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CULTURAL POLITICS AND POŞA'S SAMPLING KARS*

*Kürşat ÖNCÜL***

STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

Social and political conditions are two of the most important factors determining the country's policies. The policies naturally depending on domestic elements compel us to do some regulations as a result of various pressure groups. The pressure of changing attitude towards the country's policies by both home politics and external pressure groups can be far from what the people in the country and the administration want. The Turkish Republic policy is not related with being a Turk as claimed in certain literatures but in the framework of being a nationality. The staff grown up in the culture of empire tried to raise the consciousness of being a Turk or a citizen of Turkey as a prior identity without othering the different masses who preferred to live in the newly-founded Turkish Republic even though most of the managerial staff have been anticipated to have the expression of Committee of Union and Progress until the years 2000s. However, it is impossible to find detailed information about the history, cultural acceptance and the identity of the "Poshas", a fairly small group called "Gypsy" in general. The political attitude changes held recently have brought about a displeasure environment for the "Poshas", who try to be in a peaceful and co-operative manner towards the rest of the people in the country.

The decline in the cultural unity and their personal unrest manners on the survey comes with the expressions and statements and annihilates the feeling of unity of decades in small towns. The studies on individual and identity will actually cause the annihilation of social harmony by gasping the rights of individuals socially. The process will give opportunity to boost the different separatists and political expressions in the following years. The historical, sociological and cultural position of Turkey has showed that there are different factors to be analyzed before the performance of these applications and statements.

If the studies related to cultural and folkloric policies aren't performed for the benefit of country rather than political acceptations because of the reasons above, it is possible to come across with unrest among the citizens as well as various conflicts, so all of those cause social disintegration. The duration from first census after the

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** Doç. Dr. Kafkas Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fak. Türk Halk Bilimi, El-mek: onculkursat@yahoo.com

foundation of Turkish Republic to the census centered ethnically in 1965 has been a source in different departments of government related various identities in Turkey. The rate of the people who accepted Turkish as a mother tongue in census of 1965 among the total population has been substantial. (31.009.934/28.289.680) Yet, the increasing rate in the population in Southeastern Anatolia Region has been two fold according to the average population in Turkey. Both this manner and political factors in Middle East, Crimea and Ukraine will be paramount to determine the country policies. Contrary to this, the policies within the principles of disregard of those above and of founders of the country as well as the ignorance of local political acquisitions will form a basis for possible problems later on. It is essential for the ones who had the power to make use of a language that will maintain trust and prosperity for the citizens with their speeches and declarations and also it is necessary for them to have authority and responsibility for resolutions in order to hinder the problems as part of cultural and folkloric policies. Within the data from Turkish Statistical Institute, when it is accepted that the population of Turkey is about 78 millions, the statements towards the total population of people or groups not being in mutual life area but being Turkish Culture in a short time, in permillage pie and demographically have created significant problems in the other masses as well as Turkish population. The sociological and historical processes have revealed the obligation to determine their own law and the truth to create their own acceptations in this respect. The countries which are ready to have migrations in the regions and empires like Turkey have to produce political arguments that will be adopted by the people in that earth for the benefits of the country on behalf of the basic value and acceptations. The policies related to these acceptations and various cultural ones in the country are not in the same line with the demographical and geographical realities. From the foundation of Turkish Republic, the masses who act within the feeling of becoming a nation have reacted emotionally within the conscience of being departed from general cultural policy of Turkey by these political presence and statements. All of these factors show that the ones who act according to discriminative language and culture policies as a result of statements like ethnic, identity apart from general culture policy of Turkey, will be responsible for the possible problems in the future. Yet, since the administrations have the basic mission to build prosperity and trust, it is essential to determine the cultural and folkloric policies as part of the reality of the country that will be applied or have been applied.

Key Words: Culture Politicis, Poşa, Ethnic Terms

KARS ÖRNEKLEMİNDE KÜLTÜR POLİTİKALARI VE POŞALAR

ÖZET

Sosyal ve siyasal şartlar ülkelerin politikalarını belirlemedeki en önemli etkenlerdendir. Doğal olarak iç unsurlara bağlı bu öğeler baskı unsurları tarafından çeşitli düzenlemelerin yapılmasını zorunlu kılabilir. Gerek iç siyaset gerekse de dış baskı gruplarının ülke politikalarına karşı tavır değişikliğine yönelik baskıları ülke içindekiler ve iktidarlar açısından istenilen durumdan uzak olabilmektedir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin politikası çeşitli kaynaklarda iddia edildiği gibi Türklük vurgusundan ziyade yurttaşlık bilinci çerçevesindedir. Her ne kadar yönetici kadronun büyük bir kesiminin iki binli yıllara kadarki sürede İttihat ve Terakki söylemine sahip olduğu ön görülse de imparatorluk kültürü içerisinde yetişmiş olan kadrolar, yeni kurulan Cumhuriyet içerisinde yaşamayı tercih eden farklı kitleleri ötekileştirmeden bir üst kimlik olarak Türk ve Türkiyelilik bilinci oluşturmaya çalışmıştır. Ancak oldukça küçük gruplardan biri olan ve genel anlamda "Çingene" olarak bilinen *Poşa*'ların kimliği, tarihçesi ve kültürel kabulleri doğrultusunda elde detaylı veri bulma imkânı yoktur. Yakın dönemlerde gerçekleştirilen politik tavır değişiklikleri ülke vatandaşlığı kapsamında toplumla barışık ve birleşik bir tavır içerisinde olmaya çalışan *Poşa*'lar açısından memnuniyetsiz bir ortam doğurmaktadır.

Hakkında çalışma yapılan kişilerin rahatsızlıkları ve yılların getirdiği kültürel ortaklığın sıfırlanması/sıfırlandırılmasına yönelik söylem ve açıklamalar küçük yerleşim merkezlerinde onlarca yılın getirdiği birlik duygusunu ortadan kaldırmakta ve ayrışmaya yol açmaktadır. Birey ve kimlik hakları adına yapılan çalışmalar aslında bireysel hakların sosyal anlamda gasp edilmesine yol açarak sosyal uyumun kaldırılmasına yol açacaktır. Yaşanan süreç ilerleyen yıllarda farklı ayrıştırıcılıkların ve siyasal söylemlerin doğumuna olanak tanıyacaktır. Türkiye'nin bulunduğu tarihsel, sosyolojik ve kültürel konum bu söylem ve uygulamaların ifade ve icra edilmesi öncesinde irdelenmesi gereken farklı öğelerin bulunduğunu göstermiştir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan bu yana uygulanan ve bugün millet olma duygusuyla hareket eden kitleler bu politik duruş ve söylemlerin Türkiye'nin genel kültür politikasından ayrıştığı bilinciyle duygusal reaksiyon göstermektedir. Tüm bu unsurlar, ülke mensuplarının tanıştırıldığı "etnik, kimlik" vb söylemler sonucunda ayrıştırıcı dil ve kültür politikalarıyla hareket eden ve edecek olanların, bu kesimlerce ileride yaşanacak muhtemel problemlerin müsebbibi olacağı noktasında bir kabule sahip olduğu/olacağını göstermektedir. Ancak vatandaşın huzur ve güveninin tesis edilmesi yöneticilerin temel misyonu olduğundan uygulanan ve uygulanacak kültür ve folklor politikalarının ülke gerçekliği noktasında belirlenmesini zorunlu kılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kültür Politikaları, Poşalar, Etnik Kimlik

When the countries determine their cultural politics according to their own benefits and targets, they adopt a way of change in a relation to the interior and exterior political developments time to time. Like the changes of political attitudes can be in the same line with desires and wills of the masses under the administration of power, it can't be because of various factors. In this respect, within the exterior effects, there are also political attitudes and behaviors of the powerful ones as a main factor.

From XVI. Century when the culture was transformed as a field of political study to current day, not only the west but also the other countries progressed with the purpose of changing their communities' attitudes in an eager way in this point.

It is hard to say that there is a institutionally political attitude for conversion of the society till XIX. Century in the construction of Turkish Republic. The demographic structure that appeared from manner of becoming state of Turkish history is in the form of multinational state/empire because of the expansion in the circle of west-east geographically for Turkish states. The situation in general in the circle of the world is also a multinational structure till XIX. and XX. centuries when the empires ended. In this sense, when we think about the adventure of becoming state in history of world, it is not possible to see the national state manner in the process of thousand years. It is possible to see the traces of different cultures and civilizations as stemming from historical process that is mentioned in states and empires where Turkish Republic had an adventure of a late becoming-state. Ottoman Empire, the most important factor in the process of shaping of Western Turk politically, socially and economically, had an important place. Ottoman Empire, one of the most significant actors of world history in the way of geographical position and its lifetime, has more than thirty states today and it has indicated that the numbers of these states will increase in a short time within the current processes. Ottoman Empire has a significant place, related to the history and mission; also pursued a balanced policy in this multinational structure. It didn't have a cultural intervention related to assimilation against the factors of outskirt where the central management had. Against the discriminative movements that appeared in various points of empire and in which the nationalism developed, the mission of non-moslem under the control of Ottoman foreign affairs including the second half of XIX. century is the most paramount reflection. Besides, it is essential to add the demonstration of ethnic variety that will not be observed in multinational state of both The Council of Deputies and county council in 1887. After its foundation, Ottoman administration, a multinational structure being, didn't make a contribution to the effects of Muslim elements on the elements of non-moslem without being under the control of national feelings against all the historical facts. (Öğün, 2009: 330-331)

The negative gathering of country unity by various political approaches in the last period of empire has caused the national statements to be shaped, time to time to be formed in private. Yet, it focuses on values related to nation rather than race. The big migration of Anatolia in the process of a new state and the collapse of Ottoman Empire contributed to the support of nationalism in the statements of state concept, to the construction of groups and people connected to Turkish culture for an important part of country population. The migrations that come out, parallel to intolerance of the states towards Turk and Muslim population after huge loss of earth cause an ownership of two-phased of Turkish identity in Turkey. Firstly, there are the ones who consist of 85% of population and accept themselves as Turk from the aspect of ancestry, tongue and history; secondly the ones as Turks politically, legally and socially. (Buran, 2012; 38) One of the referenced books about the issue, Andrew's survey indicates an existence of forty seven ethnic groups in Turkey; yet, this

situation will be the ignorance of the population called as Turks who live in the country except from the statements and assumptions of Buran.[1]

The national structures that began to gain their institutional identities in the last quarter of Ottoman Empire detected the relationship of political power with the cultural institutions both in Ottoman and Republic period and they are the part of Young Turk tradition. Turkish hearths that maintain their existence as an institutional identity in both periods are important institutions with regard to impact and consistency of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled and the observation of national statements. In spite of the emotional intensity after Balkan Wars, First World War and Independence War, Hamdullah Suphi who made a speech in the meeting in April, 1924 after Independence War showed how much comprehensive the nationalistic understanding is in an institutional way within two main missions as he stated in order to protect moral Turkish homeland and new Turkish revolution as well as to protect the boundaries of tongue against the invasions for Turkish Hearths. In the same congress, Hamdullah Suphi said "Here, in Anatolia we gathered again, we will have a period of ferment. The dialects will be united, the differences in face will be vanished, we will save Turkish power that is not changeable." in a relation to the question who is Turk and who is not. (Oztürkmen, 2009; 49). It is remarkable for him to point out that everybody has to adopt a comprehensive policy from the aspect of Turkish Hearths' general attitude. The conception of not being political that takes place in rules of people's houses and the expression of Turkish Hearths is a part of the approach that targets a wide community in this sense. (Öztürkmen, 2009; 59)

The basic comprehension in the period of Mustafa Kemal Pasha is to determine the citizenship relations as a unifying bond within the construction of political community without basing on nationalism and populism. In this sense, Öğün relates the vantage point of the period to Ataturk's statement "Today, after Christian and Jewish people among us connect their fates and futures with their desires from the conscience to Turkish nationalism, if they are seen as foreigners, is it possible to take it from noble morality of Turkish civilization?" Öğün tries to point out that the basic approach in citizenship of Turkish Republic is to relieve the potentiality for nationalism. (Öğün, 2009; 347-348)

In this respect, as it is mentioned in various references, the policy of Turkish Republic is located around the conscience of citizenship rather than being Turkish. Although the great part of administration staff has the expression of committee of union and progress, the staff which are brought up in culture of empire try to form Turk and Turkishness conscience as a superior identity without regarding others who prefer to live in new Republic. The transformation that goes on its own without being together with institutional policy, referring to transform the community, lacks in institutional being within the closure of Turkish Hearths. After its closure, people's houses were closed in 1951 because of various reasons; Institute of National Folklore was founded in 1966. This institution continues till today despite the change in name and form. Although there are such kinds of institutional changes, it is possible to state that the basic approaches of the power are in the same line with cultural policy. Turkish population and culture have an integrative role on behalf of the different identities' connection with superior ones in the country. In this sense, the formal statement doesn't follow policy of folklore around the essences of the shortage in literate population, the weakness of economical structure and the general policies of the power. The first folklore institution was founded in 1966, this approved this fact. Because of the ancestry, the process of institutionalization of folklore in power began to appear in the first quarter of XIX. century under the control of Ottoman Empire. It went on until the foundation of Turkish Republic. After and

[1] Within the idea of being political of great part by the values in such proportional studies, the study, based on Buran's mother tongue centered.

before Second World War, when the folkloric policies of world states were regarded, Turkey didn't have a programme that is based on any doctrine.

A country consists of the totality of individuals, so the basic approach is related to the possibility of the acquirement of individual desires though it is utopic. In this sense, the researcher doesn't study on rational categories that are developed as 'priori' in a relation to the affair between incidents and the power in the solutions of political culture. It is important to deal with the meaning of the incident in itself and it is compulsory for the cultural resolutions to pay attention to essential essences related to the sub-cultures in the community.(Sarıbay, 1999:80-82) Despite their assumptions, the power shapes its individual/country benefits around political attitudes. In this respect, it is essential to discuss the necessity of ethnical identity socially, economically and politically as well as to regard it as multicultural being. (Baumann, 2006:59)

The most important factor in the formation of the mass of founders behind the impressive approaches from the foundation of Republic onwards is the attitude of the unconsciousness in the collapse of Ottoman Empire. By different researchers, folkloric approach that doesn't foresee ethical and integrative identities as called 'horror culture' has brought new expressions together; yet, these expressions haven't been examined with regard to results sociologically. In most of these expressions that have been handled under the political acceptances, the element as the one centered in Turkey to be discussed is to illustrate a political acceptance for the future of the state or to open a field for an eternal application in the rights and freedom of individuals.

The ideal states in accordance with the ruler and the ruled from Plato to current day are not out of current socio-political conditions; but, they have changes. When it is evaluated from this point, the target is to apply all the rights and freedom of individuals; yet, today's Turkey has those that determine the agenda with the discussion of up and sub-cultures,

1. Does it perceive what individuals want called as sub-culture groups?
2. Are the political expressions of the power real and useful for these groups?
3. Are the political expressions meaningful for the current conditions?
4. Do these elements bring negative ones together with the personal happiness on this way?

What kind of criteria is used to answer these questions? This study has been examined within the scope of conditions and desires that the parts, called Posha who live in Kars.

There are people called as Posha who revealed their identities in Kars and around. The root of Posha word and the identity of Posha is that: Adam has seven sons and he shares the world between them. After he shared between six children, there is nowhere to be shared, then he says "you prop up, you have nothing." The word, Posha here is stemmed from prop up and here the story is all over the world as Posha. Today, Posha who keep their jobs as dentistry, shawm and drum players traditionally are one of forty seven ethnic groups in Turkey and they are apart from Gypsy and Lom in Roman groups for Andrews. (Andrews, 1992:42) Despite this point of Andrews, Posha people state that they have no close relation with Gypsies and Roman people. Despite this view of Posha, there are irrelevant points in historical identities in academy. It is essential to state

the basic approaches in the relevant resources in order to reveal the main acceptances. In a survey related to this issue, the irrelevances have been examined firstly, then these statements are;[2]

"In 11th century, instead of progressing to west and being separated from Roman, they are groups who live in the east of Anatolia in Ottoman and Seljuk periods. Lom population mostly consisted of grandchildren who are exposed to migrate to Turkey during the ethnical cleaning by Russians after the conquest of Caucasians. Today, they live in northeast and Black Sea region as small communities and they are called as Posha as a humiliating word. Most of them are settled and they are busy with agriculture; yet, most of them have jobs, they hide their ethnic roots as Gypsies do. Most of them go on speaking Lomavren and taking the tradition of musician. Yet, most of them have lost their tongues. Under the age of 60s, few of them speak this tongue fluently. Their population is about 150,000, but it is hard to estimate the real number. (Marsh, 2008)

There are some expressions related to Hemsin Culture for Posha who are regarded as different by their tongues:

" In Artvin, Van and Sivas, Posha as migrant settlers don't take part in Camlıhemsın. They have their own tongues. Yet, this tongue has no mother tongue. Mostly, it consists of degenerated words. In different places, it is compulsory to be born as a tongue. There is no unity in tongue." (Aslan, 2006: 71)

The statements above state that Posha people have ambiguous knowledge about their culture and history. In the current conditions which the nationalism in ethnicity has completed all over the world, it can be useful to examine Posha people within their acceptances and denials in Kars. Posha who live in Ardahan, Igdır, Artvin apart from Kars are regarded as the ones who settled along Black Sea coast. Despite this, there some surveys, centered in the city. Although they are seen as the same group within the same life styles of the other sub-ones, with a deep study, it is seen that they have different identities; yet, they have similar names and lifestyles in common. But, they state that they give a girl in marriage and take as well, they have nothing in common. The small places are only suitable for livestock under the conditions of Kars as they have settlement. This mass that has low literacy rate, stops the education level of their children before higher education and they work in different fields.

They say that they see themselves as a part of this state and culture. They are eager to live as the part of the upper culture without denying their past. Until the half of century, they are travelers, they sell various products and they work as dentists. They live as the same part under the law and community. For law, while they are who complete their military service and work in every field, pay the taxes, they are the part who begins to be adopted new. In this phase which the different members of the same family see the life differently, it is hard to live in small towns. These people, who know each other and live under the pressure of quarter, are aware of the chance to be presented within the freedom and individualization. The emotional illness that stems from sub-identities of Posha in the region increases the desire to be involved in upper one. Yet, the statements of the administrators on ethnical identity and social peace interrupt their desire for acceptance. As the indicator of this peace, today they state that they have a close relationship better than they have in the past and they have good marriages.

[2] It is essential to search deeply sociologically in order to answer all these questions, in this respect; it is also essential to take part in a long-term process for a result and to form a research team.
The aim of this study is not about Posha, so there is no need to talk about them. Yet, the word etymology and its place in world tongues, it can be useful to look over Star 2007.

These people who move according to the principle of avoidance individually and live in peace with the state, try to point out that they have different points, their identical centered tongues sweep the peacefulness and integrative manner, and they are seen as different beings. They criticize the identical statements parallel to country policies as "we all live in this earth." The repeated manner of distances and the entrance of "we", "you" into every field of life are spoken by administrators without a brief survey sociologically, politically and psychologically. They are for the happiness of some part of people and the unrest of political situations on various acquaintances is ignored. Especially, in outskirts, Posha have been unrest since the power has nothing for them in social life, school and the other public life areas. Despite the less number in the population, the small unities that live around the country enter into a distressed process within the relation to their surroundings.

To express social and political statements in country by auditory and visual press in every field, it is normal to come across with the question, are a separatist beside the various masses who are unrest for these statements? The elements of shortage, war and death cause separating social structure. The main mission of the power is to provide en economical prosperity, peace and secure in all parts. The equality in the Turkish Constitution is in the hands of the power directly and annihilates it and it has to be questioned.

These evaluations and comments by the power make it convenient for several studies on the same issues. Yet, the expressions of race and racism after Second World War in academy will bring the new identity clashes together during the process where the centered structure culturally. Especially, in this process, the number of household population, having ethnical identity in Turkey and the detection of identity brings several problems. The decline in the cultural unity and their personal unrest manners on the survey comes with the expressions and statements and annihilates the feeling of unity of decades in small towns. The studies on individual and identity will actually cause the annihilation of social harmony by gasping the rights of individuals socially. The process will give opportunity to boost the different separatists and political expressions in the following years. The historical, sociological and cultural position of Turkey has showed that there are different factors to be analyzed before the performance of these applications and statements.

If the studies related to cultural and folkloric policies aren't performed for the benefit of country rather than political acceptations because of the reasons above, it is possible to come across with unrest among the citizens as well as various conflicts, so all of those cause social disintegration. The duration from first census after the foundation of Turkish Republic to the census centered ethnically in 1965 has been a source in different departments of government related various identities in Turkey. The rate of the people who accepted Turkish as a mother tongue in census of 1965 among the total population has been substantial. (31.009.934/28.289.680) Yet, the increasing rate in the population in Southeastern Anatolia Region has been two fold according to the average population in Turkey. Both this manner and political factors in Middle East, Crimea and Ukraine will be paramount to determine the country policies. Contrary to this, the policies within the principles of disregard of those above and of founders of the country as well as the ignorance of local political acquisitions will form a basis for possible problems later on. It is essential for the ones who had the power to make use of a language that will maintain trust and prosperity for the citizens with their speeches and declarations and also it is necessary for them to have authority and responsibility for resolutions in order to hinder the problems as part of cultural and folkloric policies. Within the data from Turkish Statistical Institute, when it is accepted that the population of Turkey is about 78 millions, the statements towards the total population of people or groups not being in mutual life area but being Turkish Culture in a short time, in permillage pie and demographically have created significant problems in the other masses as well as Turkish population. The sociological and historical processes have revealed the obligation to determine

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