

FORMATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF LANGUAGE REGIMES:
TURKEY, A CASE STUDY

by
MEHMET BERK BALÇIK

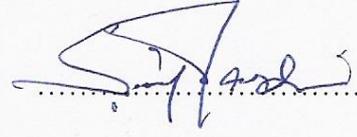
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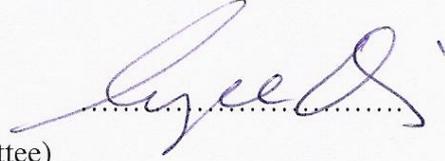
FORMATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF LANGUAGE REGIMES:
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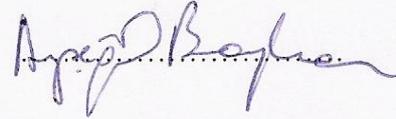
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ABSTRACT

FORMATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF LANGUAGE REGIMES: TURKEY, A CASE STUDY

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Ph.D., Political Science, 2008

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Şerif Mardin

Keywords: language regimes, ideology, Turkey, globalization

There are two main aims of this dissertation: to present a legal and ideological history of the formation of the language regime in Turkey in the Republican period; and to analyze its transformation in the post-1980 era.

A language regime is defined in this dissertation as a *de jure* or *de facto* regulation of the linguistic behavior, in its content or in its status, within a space of communicative action, such as that of a nation-state or a speech group. In other words, a language regime is a system of the governance of the linguistic domain within a defined political territory by planning and employment of particular policies. Language ideologies, on the other hand, are inseparable aspects of the formulation and operation of the language regimes. Such a conception of language enables an analysis of language as a domain of social and political power.

In the first part of the dissertation, the history of the language politics in the Republican Turkey is analyzed through the concept of language regime, and the ideological repercussions pertaining to the designation and practicing of these regimes are assessed.

The second part concentrates on the changes in post-1980s, within a globalizing environment, in the broadcasting policies and the ways in which language regimes have been transformed. Controversies over two basic processes have been analyzed in this part: the commercialization of the audio-visual domain, and the developments concerning broadcasting in minority languages.

ÖZET

DİL REJİMLERİNİN OLUŞUMU VE DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ

Mehmet Berk Balçık

Doktora, Siyaset Bilimi, 2008

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Şerif Mardin

Anahtar Sözcükler: dil rejimleri, ideoloji, Türkiye, küreselleşme

Bu tez, iki ana amaç doğrultusunda tasarlanmıştır: Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet dönemi dil rejiminin kuruluşunun hukuki ve ideolojik bir tarihini sunmak ve bu rejimin 1980 sonrası dönemdeki dönüşümlerini incelemek.

Dil rejimi bu tezin kapsamında, belli bir iletişimsel alan içinde, ki bu alan bir ulus-devletin hüküm sürdüğü dil evreni ya da bir dil topluluğu olabilir, dilsel davranışların yasal ya da fiili olarak düzenlenmesi şeklinde tanımlanmıştır. Bir başka deyişle, dil rejimleri belirli bir siyasi alan içinde dil evreninin yönetilme biçimlerini tanımlar. Dil ideolojileri bu rejimlerin biçimlendirilmesinde, organizasyonunda ve uygulanmasında ayrılmaz unsurlar olarak ortaya çıkar. Dilin bu şekilde kavramsallaştırılması, dilin bir toplumsal ve siyasi iktidar alanı olarak incelenmesine olanak sağlar.

Tezin ilk bölümünde Cumhuriyet döneminin dil politikaları, dil rejimleri kavramı çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Türkçeyi tek geçerli dil kılan dil rejiminin ideolojik arka planı ile birlikte, bu rejimin kuruluşu ve işletilmesi sırasında türeyen söylemler de analizin kapsamı içine alınmıştır.

Tezin ikinci kısmı bu dil rejiminin 1980 sonrası dönemde ne tür itirazlarla ve meydan okumalarla karşılaştığını incelemektedir. Temel olarak odaklanılan konu yayın politikalarındaki dönüşümdür. Bu dönüşümün iki temel ayağı vardır. Birincisi, 1990’larda gelişen, özel radyo ve televizyon kanallarının ortaya çıkışı, diğer ise, azınlık dillerinde yapılacak yayımlarla ilgili olarak beliren tartışmalardır.

to ELİF, İDA and ÇINAR...

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This thesis has been a major element of my life for the last six years. The formulation of the thesis' structure and the accomplishment of its writing has been a real challenge. Many people have been helpful and supportive and without their presence I would probably have to spend a six more years on the work. I feel obliged to acknowledge their contributions.

My Ph.D. work began in 2001 at Sabancı University (SU). After deciding to pursue my career in political science, Ayşe Kadiođlu helped me much to make my mind in choosing SU and time has proved her right on that there was no better place in Turkey to do so. Her and Hasan Bülent Kahraman's courses were useful in closing the gaps in my political scientific background. The discussions that we made in their lectures have their marks in many pages of this thesis.

A Ph.D. thesis, I have learnt by experience, is nothing without a qualified body of thesis committee, and I had the chance to consult and receive advice from some of the best social scientists of Turkey.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AKP** : *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (Justice and Development Party)
ANAP : *Anavatan Partisi* (Motherland Party)
AP : *Adalet Partisi* (Justice Party)
CHP : *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party)
DİB : *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* (the Presidency of Religious Affairs)
DGM : *Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi* (State Security Court)
DP : *Demokrat Parti* (Democratic Party)
DPT : *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı* (State Planning Organization)
DYP : *Doğru Yol Partisi* (True Path Party)
ECSC : European Coal and Steel Community
EU : The European Union
HEP : *Halkın Emek Partisi* (People's Labor Party)
İTC : *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (the Committee of Union and Progress)
LPP : Language policy and planning
MGK : *Milli Güvenlik Kurulu* (National Security Council)
MHP : *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (Nationalist Action Party)
PKK : *Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Workers' Party)
PSB : Public service broadcaster
RTÜK : *Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu* (Supreme Board of Radio and Television)
SHP : *Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti* (Social Democratic People's Party)
TDK : *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Institution)
TRT : *Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu* (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation)
WWII : The World War II