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Begüm Adalet, *Hotels and Highways: The Construction of Modernization Theory in Cold War Turkey*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018. xi+286 pages. ISBN: 9781503605541

Studying political theory in action is an ambitious intellectual endeavor, and Begüm Adalet's *Hotels and Highways: The Construction of Modernization Theory in Cold War Turkey* undertakes and overcomes such a challenge. In that regard, this book is a forceful critique of modernization theory, which played a crucial role in American efforts during the Cold War era to disseminate American values, experts, and commodities to various parts of the globe, including Turkey. Since the early 1970s, modernization theory has been scrutinized and problematized by a myriad number of scholars, especially in political science, sociology, anthropology, and postcolonial studies. Adalet's contribution to this already existing critical literature has to do with the novel analytical tools she deploys and the interesting set of archival resources she carefully examines throughout the book.

The narrative arc of *Hotels and Highways* traces "the crafting and application of modernization theory" (p. 9), in particular, material practices of experts including political scientists, survey researchers, engineers, and architects, showing us the strange and anxious ways in which "problems of knowledge" and "problems of the political order" are entangled.¹ Adalet engages and thinks in refreshing ways with the literature in the fields of political science, critical theory, Turkish and American Cold War history, architectural history, Middle Eastern Studies, and science and technology studies (STS), which makes this book an interesting read for people coming from a variety of academic disciplines.

During the 1950s, Americans put great efforts into forming new alliances with countries like Turkey due to the

geographical importance attributed to them in the Cold War's emerging power games. These newly forming alliances were not only put into action by the shaking hands and swirling pens of highly ranked politicians but also took shape in academic conference rooms, fieldwork sites of social researchers, training programs for engineers, and architecture offices. Each chapter of *Hotels and Highways* delves into the worlds of certain figures who played key roles in the formation of these alliances.

Chapter one starts by contextualizing Turkey within the emergence of modernization theory in postwar American social science circles. Modernization theory postulated that societies go through linear transitions from the traditional to modern, and their rates of mass media literacy, urbanization, industrialization, and democratization (p. 28) indicate their particular states in transition. In the context of the 1950s, Turkey was treated as a role model and a social science laboratory for modernization theory scholars including Dankwart Rustow. Rustow, working at Princeton University's Near Eastern Studies department at the time, is an especially interesting case because of his longtime-cultivated personal connections with Turkey's academic institutions (Istanbul and Ankara Universities) and political intelligentsia (*Forum* political magazine published in Ankara between 1954 and 1970) throughout his lifetime.

Adalet argues that figures such as Rustow "positioned themselves as 'obligatory passage points' through which flows of information and knowledge traversed the Atlantic" (p. 25). She repurposes this concept from STS literature² in a creative way and explains how knowledge production about Turkey using definitive terms of modernization theory was made possible between the places where Rustow spent his time. In addition, looking into the professional correspondence and unpublished writings of political scientists like Rustow, Myrion Weiner, and Lucian Pye reveals the "epistemic anxieties"³ (p. 34) they felt because of the "odious comparisons" (p. 36) they were making between places like Turkey, Pakistan, and Malaysia. These affective words are not visible in the

academic publications these scholars were part of, but Adalet brings them to our attention and shows that the adamant epistemic efforts of American social scientists to produce "facts, generalizations, principles, rules, laws or formulae" of modernization stood on grounds of frailty and ambivalence.

In chapter two, Adalet delves into the lifeworlds of survey researchers such as Daniel Lerner, Frederick Frey, and Nermin Abadan, who conducted and trained a whole generation of social scientists in Turkey from the 1950s onward. Despite his significance in the history of modernization theory and behaviorist social sciences, Lerner is not the only obligatory passage point in this chapter. Here, Lerner is more of an aspiring figure for the establishment of the survey research enterprise in the 1950s and a lens through which we can dissect the methodological and ideological assumptions of such research in order to not only identify but also "induce" modern subjects (p. 39).

Funded by organizations such as the Mutual Security Agency, the Turkish State Planning Organization, the Ford Foundation, and the Voice of America, the conductors of these surveys assumed "an alignment between the ideal subject of modernization theory and the respondent who was presumed to be familiar with the conditions of the survey setting" (p. 56–57). The subjects in question were assessed based on their attitudes during the interview in addition to their education, profession, and abstract thinking skills through which Lerner constructed an "empathy index" (p. 64) in his (in)famous book *Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. Adalet brings to our attention the "raw data" (p. 78) coded, graphed, and turned into knowledge and shows that the accounts of the interviewees who subverted or challenged the questionnaires were either mistranslated or erased out in the final research reports and publications (p. 83). Having a more comprehensive picture of the research process via revisiting the fieldwork documents in the archives beams us back in time and give us the chance to imagine actual human bodies of surveyors and respondents interacting and "co-producing" such knowledge on site.⁴

204 The first two chapters of *Hotels and Highways* engage with modernization theory scholarship and its knowledge-making practices, focusing on the early Cold War period in the US and Turkey. Through rigorous empirical analysis, both chapters distort the official narratives of trouble-free academic collaborations and situate them within a larger web of frail power/knowledge nexuses strived to be held firm by American and Turkish scholars. According to Adalet, these frailties are “endemic features of knowledge production, whose tensions can be navigated but never surpassed” (p. 201). The remaining three chapters of the book shift gears and transport us to the construction sites of highways and hotels of Turkey in the 1950s.

Chapter three is a thorough study of road construction projects, expanding road networks, and the material encounters among experts, documents, and machines in Turkey during the 1950s. Adalet makes a smart move here and constructs a narrative in which the expansion of Turkey’s road networks and the political power of its newly elected Democratic Party (DP) unfold as synchronous processes. The emergence of newly formed administrative units (e.g. the foundation of the General Directorate of Highways, KGM) and decision-making mechanisms concerning these road construction projects “brought together questions of modernization on multiple scales, including the direction of Turkey’s postwar economy, the creation of a relationship between Turkey and the United States based on technical assistance, and the production of the civil engineer as a certain kind of social and temporal subject” (p. 89).

This chapter unwinds two different threads of tensions. One is between American aid program officers and engineers and the other between Turkish and American engineers. While Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) officials wanted to incorporate more foreign contractors into Turkey’s road construction projects, American engineers from the Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) prioritized improving the project management and conduct skills of Turkish engineers. According to the Marshall Program officers, Turkish engineers were suffering

from the “old ‘Pasha complex’” (p. 112) and needed to be better at record keeping, time management, and maintaining roadbuilding machinery (p. 120). Enrolling KGM civil engineers in BPR-led training programs, the mechanization of agriculture, and the importation of American trucks, tractors and automobiles using ECA funds aimed to build more roads, which Adalet argues to be the embodiment of “technologies of liberalism” (p. 124).

In chapter four, Adalet explores the set of discourses built around the expanding road networks and argues that they were instrumentalized for the “construction of a modern, civilized, democratic citizenry” (p. 126). Even though the initial goals of KGM were not met to the full extent by 1960 (only 11,000 kilometers out of the goal of 150,000 kilometers of rural roads had been built), roads facilitated “the spatial organization and circulation of bodies, goods, and ideas” (p. 123) across the country. This chapter complements the preceding one and pays close attention to the visions and expectations of those who spearheaded the road construction projects and uncovers the surprises and frustrations they expressed in their reports and publications after the wheels hit the road. Here Adalet is thinking with Anna Tsing, who previously argued that “the ease of travel [that roads] facilitate is also a structure of confinement.”⁵

KGM and BPR officials, Republican People’s Party and DP politicians, and modernization theory enactors such as Frederick Frey, envisioned the roads and motor vehicles as technologies that would produce new social types, lifestyles, and habits of mobility. It was hoped that peasants of the pre-mechanized agriculture would be replaced by “a new type of farmer” (p. 142) who would be connected to the world markets thanks to the roads that would take them to the nearest commercial center. Hence, they were expected to be more mobile, enjoy the nice scenery along the roads, and consider traveling as a matter of leisure (p. 147). To a certain extent these expectations turned out to be true according to statistical measures rendered into visualized data shown on the Geographical Mobility Index graph

reprinted from the Rural Development Research Project report of Frederick Frey, and also reprinted as the first figure in this chapter. But, as we read the travel notes of the KGM director Tahsin Önalp’s trip to Van and Hakkari with a mechanical engineer from the BPR, roads were meant to connect the remote parts of the country to the fairly more developed areas, which Adalet argues to be a form of “internal colonialization” (p. 133). And, the material effects of this internal colonialism found their resonance in a regional map published in the same Frey report, showing a declining gradient of development starting from western Turkey towards its eastern provinces (p. 140). Alignment of these maps with the diligent discourse analysis throughout the chapter strengthens Adalet’s argument that roads did not serve as venues of liberalization and mobility for every citizen living within the territorial boundaries of the country.

The final chapter of the book takes us to downtown Istanbul to the material site on which the first Hilton hotel in Turkey was erected between 1950 and 1955. The Istanbul Hilton was meant to “cultivate a hospitable mindset” (p. 163) with regards to the anticipated flow of foreign capital into the country and the “recently burgeoning tourism industry” (p. 174). In this chapter, Adalet argues that this particular landmark was a “boundary object” or “a sort of arrangement that allows different groups to work together without consensus.”⁶ Correspondingly, this project carried multiple meanings for those who were involved in its construction. For the American business tycoon Conrad Hilton, the hotel was a symbol put into concrete of his enterprise’s multinational tourism and cultural mission to be the peacekeepers and innkeepers of the world (p. 169). The hotel’s architects, Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, considered the disharmonious but collective deliberations about the architectural design choices of the building as a matter of assembling a set of global and local aesthetics, cultural values, and technological artefacts (p. 175). ECA representatives from the US who funded the project deemed the Istanbul Hilton to be a luxuriously monumental structure representing the successful

outcomes of the American aid pumped into the Turkish economy (p. 165). Finally, the DP government and the promoters of *tourism a la Americana*, such as Ahmet Emin Yalman, treated the hotel as a watershed moment in the growth of Turkey's tourism industry (p. 191).

Along with demonstrating the intricate entanglements embodied in the materialization process of the Istanbul Hilton, Adalet argues that such exemplary sites of modern but still Turkish hospitality came into being at a particular time during which Istanbul's non-Muslim minorities were being treated with utmost aggression. The Istanbul Hilton was erected in the central location of Harbiye, within the vicinity of Taksim's Gezi Park (a former Armenian cemetery that had been turned into a public space by the Turkish government), and surrounded by neighborhoods predominantly inhabited by non-Muslim minorities of the city. Three months after the hotel's opening, the pogroms of September 6-7 broke out during which thousands of Greek and other non-Muslim habitants' properties, homes, shops, and schools were looted and burned. The fact that such dispossession and expropriation events were omitted or silenced in the relevant public conversations, either embracing or criticizing Istanbul Hilton's significance for the city's ongoing urban

renewal projects on a major scale at the time, makes Adalet call into question the limits of Turkish hospitality that was imagined to be epitomized in this monumental building (p. 181).

Hotels and Highways sheds light unto the previously uninvestigated nodal points where experts, official documents, and material artefacts embodying Turkey's intensifying alliance with the US intersect during early Cold War period. As Adalet touches upon in the conclusion of the book, similar events are to be noticed in recent history. The "Turkish model of 'Islamic modern democracy'" was considered as a role model for the Arab Spring (p. 200). "Many of [modernization theory's] core tenets were invoked to describe and legitimize the reconstruction projects of post-invasion Iraq and Afghanistan" (p. 197). Istanbul has been going through another wave of large-scale urban renewal projects, many of which funded by foreign capital flowing into the country since the Justice and Development Party came into power (p. 199).

In *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Yersiz, Havasız, Mülksüz Kent*, the editors Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay describe Istanbul as a city of unequal distributions of wealth and extreme oscillations of construction and destruction, gentrification, and pollution. The

ways in which the "mega-projects" and expanding "new economy" of the city have been projected on the billboards in order to market the city as a point of attraction for global and regional audiences are worth noting according to Candan and Özbay.⁷ The generative analytical framework that *Hotels and Highways* offers could be tailored into possible future inquiries to be pursued by scholars.

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1 Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

2 Michel Callon, "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St. Brieuç Bay," *The Sociological Review* 32, no. 1 (May 1984), 196-233; Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

3 Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

4 Sheila Jasanoff, ed., *States of Knowledge: The Co-Production of Science and the Social Order* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013).

5 Anna Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 6.

6 Susan Leigh Star, "This is not a Boundary Object: Reflections on the Origin of a Concept," *Science, Technology & Human Values* 35, no. 5 (August 2010): 602.

7 Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay, eds., *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Yersiz, Havasız, Mülksüz Kent* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2014).

Onur İnal and Yavuz Köse, eds., *Seeds of Power: Exploration in Ottoman Environmental History*. Winwick: The White Horse Press, 2019. xvii+292 pages, 26 figures and tables. ISBN: 9781874267997

In 2006, the late John F. Richards published *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*. In this landmark book, Richards initiated the writing of the global environmental history of the early modern world. It was this world in

which the Ottoman Empire expanded its territory from the northwestern Balkans to the shores of the Red Sea and from the slopes of Mount Ararat to the southwestern Mediterranean. Yet aside from brief references to the Ottoman environment and its inhabitants, *Unending Frontier* did not integrate the Ottoman Empire into the story of global environmental change in the early modern period. The possible reasons for this are beyond the scope of this review. However, one obvious reason was the absence of scholarship on Ottoman environmental history accessible to non-Ottomanist historians. Since that time, however, pioneering works by a new generation of Ottoman historians have opened up the Ottoman frontier in global environmental history.¹ The

interest in environmental history in Ottoman studies cannot yet be called a "historiographical turn" since a "turn" should indicate a shift in the way we think and write about history. Environmental history, however, is no longer a marginal subfield in Ottoman history. As intellectual curiosities are bound to their temporal contexts, the growing interest in environmental history is linked to the global ecological crisis and the ongoing environmental deterioration in the Middle East. Nature has sounded an alarm to Ottoman historians to also look back and explore the changes in the relationship between the human and nonhuman societies and their surrounding environments in the Ottoman past. *Seeds of Power* is a product of this shift as well as a confirmation of a growing interest in