which was a Kurdish nationalist movement. He also had a serious Kurdish journal called Hawar (McDowall, 2007). He certainly had desires for independence of Kurdistan, but the letter he wrote to Mustafa Kemal shows that he was confused. In his letter, he was obviously trying to convince Mustafa Kemal in a certain act of request. He attributed the reason for the development of Kurdish nationalism to the development of Turkish nationalism (Vali, 2005, pp. 203). He argued that the assimilation of the Kurds was also damaging to the Turks (Vali, 2005, pp. 53). Actually, his language sparked the idea of brotherhood Sayyid Abdul Qadir stated. A more radical action would be expected from a nationalist. These examples can be multiplied, but there is a letter and then a repetitive practice by which Kurdishness is acquired.

Butler identifies language as the performance to affect positions and their descriptions. It replaces something with another thing as figurative (Butler, 1997a, pp. 7). Performativity describes essences in the process of producing linguistic statements. That is its characteristic. These statements create beings with sets of consequences. First, there is a statement, then an act. Performativity is a power language, which acts to impose at all times. Not only does it mobilize, structure, impress or mark, but also it produces forms precisely to determine what they are (Butler, 2015a, pp. 28-29).

2. Foucauldian Analysis of the Kurdish Identity

What do Kurds want? The answer is not just about political, social, or cultural rights. One can state that desires for these rights imply other desires, ideals, and conditions. The answer should be about being a subject or not. Kurds live as Kurds in other contexts that have different contents in every area of their lives. The relation between Kurds and subjectivity based on the concept of power recalls Michel Foucault who questions mechanisms of power. According to Foucault, each subject definition is actually redefining power. Power categorizes and stigmatizes identities by attachments to them, in a manner of charging a truth on them in which they must identify. It is a technique to create identities as subjects or not (Foucault, 1982, pp. 781). In this sense, power is all over the subject in a way that is operated by the discourses of truth. Subjects are productions of truth through power, and they cannot exercise power without the production of truth (Foucault, 1980, pp. 93).

If so, who are Kurds? When Kurds request a right, they are directly in a discursive position relating to being under the power of who is always matched as an opposite-identity. It is a secondary position that makes Kurds figure only as objects. That shows lack of power and gives the position of subject to an opposite-identity. Foucault indicates that these kinds of divisions type the quality of beings between low-key and desirable or "lesser and greater" (Foucault, 1990, pp. 44). As in the shape of Foucault's objects of knowledge, an object is also a useful target to be invested for strategies of power (Foucault, 1978, pp. 105). Discourses have a possible range of styles. They are organized with repetitions and intensifications to be ready in present time. The basis of a discourse is not actually a language, a gesture, or a figure with a licit place in history. It occurs from bounding one from another. It is linked to possibilities of history and transmitted and culminated through time (Foucault, 2006).

Foucault argues the subject as discursive. He sees the world as a field of discourses and considers them equivalent to each other. He basically thinks that there is no place outside of discourse. If said with a maxim, nothing is possible without discourse. The discourse of "Kurds requesting rights" is discursive all by itself. There is a set of values for Kurds. The discourse is certain about who is going to request and who is going to answer. It is a discourse that makes it possible as to who is going to have the subject position. The form of discourse does not need to be expressed as truth before it is interpreted. In fact, it is about the possibility of talking about it. Language contains reproductions to be enabled in possibilities (Foucault, 2002). It is formed without subject but created in it. "Language is 'rooted' not in the things perceived, but in the active subject like action, language expresses a profound will to something" (Foucault, 2002, pp. 316).

A discourse sustains images, undermines them, tenses them in the direction of a reason, and organizes them around a slice of language by the act of faith, confirmation, and refutation (Foucault, 1988, pp. 94). The answer to the question of how one becomes a subject is often related to acts. In the case of Kurds, these actions are progressively associated with request. This creates a dilemma, which is very problematic. Making a request refers to getting permission from the other, so then, does getting permission really help an identity become the subject? Examining Kurdish identity with the act of request shows the exposition from the very beginning. The act in question is the given act that is created within a boundary, and certain things are included in the discourse such as getting permission. It also reveals the limitations that Kurds face. When Kurds do not get what they have requested, they easily become attached to the aggrieved discourse. In terms of Foucault, this is the way of disciplining Kurds in the mechanisms of power.

The disciplinary circulation wants to multiply itself by distributing and obtaining characters and categories with tactics, that are refined by both the singular and the multiple (Foucault, 1995, pp. 149). The form of discipline always refers to a norm or a set of norms that constantly remind differentiating and specifying to create the binary opposition of the permitted and the forbidden. It seeks to operate the division, not the homogenization (Foucault, 1995, pp. 183). At the same time, discipline hosts punishment and reward in its system. It is a swing between "desire to be rewarded" and "fear of punishment". There are values for good-bad or positive-negative in the valley of oppositions. This system notes the marks of good and bad for the field of norms (Foucault, 1995, pp. 180). The aggrieved discourse wraps Kurdish identity with a desire to be subject through norms by the system of discipline, but this starts a crisis for Kurds. Foucault mentions about the crisis of subjectivity. Accordingly, a form that has a crisis of existence obeys the rules by sacrificing itself to try to find a way to ensure its existence (Foucault, 1986, pp. 95).

3. Refusal to Become Victim: No More Pity Party for Kurds

Kurdish identity with aggrieved discourse is a style of Kurdish identity, not being itself. Butler's notion of reiteration is made of repetitive discourses within an extremely organized form. It is a creation of repeatable acts. Reiteration works by acts in which identities coexist. An act has no power inside unless there is a reiterated act which has its own power in its persistence and instability (Butler, 1993, pp. 9). Aggrieved discourse is a reiterated act that covers Kurdish identity with pain. It is a pain so sticky it could be thought of as a trap. When Kurds act in pain again and again, opposite-identities show pity and sympathy for them. This creates a power imbalance. Kurds become limited to titles such as "pitiful Kurds left alone again", "unlucky Kurds devastated again". Performativity is basically a repetition of norms. Limiting Kurdish identity with seduction of a pity party is actually repeating binary opposition of identities.

What should Kurds do? In this sense, Butler suggests rethinking the limits for performativity. Performativity is not simply equal to performance, nor is it a disconnected one, but restrictions drive and keep performativity. It is a performance that flashes a ritual through restrictions under the prohibitions (Butler, 1993, pp. 94-95). Butler tries to reform performativity as a particular technique of discursive power. It is a complex process because, performative discourse is not fixed. It occurs with conditions and occasions to advance a further action (Butler, 1993, pp. 187). What are these further actions for Kurds? Aggrieved discourse and its baggage of pain do not stop where they are. They corner Kurds into a specific position that can be referred to as victim. The position of victim prevents Kurds from achieving everything that they can have. At the same time, it leaves a deceptive hole for maintaining itself. In other words, there is always the promise of hope for Kurds to be free sometime in the future, but not right now. It pushes the happiness and the freedom of Kurds to an unknown time because they are currently victims. Sometime in the future never comes. It gets farther away as it gets closer, but one should clarify that being a victim is a given performance.

There is always a knitted resistance within performative act to overcome the performative power. Performativity is a renewable action without certain origins or ends. It has its own social existence, which means it is activated by smashes from the contexts (Butler, 1997a, pp. 40). Being in the manner of becoming has possibilities to perform otherwise. It is open to transformation by exceeding norms, making changes to norms, or exposing norms. Then, acts are not only inhabited to norms. The conditions of norms are mostly the same as the conditions of resisting them. Norms come to exist in a complex process of consents and resistances (Butler, 2004b, pp. 217). When we refuse, a more radical transformation exists. As Butler says, "we find our way 'politically' in the wake of the ungrievable" (Butler, 2004b, pp. 129-130).

Although an external force often drags Kurds into the position of victim, they also lock themselves into this specific position in considerable situations. The discursive shape of victim brings a fragility mixed with blame as if there is no way out of this performance and is something that feeds self-pity. A performance that reinforces the pain at issue in a manner as nothing can be done. It is a performance, which is like the vulnerability that Butler mentions in the building of subject (Butler, 2004a). A vulnerability, which refers to the fact that one's life is always in the hands of others. It expresses a dependency on the people to whom the one knows, or hardly knows, or does not know (Butler, 2009, pp. 14). Refusing the position of victim is the performance of the act to resist that ensures to put one's hand in one's pocket. As performatively, when the act of resistance closes to a new way of life, it splits up with the other way of life of its own accord (Butler, 2015a, pp. 217).

The independence referendum held on 25 September 2017 in South Kurdistan was an significant example of refusing the position of victim. Despite all negative comments and ambitious opposition in the international arena, the leaders of the Kurdistan Region resisted norms and prohibitions in a way to show the condition otherwise. They basically renewed the action. Firstly, they were determined in their act of language. On every platform, they insistently stated to hold referendum. President Masoud Barzani said, "I say only this: Congratulations to the people of Kurdistan. I call on them to head to the ballot box on September 25 and vote and determine their own fate. That is it," to the reporters after one of his meetings (Rudaw, 2017a). As Butler and Spivak point out, a strategical and potential performative act can turn the most formidable restrictions upside down because violating a norm makes its root questionable. An

unexpected practice can always give chances to political deadlocks (Butler & Spivak, 2007). On another day, President Masoud Barzani expressed that “nothing can cancel the referendum” during a press conference. He was extremely passionate about independence. He stated that “we are neighbors with Iraq from this moment on” (Rudaw, 2017b). On the day of the referendum, power language transferred into action and was embodied in the act of voting which gathered not only Kurds in South Kurdistan but also Kurds all around the world. It was an action that reversed what had been internalized about Kurdish politics. Voting was the performance as an act of resistance that also showed how Kurds can come together for a common purpose. Likewise, and most importantly, the act of request shifted to form a new way of speaking and acting as a collective. Unfortunately, there was a lack of support to capture this historical moment for naturalization. This creative act of politics could have transformed into the naturalized effect if persistence had been sustained post-referendum.

4. Do it the Kurdi Way: To the Door for a New Position

The difference between being recognized as a subject and being a subject refers to the quality of *Kurdi* acts. Being recognized as a subject means performing in the binary frame of political discourse and missing the determined action related to only Kurds and Kurdistan. Let us review the entire process. The request act by Kurds inevitably causes the aggrieved discourse, which creates the position of victim that continuously keeps Kurds from achieving many things in particular having an independent state. What does it mean to do it the Kurdi way? The answer is linked to being a subject and for Kurds to be a subject the Kurdish identity must express all acts by demand and not request. Language is not only a tool of expression. It is essentially a way of expression of the subject. Butler quotes from Foucault's saying, “discourse is not life; its time is not yours” but takes it one step further, and states that subject has a possibility to control in terms of linguistics. It is a way that makes it possible for the subject to exist by itself (Butler, 1997a, pp. 28).

What are these possibilities? Regular binary frame of politics discursively and performatively creates a standard for identities, but Butler's view of performativity recommends “subversion” with “destabilization”, “inversion” with “displacement” and “resignification” with “reiteration” to escape from prohibitions and norms (Butler, 1999). Performance, which refers to a specific agenda of politics aims to keep identities in a certain political discourse, with declaring stabilization to stiffen the claim of who got the position of the subject. Butler helps us to understand that no identity is stable and indestructible. Identity acts in a spectrum of repetition, seasonally. It contains transience within breaks. In other words, identity is a norm and covered in repetitive acts through chances of destabilization. The way to reach the desired identity is knit with repeated acts inside instability and impermanence. There is no “pre-existing identity” without “fiction”, in terms of “measured” size, out of true, false, real, or “distorted”. It is a creation and stretches across sustainable performances. It means possibilities have performative characteristics hence, with subversive attributions, identities can be created in depth of unconditional being (Butler, 1999, pp. 179-180).

Language takes a substantial place at this point, with an urge, to restore performative acts, and forms an odd way. This is a way of politics that consciously emphasizes displacement as an instrument to be much more effective and powerful. Language has a performative power to set a new kind of language with the power of “displace” (Butler, 1997a, pp. 78). It is a challenge for opening the door to redefine power. In the case of Kurds, shifting the act from request to demand in Butler's notion of displacement includes command. The act of demand possesses command, which expresses an authoritative direction. On one hand, Kurds want freedom and independence of Kurds and Kurdistan, on the other hand, they want this in a language that is absolutely out of what is wanted by other stakeholders. For example, Kurds in Turkey, who claim to represent Kurds politically, frequently ask for something related to Kurds. What they ask for depends on a hand that is located outside of themselves. Sometimes it is a process called peace; or sometimes, it covers a few rights, and does not even need a process, but it is always something that happens outside of themselves. The political act creates a binary framework between the identity wanting authorization and the identity with authority. Their performativity of politics is attached to the identity with authority at all times. Creating such a framework makes them perform an imitation of Kurdish identity. They imitate Kurdish identity in the exact way that is required for the identity with authority to grant permission. Butler explains this as an imitation of an identity is expressed as an “imitation” of an identity, however, the content of imitation is not figured out “as being itself an imitation” (Butler, 1997b, pp. 145).

Butler asks a question: “Does ‘resignification’ constitute a political practice, or does it constitute one part of political transformation?” First, her answer makes it clear that it can be used in the direction of a strategy (Butler, 2004b, pp. 223) because it creates an area of possibilities. Butler points out the force in resignification, which pushes the history of a term to be rewritten, in which identity encourages itself to create more possibilities of passion, worth, aspiration and fairness. This replaces “symbolic domain” to expand meaning of an identity by rethinking about the “symbolic” (Butler, 1993, pp. 21-22). Subject is worked by repetitions as Butler says, a subject is an outcome of established discourses based on rules. Rules with significations do not form the subject singly. A series of repetitions supports significations to produce the subject entirely. The process of the practices of “repetitive signifying” makes it possible for a subversion of an identity (Butler, 1999, pp. 185).

Butler understands resignification as “the task is not whether to repeat, but how to repeat or, indeed, to repeat and, through a radical proliferation...” (Butler, 1999, pp. 189). The act of demand with the direction of the command resignifies Kurdish identity with the statement “I am Kurd and I want Kurdistan”. Repeating this saying refers to the naturalized effect of performativity which has discursive power from repetitions. In other words, this is the act from inversion, which destabilizes and displaces an old resignification of Kurdish identity. “Language assumes and alters its power to act upon the real through locutionary acts, which repeated, becomes entrenched practices and, ultimately, institutions” (Butler, 1999, pp. 148). In the words of Butler, “I am already affected before I can say ‘I’ and that I have to be affected to say ‘I’ at all” (Butler, 2015b, pp. 2). This new way of politics mainly challenges the prevailing ways in which Kurds and Kurdish politics have been understood. The act of demand inspires a new interpretation of Kurds, and with it, a new imagining of independence as a collective form of Kurdi political action. It argues against the limits of the prevalent framework, which always assumes that international dimensions and endless competitions between Kurdish groups are serious reasons to not have an independent state. What is the meaning of Kurdish unity? Are Kurds certain that Kurdish unity is the only option to have an independent Kurdistan? These presuppositions set up void approaches with useless consequences. An inverted practice can produce new forms of demanded outcomes.

What is an inverted practice? First, it contains the end of complaining about divisions of the Kurds into different groups or calling conferences for Kurdish national unity. A single Kurdish group can succeed in achieving independence by a series of sustained acts. South Kurdistan’s independence referendum in 2017 can be referential here. It was an impressive challenge to the limits of bounded political actions, but it could not save itself from the repeated acts made throughout Kurdish history, which is the direct opposite of obstinate continuance in the act of demand despite difficulty or opposition. Within a short period of time, whereas the historical act of request got close to the act of demand, the act of pursuing the referendum was a first. Sustaining political initiatives, as before the referendum, is a defiant and persistent way of declaring “we still want”. There have always been acts for independence in Kurdish history, but persistence was required to naturalize an action performatively. If it is maintained discursively, a supportive embodied practice always follows. In connection with this, Kurdish authors or researchers tend to write about independence as a trend of the period. The performative power in writing should not be in accordance with daily popular politics. It transcends both the past and the future to be the language that acts were established from. Persistence must be sustained intellectually as well as politically.

5. Conclusion

Kurdish identity is generated by limited and repeated discourse for a long time, either goodwill or malevolent purposes. Its discursive place has always held the subject position for an opposite-identity. At this point, refusing the position of victim is about a determined act of being a linguistic fighter to run the show for Kurds. Now Kurds cannot afford to become victims. It is important to understand that the request act of Kurds never brings them the freedom and the happiness they are searching for. It always opens a space for being recognized as a subject, which means no recognition of Kurdi and Kurdistan. This is always confused. It is now time for Kurds, as subjects, to follow the road to an independent state by the act of demand. This leads to the downfall of the binary political framework and declares dignity with the state of being worthy in all aspects of being a subject. So far, so many different people and groups have discussed and written about Kurds and Kurdistan. A new language is required through linguistic acts with embodied actions. Is this easy to achieve? The answer is absolutely no. This new way of politics is only possible with linguistic repetitions supported by repeated performative practices by Kurds politically and intellectually. Examples such as the referendum or the adoption of a nationalist text. Kurds and Kurdistan are always in the spotlight with notions such as democracy or peace, but without quality for Kurdish identity. It is recommended that Kurds be put in control in a creative stylization of politics. This would be possible if Kurdish identity is perceived as something performative.

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