

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

Identity is part of people. When people are born, they are given names as their first identity. Its scope develops within the age and social interaction, such as profession, wealth, and nationality. People are classified based on their culture, gender, race, color, religious, location and other environmental concerns. People have many identities as a logic consequence from the interaction with their environment (Kymlicka 10). According to Kinasih, identity can be built into three perspectives: *primordialism*, *constructivism*, and *instrumentalism*. In *primordialism* perspective, identity is something that is naturally given. It means a collective identity of community formed continuously from generation to generation. The second perspective is *constructivism*. It views identity as a result of complexity of social processes. Identity is built by cultural bound in a society. This perspective argues that identity is based on the social categories and cultural consciousness. The third perspective is *instrumentalism*. It argues that an identity is something that is constructed for elite and emphasizes more in the power aspect. In this case identity is called as dynamic thing; it always changes within the development of political discourse's product from the authorizer. Yet, the power always asks the dynamic of identity (16-17).

In the *instrumentalism* perspective, the instability identity happens because the formation of identity depends on the factor of authority. It often arises the

conflict between the communities whose identity is constructed by the authorizer. The sample conflict of *instrumentalism* perspective is the clash between Muslim and the state in Turkey since secularism period, 1923. In this time, Islam as an identity becomes a politics when the state pressed on the Muslim to fling away their identity. The state used the military power to repress Muslim by making some regulations, such as the ban of the veil in the public area, military coup and the elimination of a figure of Islam in political system. This momentum becomes important moment of struggle of the existence of their identity, identity as a Muslim. These marginalization, repression and struggle mobilization of identity according to Michael Kenny is called as politics of identity (Kenny 3).

One example of literary work which describes the issue of politics of identity in Turkey is Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow*. This novel scrutinizes the conflict of Muslim identity in Kars, one of the cities in Turkey, during the aftermath of Secularism period. This story comes from Kerim Alakuşoğlu's diary (the acronymic nickname Ka instead), a poet as well as a political exile who returns to Turkey after twelve years in Germany. The diary is retold by his close friend, Orhan Bey. It takes the setting of the early of 1990s. In that diary Ka tells that many injustices befall to Kars Muslim. Their identity is vanished, many of Kars Muslims are kidnapped, murdered, and character assassinated. Hundred of Kars Muslims are isolated in this city by their government and military which guide the secularism system.

The novel is a fiction. However, the author of the novel takes many facts of Turkey's history in the plot, setting and background of the novel. Thus, to so

support the analysis, the writer will give the background of Turkey history during the Ottoman and secularism period according to George Lenczowski from University of California at Berkeley and Sadjazali Munawir.

For long centuries, Turkey, in memorable history, was one of the great Empires. The brightest period of the Ottoman Empire was during the reign of Sultan Suleyman. He spread up the boundaries of the Empire from the outskirts of Vienna to the Persian Gulf and from the Crimea to an expanded North Africa as far as Ethiopia. Education and science developed significantly in this period. Turkey Ottoman was taken from the word Utsman, the founder of Ottoman system. Ottoman was one of the great emperors. Its land spread in three continents; Asia, Africa and Europe (Lenczowski 1). By the 1880s Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm had replaced France and Great Britain as companion and military advisor of the Ottoman Empire. This connection made the ideologies of Europe penetrated slowly into the Ottoman system. The ideology which was penetrated was the ideology of Europe that was identified as modern continent, and its political system which used secularism that separated between religion and the state (16). Meanwhile, the basic system of Ottoman revived from the political system used during Prophet Mohammed period, the absolute of Sultan power and all constitutions were based on Koran and Hadist (Donohue and Esposito xxxiv). The international affair made some Ottoman people were influenced by the European system, such as Turkey young generations who reformed many systems in order to becoming more like European countries.

The conflict rose and reached its peak in 29 October 1923. The great national council announced the new political system of Turkey, from Khalifah system to Secular Republic. And the president was Mustafa Kemal Pasha (80). The republic system changed many basic regulations of Turkey. The council adapted many European system constitutions, through to secular system. The aim of Turkey revolution was to separate Turkey from its original culture and Asia-Arabic, and also changed into modern country just like Europe (81). The best solution according to Kemal was by separating the anti-religion or no Islam, diminishing Arabic language in religion ceremonies, and also forbidding veil in school.

And in 1924, the great national council changed articles for supporting this new system. It brought a new life for Turkey. The system which was based on Islam was changed into a Secular Republic, based on West system (Donohue and Esposito 78). The revolution of Turkey successfully brought to an end the 600 year old Ottoman Empire (80). Mustafa Kemal Pasha used military to impose on entire citizenry to the specific understanding of modernity, social identity and political authority based on European standards. In addition, it made a sharp difference between religious (Islam) and state vision. The conflict between the rebel (Muslim) and the state (secular ideology) put Turkey in destruction (Sjadzali 157).

Orhan Pamuk is a Turkish who grows up in a secular family. He won a Nobel Prize in literature in 2006 for his work, *My Name Is Red*. Orhan is one of secularists who support the republic of Turkey. His novel which is entitled *Snow*

is one of his best seller novels. *Snow*, originally published in Turkey in 2002, is championed in the Western press when it appears in Germany, the United States, and other Western countries. It wins many honors and awards; New York Times Best Books of the Year (2004), Médicis (Étranger, 2005), Salon Book Award (2004), and 1001 Books You Must Read Before You Die (2008 Edition) (Amazon, *Snow* by Orhan Pamuk). Pamuk claims that *Snow* is his first and last political novel (Coury 3).

The novel is different from his other works- *My Name Is Red*, *The New Life*, *The Black Book*, *Istanbul* and *Other Colours*. It is more pointedly addressing the cultural and political effect (over "secularism") in contemporary Turkish society which is represented in Kars. While his other works take Istanbul as the place of conflict. Kars is one big city in Turkey. It is a beautiful little city near of Armenia, as a border between Russia and Turkey Empire. Kars is a business transition place by Russians and Armenia traders and also the epicenter of the suicides and political problem (Hassan, *Exploring Turkishness*).

Pamuk uses Islamist term to describe rebel Muslim. *Snow* describes that in the Ottoman system, Islam was Turkey and Turkey was Islam. But this system was dramatically changed when Kemal Attartuk revolutionized Turkey Ottoman became secular republic and used military for it. In the novel, the policy of the state discriminated toward Kars Muslim identity, the existence of Islam was reduced by the state, the identities of Islam were not allowed. Many policy products marginalized them in politic-social, education and politics. The state creates an image of a figure of Islam, such as Blue who was described as a

spreader of terror toward the Islamic enemies. He was persecuted as the most brutal murder and killer. The state also attacked the Islamic schools, alienated girls in headscarf, and prevented Muslim's figure to get the authority (election). This discrimination was a consequence of secular system.

In the Ottoman period until the early republic, Kars people lived peacefully in multi ethnic and religions. The destruction was begun when the state used military, as the guard of secular republic to repress Kars Muslim's identity. Every place in Kars was controlled and powered by military, such as school, cafe, street, home and other places. The military also controlled every activity of Kars people, especially Muslim, by paying the spy. As the authority holder, military used many apparatus to secure the power, such as mass media, theatre and political system. And *Snow* brings those issues out.

By considering the issue which is elaborated previously, this study will analyze the state repression toward Muslim identity in Kars as a discrimination form. As the result of state repression, there is a struggle as the reaction of Kars Muslim. This issue will also be taken into analysis.

Those issues in *Snow* motivate the writer to analyze the attempt of Kars Muslim to defend their identity by using politics of identity theory. Why? *Snow* portrays that the effect of 1924 revolution is not only the most important moment in struggling the authority of Ottoman Empire but also gives Muslim awareness toward their identity. The Muslim identity of Kars existence is marginalized by the state. For this reason, the politics of identity is the theory that is appropriate with this study.

Beside that, there have not been many references in politics of identity studies that take religion community as an object of study in this faculty. Mainly the studies usually use social-cultural community; gay, punk, Chinese (race) and feminist (gender) community for instance. Therefore, the writer uses politics of identity theory to analyze this study since there is a marginalization of Muslim identity and also struggle to defend Muslim identity in Kars. It is hoped that the thesis could add the thesis reference which analyzes about politics of identity, mainly by analyzing religion as the politics of identity in a novel.

B. Statement of the Problem

In order to analyze this study, the writer of the study would like to state three questions to elaborate her analysis:

1. How is the identity politics of Kars Muslim described in the novel?
2. How is the form of identity of the state toward Kars Muslim identity described in the novel?
3. How does Kars Muslim struggle in facing politics of identity?

C. Objective of the Study

Regarding to the statements of the problem, the aims of the analysis of the thesis are:

1. Analyzing the identity politics of Kars Muslim described in the novel.
2. Analyzing the form of identity of the state toward Kars Muslim identity described in the novel

3. Analyzing how Kars Muslim struggle in facing politics of identity.

D. Significance of the Study

The writer hopes this study will serve as a good discussion on the problem arising as already mentioned in the statement of the problem. The writer expects that the outcomes of this study may broaden the readers' perspective of thinking. This thesis gives reference on how Turkey penetrates the secular democracy system toward its people. It also examines the politics of identity as an effort of Kars Muslim from the state identity forming that manifested through many aspect of Kars Muslim's life. Furthermore, the writer of the study also hopes that this study could become a worthy addition amongst the study of Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*.

E. Scope and Limitation

In making a scientific discussion, it is very important to present the scope and limitation of the study because it will prevent the writer from analyzing beyond the object of the study. Here, the intended work is a novel by Orhan Pamuk entitled *Snow* (2006).

The study will be focusing on the identity politics of Kars Muslim, the form of identity of the state toward Kars Muslim and Kars Muslim struggle toward their identity after secular period that are depicted in this novel. Therefore, the writer of the study will only be concentrating on the data that are taken from the novel and other sources that can support the arguments on the analysis.

This study discusses about the religion as a concept of identity. The writer will focus the religion in sociology view. It means that the religion is sited as the social phenomenon that can be observed empirically. However, it is no by means theology study close in this study. It might enter when it is needed.

F. Theoretical Background

The study will be focusing on the manifestation of politics of identity practice and the Kars Muslim struggle in Orhan Pamuk's novel *Snow*. And in order to analyze it, the writer would like to use the politics of identity theory which is suggested by Michael Kenny in his book *The Politics of Identity*.

According to Kenny, labor, student, gay, feminist, religion movements are included in politics of identity. The phenomenon of politics of identity is produced by disparagement and discrimination of majority toward minority. This discrimination can be applied in marginalization, repression, and oppression either physically and mentally (3). What exactly groups have or do in common can be found in interpretations that see in them an underlying political and ideological message. They are also engaged in heroic struggle to demand recognition of their worth in the face of repression (4). The writer also uses the theory of identity and Islam identity to explain about the significance of Kars Muslim identity. This concept will be useful to see the identity politics of Kars Muslim in this novel.

G. Method of the Study

To make a proper analysis, collecting and gaining valid data from various sources are important. The method that is used by the writer in analyzing her analysis is library research, and the main source is the novel itself. This research is done by collecting data from various books, articles, encyclopedia, journal, essays, reviews, and many other references from both internet and library sources which are needed to support the analysis.

After collecting the data, the writer will classify the data to answer the proposal problem. The techniques used to analyze the data are by using descriptive analysis, in which after reading the novel, the writer will describe the problems with the data related to analysis, accumulate the sources that support the analysis and analyze them by using the appropriate theories. Afterward, the writer will prove her problems of the statement by giving the data that have been discussed through the dialog, events and action in the novel.

In doing her analysis, the writer uses descriptive interpretative method. The data that have been collected are analyzed using the theories. And from the analysis, the writer gives descriptive explanation so that it will be clear that the data are taken from the novel.

H. Definition of the Key Term

Politics of identity : A mobilization of politic base upon characteristic identity of people or community.

- Identity politic* : A collective description of social force which have tried to politicize an identity.
- Revolution* : Complete change in the system of government especially by force; completely change in condition or way of doing thing.
- Secularism* : A system separating between religion and the state.
- Islamist* : A Modern or progressive Muslim who are ready to fight for her or his religion.