# Contents

**List of Figures and Tables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**List of Maps**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preface**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Acknowledgements**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**List of Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Introduction

1. The Kurds, the Kurdish Question in Turkey and Economic Development in ESA: An Exploration of the Central Theoretical Debates and Outline of the Methodological Resources

   1.1 Defining the Kurds
   
   1.2 Differing Theories on the Kurdish Question in Turkey
   
   1.3 Alternative Perspectives on Economic Development in ESA
   
   1.4 Research Design, Methods and Sources

2. The Formation of Ottoman Kurdistan: Social, Economic and Political Developments in Ottoman Kurdistan before the Nineteenth Century (1514–1800)

   2.1 Overview
   
   2.2 Political Relations and Structures in Ottoman Kurdistan between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries
   
   2.3 The Demography and Economy of Ottoman Kurdistan between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries

3. The Transformation of Ottoman Kurdistan: Underdevelopment in Ottoman Kurdistan in the Age of Centralisation, Westernisation and Crisis (1800–1914)

   3.1 Overview
   
   3.2 Social Structures
   
   3.3 Agriculture
   
   3.4 Transportation
   
   3.5 Commerce
   
   3.6 Population Income Levels
Contents

4 The Deformation of Ottoman Kurdistan and Bordering Regions: De-development in ESA from the First World War until the 1980 Coup (1914–1980) 151
  4.1 Overview 151
  4.2 'The Collapse of the Empire, the Rise of the ‘National Economy’ and the Implementation of Nationalist Population Policies 155
  4.3 From the Mudros Armistice of 1918 to the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 161
  4.4 Society, Economics and Politics in the Republican People’s Party Era (1923–1950) 165
  4.5 'Transition to a Turbulent Democracy and ‘Incorporation’ of ESA (1950–1980) 191

5 Turkey’s Kurdish Question in the Era of Neoliberalism: From the 1980 Coup to the AKP’s Kurdish Overture (1980–2010s) 214
  5.1 Overview 214
  5.2 Authoritarian Neoliberal Restructuring of Turkey and the Emergence of the Armed Conflict between the PKK and the Turkish State 218
  5.3 Gradual Democratisation Efforts and the Timid Politics of Recognition 221
  5.4 A New Phase in the Kurdish Questions Post-1999: The End of the First Period of Conflict 225
  5.5 'The Second Period of Conflict and the AKP’s Kurdish Overture 228
  5.6 The Economic Balance Sheet of ESA in the Era of Neoliberalism 233

Conclusion 259

Appendix I List of Interviews 279
Appendix II Ottoman Diyarbakir Trade Statistics 281
Bibliography 284
Index 307