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SİYASAL: Journal of Political Sciences

RESEARCH ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

Considering the Wealth Tax in the Context of the Wealth Declaration Debates (1960-1984) in Turkey

Türkiye'de Servet Beyannamesi Tartışmaları (1960-1984) Çerçevesinde Servet Vergisini Düşünmek

Ebru Deniz Ozan [1]

Abstract

Wealth tax, which has been off the agenda since the 1990s, has come back to the global political agenda with the COVID-19 pandemic. In response to the economic and social problems caused by the pandemic, wealth taxes were introduced in some Latin American countries and in the USA. International organizations such as the UN and the IMF suggested that a wealth tax should be considered as a solution. These discussions also came to the fore in Turkey. As a result of the global crisis and pandemic, Turkey, like other countries, faced financial problems and growing inequality.

Although there has never been a general wealth tax in the history of the Republic of Turkey, the practice that comes closest to a wealth tax is the "Annual Wealth Declaration" that was implemented between 1960 and 1984. Throughout its implementation, the declaration of wealth caused controversy and was opposed or defended by different representatives of social classes. The aim of this study is to examine these perceptions about the declaration of wealth, by following the discussions in the press during those years, to clarify the arguments for and against the wealth declaration. The study also asks what the practice of the wealth declaration can tell us today, even though it was criticised, discussed, and then abandoned, in what could be described as a more appropriate social context, that is before the 1980s. The study aims to contribute, within a historical framework, to the discussions on the applicability of the wealth tax in Turkey.

Keywords: the wealth declaration, Wealth tax, the wealth declaration debates in Turkey (1960-1984)

Öz

Birçok ülkede farklı şekillerde uygulanan ama 1990'lardan itibaren gündemden düşen servet vergisi, COVID-19 salgını ile tekrar küresel siyasetin gündemine girdi. Salgının yarattığı iktisadi ve toplumsal sorunlar karşısında bazı Latin Amerika ülkeleri ve ABD'nde yıllık servet vergisi uygulanmaya başladı. BM ya da IMF gibi uluslararası kuruluşlar, bir çözüm önerisi olarak servet vergisinin dikkate alınması gerektiğini ileri sürdü. Elbette bu tartışmalar Türkiye'de de gündeme geldi. Yaşanan küresel kriz ve salgın Türkiye'yi de diğer ülkeler gibi finansal sorunlar ve artan eşitsizlik sorunlarıyla karşı karşıya bıraktı.

Türkiye Cumhuriyet'i tarihinde genel bir servet vergisi uygulaması olmasa da 1960-1984 yılları arasındaki servet beyannamesini, genel servet vergisine en çok yaklaşan uygulama olarak ele almak mümkün. Uygulandığı süre boyunca servet beyannamesi tartışmalara yol açmış, farklı kesimler tarafından karşı çıkılmış ya da savunulmuştu. Bu çalışma, o yıllardaki tartışmaları basın üzerinden takip ederek servet beyannamesine ilişkin bu çeşitli algıları irdelemek, servet beyannamesine ilişkin lehte ve aleyhte dile getirilen tezleri netleştirip hangi toplumsal kesimlerin bunları dile getirdiğini göstermek amacını taşıyor. 1980 öncesindeki yıllarda aslında daha uygun bir toplumsal bağlam olarak nitelendirilebilecek bir dönemde bile tepki gören, tartışılan ve ardından da son verilen servet beyannamesi uygulaması, bugün bize ne söyleyebilir sorusunu soruyor. Servet vergisinin Türkiye'de uygulanabilirliği tartışmalarına, tarihsel bir çerçevede, katkı sunmayı hedefliyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Servet beyannamesi, Genel servet vergisi, Türkiye'de servet beyannamesi tartışmaları (1960-1984)

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Introduction

The wealth tax was mentioned and discussed again in the face of the economic crises experienced by countries, especially those deepened by the COVID-19 pandemic. The financing problems such as budget deficit and increase in public borrowing that countries faced as a result of the pandemic (Durmuş, 2021, pp. 96, 100; Birinci, 2022, p. 715), the deterioration of income distribution and the greater visibility of the gap between the 'rich and the poor'[1], and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a certain segment of the population led to the reintroduction of wealth tax practices that had fallen off the agenda (Saraçoğlu and Erul, 2022, p. 14).

In fact, the wealth tax that had been implemented by many countries but fell off the agenda and was gradually abandoned since the 1990s (Advani et al., 2021, p. 390; Durmuş, 2021, p. 96; Birinci, 2022, p. 717), was a solution that names such as Thomas Piketty, Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman, and Jason Hickel opened up for discussion against the economic and ecological crisis of capitalism before the pandemic. Piketty, for example, proposed a global wealth tax and suggested raising the tax rate on the rich to eighty percent, while Hickel emphasised the ecological costs of the rich's consumption and justified a progressive wealth tax (Advani et al. 2021, p. 389; Durmuş, 2021, pp. 98-99).

In the wake of the pandemic, decisions were taken to impose wealth taxes in Russia, Bolivia and Argentina, and this proposal was voiced by lawyers, academics, and scientists in many parts of the world such as Germany, California, Chile, and the United Kingdom (Durmuş, 2021, p. 105). The United Nations Secretary-General even warned governments to consider a "solidarity or wealth tax", and the IMF stated that taxing large fortunes should be considered (Advani et al., 2021, p. 389). Furthermore, during the pandemic, Venezuela and Bolivia introduced a wealth tax in 2020 and 2021, respectively. Argentina also introduced a one-off tax in 2020 under the "the Law of Solidarity and Extraordinary Contributions" (Heath, 5 December 2020). The "great wealth tax", whose constitutional framework was outlined in the Brazilian constitution but not implemented, was put on the agenda in 2023. Negotiations on the level of wealth and the tax brackets to be applied are ongoing (Toranzo, 24 April 2023).

When we look at the history of the Republic of Turkey, we do not see the application of a general wealth tax. Wealth taxes are divided into general and special wealth taxes according to the scope of the tax subject. The existing wealth taxes in Turkey (i.e., real estate tax, motor vehicle tax and inheritance tax) belong to the scope of the special wealth taxes and are part of the Turkish tax system (Eken, 2016, p. 74; Eroğlu, 2010, p. 66). However, it is not possible to talk about the practice of a general wealth tax, which is a "subjective tax levied on all tangible and intangible wealth elements owned by the taxpayer at a certain time" (Kızılot, 1983, p. 34, note 22). It would not be correct to consider the Wealth Tax of 1942, which was implemented under the conditions of Second World War, targeted non-Muslims, had no right of appeal and included penalties such as physical labour (Eken, 2016, pp. 72, 74), as a general wealth tax practice or example, even though it is evaluated under the headings of 'an extraordinary wealth tax trial'

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1   According to OXFAM data, the world's ten richest people doubled their wealth during the pandemic, while 99 per cent of the rest saw their incomes fall (OXFAM, 17 January 2002).

(Eken, 2016, p. 70) or 'a one-time special wealth tax' (Heper, 1980, p. 79). However, it is possible to identify the annual wealth declaration, implemented between 1960 and 1984, as the practice in the history of the Republic of Turkey that comes closest to a general wealth tax. In fact, when the wealth declaration was first introduced, the private sector believed that it was a step towards a future 'wealth tax' and therefore complained about the practice (Ay, 1996, p. 135; Kızılot, 1983, p. 50). The principle of wealth declaration was a practice aimed at uncovering hidden income based on wealth. Although there were some prominent practices in the form of wealth tax in different countries such as the UK, the USA, and Scandinavian countries at that time, "the control of tax bases through the 'wealth declaration' attached to the declaration was a system applied only in Turkey" (Kızılot, 1983, pp. 37, 41).

Obviously, before 1980, a conjuncture dominated by economic policies that included elements such as import substitution, social state-centered, and planned development made such an implementation possible in those years. Nevertheless, since the debates of that period can give us an idea of the feasibility of a wealth tax in Turkey, it is necessary to identify the main axes of the discussions of that period and focus on what their significance could be today.

Throughout its implementation, the wealth declaration was controversial and was either opposed or defended by the representatives of different social classes. This study aims to review these perceptions with regard to the wealth declaration by following the debates of those years through the press, to clarify the arguments for and against the wealth declaration. It identifies and analyses the opinions of the spokespersons of the political parties, the representatives of the capitalist class, the columnists, and some academics on this issue by examining the leading periodicals of the time, *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*, as well as *Tercüman* and *Akis* and some publications of the business organisations. It also asks the question of what the practice of 'declaration of wealth annually' can tell us today. Even in what might be described as a more appropriate social context, that is before the 1980s, it was criticised, discussed, and then abandoned. The study aims to contribute, within a historical framework, to the debate on the feasibility of a wealth tax in Turkey.

The study begins with a brief history of the practice of wealth declaration, followed by an examination of the axes and main topics of debate between the years of its implementation. Evaluating these issues, the study examines what kind of conclusions can be drawn from this practice for today.

Wealth Declaration Practice in Turkey

Wealth declaration, which was the subject of debate from the time of its introduction in Turkey until its abolition, started to be applied within the scope of the Income Tax Law No. 193, which was adopted in 1960, and was abolished in 1984 (Eroğlu, 2010, p. 215). Wealth declaration is defined as an effective self-control tool in the field of taxation that enables the determination of wealth, based on the causal relationship between income and wealth (Ay, 1996, p. 135; Ergun, 1966, p.59; Eroğlu, 2010, p. 215). It is based on the principle of comparing the increase in wealth in a calendar year with the income declared in the same year (Ay, 1996, p. 135). Wealth declaration is a part of the taxation of wealth. This practice, which was introduced immediately after the military coup in Turkey in

1960, caused reactions in business sectors, based on the suspicion that a new wealth tax would be imposed or that accountability would be demanded (Ergun, 1966, p.70; Kızılot, 1983, p. 50, note 5).

Wealth declarations were collected from income taxpayers. Commercial, professional and agricultural income taxpayers, as well as those who received investment income (interest on deposits, interest on bonds...) with a gross amount exceeding 3 million liras and those who received investment income that was not taxed by deduction, as well as the managing partners of ordinary joint stock companies, regardless of the amount of their income, were obliged to submit a wealth declaration (Kızılot, 1983, pp. 58-59).

The assets that had to be declared were capital allocated to commercial, industrial, agricultural, and professional enterprises, as well as shares in partnerships and companies; other real estate; shares and bonds; gold and precious metals in the form of coins or bars; jewellery; vehicles for land, sea, and air transport; receivables and debts (Kızılot, 1983, p. 66). Taxpayers were obliged to declare the assets belonging to themselves, their spouses, and their children, both inside and outside Turkey. The declaration was made by submitting the wealth declaration form prepared by the Ministry of Finance to the relevant tax office as an annex to the annual tax return (Kızılot, 1983, p. 61).

Three legal grounds were given for ending the practice. These were that the wealth declaration did not provide the expected efficiency and was useless, that its coexistence with the standard of living institution[2] led to double taxation and created duplication, and that the fact that taxpayers could adjust their declarations according to the income they intended to declare made the declaration meaningless (Ay, 1996, p. 136). However, it can be argued that the main reason was to facilitate the entry of international capital into Turkey, to bring some funds whose source was not legal into the economy and to ensure economic vitality (Ay, 1996, p. 136; Eroğlu, 2010, p. 217). Indeed, it was not difficult for the political power to abolish this practice, which was unpleasant for capitalist classes, especially within the framework of the economic policy based on the free-market economy and aimed at reducing the tax burden on the capital, which was embodied in the decisions of 24 January 1980.

In the post-1980 period, the shift from direct taxes to indirect taxes and the reduction of direct taxes on the capital sector and the transfer of the tax burden to workers and wage earners through practices such as value added tax, in other words, the formation of tax policies in favour of capital and the imposition of the tax burden on the workers and wage earners through indirect taxes (Ay and Haydanlı, 2018, pp. 66, 69), also created a suitable ground for the abolition of the wealth declaration. [3]

After the abolition of wealth declaration, regulations were introduced in 1998 to broaden the tax base, to reform the tax system or to make the system simpler and clearer, such as the "where did you get it from?" regulation, which gave importance to

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2   The "standard of living principle ", which was introduced in the Income Tax Law as a tax security measure, applies to commercial, agricultural and professional earners subject to real income tax. Although it was introduced in 1978 (Kızılot, 1983, p. 249), it started to be applied after 1980.

3   For example, since the early 2000s in Turkey, corporate taxes on capital have been significantly reduced in Turkey (Durmuş, 2018, p. 114), and the share of indirect taxes in the distribution of direct and indirect tax collections in general budget tax revenues was 73 per cent in 2005 (Ceran et al., 2007, p. 286).

the link between income, wealth and expenses of individuals and allowed for the audit and determination of wealth; but these regulations were either not implemented or were cancelled and returned to the previous regulations (Eroğlu, 2010, pp. 219, 220). Turkey continued to have a tax policy that favoured the capitalist class.

The Main Axes of the Wealth Declaration Debate

It can be concluded that the main topics of the discussion at the time were tax evasion, the wealth declaration as a means of self-control, the unease of the private sector, the possibility of market stagnation and 'hostility to wealth'.

Tax Evasion and Self-Checking Tool

Throughout its implementation, the proponents of the wealth declaration basically argued that this practice was a self-control tool and that it was the most appropriate measure against tax evasion and tax avoidance. Especially in the first years of its implementation, it was stated that the practice was put on the agenda with the aim of combating tax evasion and that it was successful in this respect. For example, the then Minister of Finance Şefik İnan stated that at least 300 million liras of revenue had been collected and that wealth declarations were an indispensable "self-control tool" of the income tax system. He stated that he was not in favour of the abolition or return of wealth declarations and that while the tax base was 2 billion 695 million liras without the wealth declaration practice, it was 4 billion 175 liras after the wealth declaration in March 1961 (Milliyet, 27 April 1962, p.1). Again, the minister stated that the abolition of the wealth tax would benefit those who wanted to evade taxes and that he would read the letters and telegrams received from citizens in the Parliament in order not to abolish the wealth declaration (Milliyet, 30 April 1962, p.1). His successor Ferit Melen also mentioned the number of people who had submitted wealth declarations (200.000) and claimed that 85% of these people did not complain about the practice and that the market had revived in the last six months (Milliyet, 22 December 1962, p. 7). In his column, Abdi İpekçi, commenting on the Justice Party's (AP) decision to abolish the wealth declaration, emphasised that this would put the AP under suspicion regarding tax evasion and that a new measure should be taken to control evasion that would not raise doubts about its effectiveness. He stated that the objectionable aspects of the wealth declaration could be discussed, and it could be claimed that an effective control would not be realised, but the problem was tax evasion (İpekçi, 28 March 1968, p. 9). In 1966, Sadun Eren, the spokesperson of the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP), who took the floor during the budget negotiations, stated that the promise of tax justice was not included in the budget, that the wealth declaration was wanted to be abolished because the private sector was uncomfortable, asked what kind of measures would be introduced in its place and said that those who wanted to abolish this declaration were only those who wanted to evade taxes (Milliyet, 19 December 1965, p. 7). Tax evasion occupied a central place in discussions on the issue in the 1970s too. Hasan Pulur, for example, included the opinions of two accountants in his column. According to them, tax audits would not yield results unless they were based on wealth and expenditures, and the amnesty-like redeclaration of wealth paved the way for future tax evasion. The most powerful weapon to prevent tax evasion was for everyone to declare their wealth (Pulur, 03 June 1978, p. 5). It was also stated that it would not be enough just to collect

the declarations, but that these declarations should be thoroughly checked throughout the country. The chief accountant of the Ministry of Finance underlined that taxpayers could leave their real estates in different provinces undeclared, and that in order to prevent this, the information should be audited and centralized, and that the use of computers would be necessary (Milliyet, 14 June 1975, p. 2). Another chief accountant emphasised that wealth declaration was indeed a very effective measure to prevent tax evasion, but that it could only be useful in an orderly and integrated manner, and that tax losses in Turkey were around 30 billion and that tax evasion was widespread (Milliyet, 26 January 1976, p. 9).

Those who opposed the wealth declaration and advocated its abolition argued that it provided no real control and was a useless practice. The draft law, which was discussed in 1963 in the Republican Senate's Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs provided that no wealth declarations would be collected at all. It was argued that the wealth declaration did not ensure self-control, that there was no such control tool anywhere in the world, that there had been no increase in income tax since the introduction of wealth declarations, and that the declaration caused stagnation in the market and stopped investments. The headline of the news article stated that the Senate Commission agreed that the wealth declaration should not be taken again because it did not prevent tax evasion (Milliyet, 17 January 1963, p. 1). A similar claim was made by the then Minister of Finance and Customs Vural Arıkan during the debates on the abolition of the declaration in 1984: "As for the issue that [the abolition of the wealth declaration] would allow the owners of great wealth to engage in tax evasion, the wealth declaration is related to individual enterprises, not to corporations, Vehbi Koç and Sakıp Sabancı have no fear of the wealth declaration anyway". Arıkan argued that the wealth declaration had no function in terms of tax evasion and that in order for the declaration to yield results, the taxpayers had to be audited, which was not effective: "There are 1 million 700 thousand income taxpayers, 1700 auditors..." (Cumhuriyet-Siyaset 84, 23 April 1984, p. 5). Minister Vural Arıkan also responded to the opinions that tax evasion would increase with the abolition of the wealth declaration and that these practices would benefit the rich by arguing that with the abolition of the wealth declaration, the values outside the declaration would be transferred to the business and that the abolition of the declaration would not increase tax evasion (Milliyet, 23 April 1984, p. 4).

Market Stagnation

The claim that the wealth declaration stagnates the market and reduces investment was frequently voiced by those advocating the removal of this practice. It was argued that the wealth declaration would lead to the withdrawal of money from the market. For example, the AP Kayseri deputy Hüsnü Dikeçligil argued that "the domestic market will not move as long as the sword of Damocles, called the wealth declaration, hangs over the heads of the traders". He claimed that the wealth declaration should be abolished so that the market could be revived and there should be no fear "that the children of the country will become rich" (Milliyet, 12 January 1962, p. 5). Hüseyin Kalpaklıoğlu, member of the Republican Senate (Kayseri), called for the abolition of the wealth declaration, claiming that it was paralysing the market (Milliyet, 6 April 1962, p. 5). In particular, it was argued that the declaration of real wealth was being avoided due to worry, and therefore wealth remained idle or flowed abroad, and that the return of wealth declarations was an accurate

decision, that hidden money would be made available to business life and that the market would be revived (Cillov, December 20, 1961, p. 2). Saadettin Bilgiç, deputy chairman of the AP, described practices such as the wealth declaration as a measure that "prevented entrepreneurs from creating employment opportunities and ultimately dried up the state treasury" (Milliyet, 29 June 1964, p. 7). Again, Prof. Dr. Orhan Dikmen, in the report he prepared for the Industrial Congress, stated that measures such as the declaration of expenses, the declaration of wealth and the declaration of tax did not provide the expected benefits, and that these measures would cause some savings to be transferred to non-tax areas, instead of to industry. Industrialists who spoke during the discussion of the report claimed that their growth was prevented by various taxes (Tercüman, 13 June 1964, p.7; Tercüman, 17 June 1964, p. 7).

In fact, it can be argued that these views are largely in line with the reasons cited as factors that make it difficult to tax wealth in general. One of them is the risk of wealth leaving the country's territory, another is that taxing wealth is seen as a practice against private property rights, another is that it causes double taxation as it is applied after the income tax, and finally, it encourages wealthy people to flee to countries where there is no tax (Eroğlu, 2010, pp. 42, 45).

An Uneasy Private Sector and 'Hostility to Wealth'

The issue of wealth taxation as a practice against private property rights was expressed in different ways by the representatives of the private sector in the debates on wealth declaration. The wealth declaration was described by the private sector as 'unsettling', 'frightening' and it was claimed that it 'disturbed the market'. For example, at the 19th General Congress of the Union of Chambers, Osman Çilingiroğlu, a delegate from Erzurum said, "Those who call us tax evaders should explain their own taxes...We have no luxury, they want to take our money, our goods, but they get nothing" (Milliyet, 29 May 1966, p. 3). An industrialist was quoted as saying that merchants were not afraid of the wealth declaration, but of politicians, and that the repercussions of the Wealth Tax [1942] continued, and that the rumours after the 14's incident had not been forgotten and that the 22 February uprising [of Talat Aydemir and his friends], or statements such as "everything over a hundred thousand liras will be confiscated were still echoing in the market" (Milliyet, 17 March 1962, p. 5). The spokesperson of the Union of Chambers of Commerce described the wealth declaration as a practice that would frighten the private sector and "would not fit into our structure" even if it was introduced in Scandinavian countries. He also said that businessmen would want to hide their wealth and taxes from their employees, spouses, friends, and competitors, and that the saying "you don't know who has faith or who has money" was indicative of this. So, the objections to the declaration were related to this, "money and faith", not to tax evasion (Ecevit, 23 March 1965, p.1). Metin Toker, in his article in *Akis* magazine, expressed the thesis of the opponents of the declaration as follows: "Capital does not like such strict records because it is timid... Knowing that it is under control at all times would make the private sector uncomfortable..." (Toker, 02 May1962, p. 5). One of the main criticisms of the wealth declaration was that it was problematic in terms of personal privacy, confidentiality, and personal freedom. Moreover, since capital is timid, the declaration would create doubt and panic in the market, the investments would decrease and even some of the capital would flee abroad (Ergun, 1966, pp. 61-62).

During the discussions in the first years of the application of wealth declaration, Finance Minister Şefik İnan had said "Don't let them make me say it, if I reveal the amount of tax they pay, the people will lynch them", and this was echoed in the press. In response, it was commented that "... although the currents in society are known, it is not right that this should come from the mouth of a responsible government official (Akis, 12 February 1962, p. 22).

This unease and the related reaction of the representatives of the capitalist class, seem to be central to those who advocate the abolition of the wealth declaration. Galip Yalman argues that the annual wealth declaration and attempts at tax reform, especially those introduced by the military regime after the 1960 coup d'état, contributed to the insecurity felt by the property-owning groups, but suggests that their reaction or grievances was more indicative of their distance from the hegemonic strategy of the time, which emphasised the importance of social justice, rather than a sense of threat to their own position (Yalman, 2002, p. 331).

As part of this discourse of 'discomfort' and 'unease', the fact that this declaration pitted 'the state and the citizen' against each other was mentioned during the process of abolishing the declaration. Vural Arıkan, the then Minister of Finance and Customs, stated that the declaration was an unfavourable practice in terms of 'tax psychology' and claimed that the declaration "pitted the state against the taxpayer and the citizen against the state" (Cumhuriyet, 21 February 1984, p. 9; Cumhuriyet- Siyaset 84, 23 April 1984, p. 5). The minister explained that for the declaration made in the debt section of the declaration, the state told the taxpayer "you did not borrow money from your grandmother, your grandmother does not have the economic status to lend money" (Cumhuriyet, 23 April 1984, p. 5).[4] The discomfort felt by the private sector and the unrest caused by the declaration, which was seen as an interference in private property, seems to have been the basis for its abolition.

In fact, throughout the implementation of the wealth declaration, there were interventions made in the application or facilities within the scope of amnesty. This shows that the concerns of the capitalist class have been taken into account, that the private sector has been effective in the process and that it has made its voice heard by expressing its demands in political terms. A number of facilitating practices can be identified such as returning the declarations and thus giving those who made incorrect declarations the opportunity to make corrections, i.e. returning and re-declaring the declarations (Milliyet, 25 June 1962, p. 1; Milliyet, 21 December 1979, p. 9), forgiving the hidden taxes when they are renewed, i.e. taxing them without penalty or providing ease of payment (Milliyet, 24 May 1978, p. 7; Milliyet, 17 May 1978, p. 8), or subjecting the difference between the new declaration and the old declaration to a one percent tax (Milliyet, 13 February 1980, p. 9; Milliyet, 10 April 1983, p. 12), or if they paid a two percent tax on their wealth declarations to be submitted with their 1982 tax returns, their declarations for

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4   Based on the idea that 'a taxpayer whose wealth has increased more than his income can conceal this increase by lending money to his relatives', the audit could examine issues such as whether the lender had the financial power to lend this money, the nature of the close kinship or business relationship between the lender and the borrower, the documentation of the debt exchange, the reason and justification for the debt-credit relationship (Kızılot, 1983, p. 281). The Minister referred to this in his speech.

previous years would not be subject to tax inspection (Milliyet,12 January 1983, p. 1).[5] In conclusion, in line with the economic policies implemented after 1980, in favor of capital aimed at increasing capital accumulation under free market conditions, the demand for the abolition of the declaration could be realised.

Another claim related to the position and discomfort of the private sector in the debates on the wealth declaration at the time was that the practice was 'hostile to wealth' (Ay, 1996, p. 136). This claim, which was addressed in different aspects by both the proponents and opponents of the practice, was in fact related to the dominant discourse of the time, which carried the concepts of social state and social justice. In his article, Yavuz Abadan mentioned that "accusing the basic principles of the social state concept, such as social justice and social security, with hostility to earnings and wealth is an erroneous view" (Abadan, 01 February 1966, p. 2). The issue of wealth declaration could be seen as a part of the 'hostility to wealth'. In fact, Metin Toker argued in his article that "in a society where hostility to wealth is fomented, the fact that wealthy people are willing to report their situation as it is [i.e., wealth declaration] is something that would reduce the effect of this fomenting" (Toker, 23 July 1967, p. 2). The articles in *Akis* emphasised that it was problematic to discuss the wealth declaration and that business circles were against it and exaggerated it. Accordingly, the class that wanted to abolish the wealth declaration was "an inconsiderate class [anlayışsız sınıf]", while the hostility towards wealth was felt everywhere in the current environment and the excesses of the previous period had led to a suspicious view of the whole class, namely the capitalist class (Akis, 22 January 1962, p. 16; Toker, 02 May 1962, p. 5)

In general, the proponents of the wealth declaration emphasised social justice and the "difference between the rich and the poor", and in a way, this fed the discourse of the hostility to wealth for the other side. The Republican People's Party (CHP) discussed the wealth declaration with this kind of discourse. For example, Bülent Ecevit, the general secretary of the CHP, argued against the abolition of the wealth declaration, saying, "As the left of the centre [ortanın solu], we are in favour of a system in which the rich are taxed more, and the poor, within the limits of their means, are taxed less ". He stated that the AP government's tax policy advocated the opposite (Milliyet, 27 January 1967, p.7). Again, referring to the wealth declaration, he said: "Those who do not pay as much tax as workers but earn millions do not want it" (Milliyet, 20 March 1967, p. 1). Speaking on behalf of the CHP group during the budget negotiations, İlyas Seçkin said: "Taxes are being taken from the backs of the poor and on the other hand the wealth declaration is being abolished. This cannot happen" (Milliyet, 16 February 1966, p. 7). Commenting on the CHP's Declaration of Advanced Turkey Ideals [İleri Türkiye Ülküsü Beyannamesi], General Secretary Kemal Satır explained that the purpose of the declaration was to "fairly distribute the burdens and blessings of development", and stated that "while leaving out the great mass of low-income peasants and reducing the tax burden on workers and small traders, we call on those who can afford it to do an honourable duty in the war

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5   Law No. 177 "Law on the Return of Wealth Declarations and the Collection of New Wealth Declarations" adopted in 1963; Law No. 202 dated 28.2.1963 stating that "...wealth declarations...do not constitute the basis for any transactions related to previous periods" and Article 12 of the "Law on the Collection of Public Receivables through Special Settlement" allowing the renewal of wealth declarations with a low-rate tax (Kızılot, 1983, pp. 51-52) regulated these facilitating practices.

for development" (Milliyet, 18 October 1964, p. 7). The need for a fair tax system for all social groups, and the inequality between 'the rich and the poor' and the emphasis on social justice were among the elements underlined by the proponents of the wealth declaration.

This discussion, which seemed to point to a contradiction between the capitalist and working classes, also revealed the different attitudes towards the declaration within the capitalist class. Put it differently, what did these discussions, which pointed to the contradiction between the capitalist and working classes, mean in terms of relations within the capitalist class?

Those who argued that the wealth declaration was necessary emphasised that it was not industrial capital that was not fundamentally against the declaration, but rather the commercial capital that was against the practice. For example, Abdi İpekçi, while evaluating the reactions to tax regulations after the 1960 coup d'état, underlined that although the industrialists accepted the wealth declaration, business circles other than the industrialists continued to criticise it (İpekçi, 28 March 1968, p. 9). Again, Bülent Ecevit, in his article in *Milliyet*, suggested that the Union of Chambers should be divided into two and stated that when the Union took a stance against the wealth declaration, it was inferred that the entire private sector was against it, but in reality it was some merchants who did not want the wealth declaration and that "no real industrialist had any objection to it" (Ecevit, 13 May 1965, p. 2). In the first years of the declaration's implementation, the then Finance Minister Şefik İnan stated that some big traders insisted on the abolition of the wealth declaration and that such insistence showed how important and effective a tool it was in terms of tax control (Milliyet, 30 April 1962, p. 1).

Based on the above examples, it seems possible to conclude that it was mainly the commercial capital and its representatives who directly opposed the declaration and insisted on its removal. Moreover, there was this attitude that to a certain extent kept industrial capital apart and blamed the commercial sector for the insistence on removing the declaration. This can be linked to the increasing economic and social influence of industrial capital in the 1960s and 1970s. On the other hand, Vehbi Koç, while emphasising that the money of the masses of the people was needed for development, criticised the fact that the wealth declaration was imposed on those who bought shares and invested their money in debt bonds, while the rich who did not engage in such activities were exempted from the wealth declaration (Milliyet, 3 November 1964, p. 7). He also complained that those who were not traders but had income from stocks and shares were obliged to file a wealth declaration even if their income was very limited, and demanded that the government quickly issue appropriate decisions and laws (Milliyet, 31 May 1964, p. 2). As a representative of the industrial capital, he expressed the problematic aspects of the wealth declaration for the industrial capital and the 'unfair' aspects of the wealth declaration in relation to different sections of the capitalist class. Rahmi Koç, chairman of the executive committee of Koç Holding, also said that all sectors should contribute to the tax revenue and not only certain groups. He called for everyone over the age of 18 to file a declaration and demanded that the implementation of value added tax should begin as soon as possible (Tercüman, 1 June 1978, p. 3).

In fact, as far as the industrial and commercial capital is concerned, it can be observed that the commercial capital, especially under the leadership of the Union of Chambers

of Commerce, Chambers of Industry and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), showed a more frontal opposition. For example, the report prepared by the Union in 1961 criticised the wealth declaration and suggested that it should be carried out every three years rather than every year (Milliyet, 23 July 1961, p. 3). Again, the new tax burden brought about by the first five-year plan prepared by the State Planning Organization for the period of 1963 to 1967 was criticised in a meeting organised by TOBB, and exporters expressed their opposition to the wealth declaration and tax increases in a meeting of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (Atılgan, 2019, p. 572). In the following years, Mehmet Yazar stated in his closing speech at the 35th General Assembly of TOBB that "wealth declaration should be abolished, I consider it my duty to say this boldly" (Türkiye Odalar Birliği, 1980, p. 85). Another interesting piece of news was that large farmers would be subject to wealth declaration because many income taxpayers had started farming to avoid wealth declaration and this would be prevented with these new measures (Milliyet, 27 August 1962, p.7). This coincides with the findings of a study carried out in the United Kingdom on the applicability of the wealth tax today and opens the door to what the experience of Turkey with the wealth declaration can tell us about today.

On the Applicability of the Wealth Tax Today

In a study of public attitudes towards the introduction of an annual wealth tax in the UK, it was found that the main argument of those opposed to a wealth tax is that the wealthy will find a way to avoid paying tax and evade it. This objection is based on practical concerns rather than a principled opposition (Rowlingson et al., 2021, p. 453). Indeed, in the debates in Turkey about the declaration, it was claimed that wealth would be hidden, that somehow another way of evading tax would be found, and that the practice would not work without auditing. From this perspective, it seems important to consider what can be done to dispel these perceptions and beliefs in the discussions about the feasibility of a wealth tax. It may even be necessary to discuss whether the wealth declaration itself will help to prevent tax avoidance. This section discusses what the lines of debate on the wealth declaration practice in Turkey can tell us about the applicability of a wealth tax today, and what insights can be drawn from this historical experience.

Hostility to wealth

Tanıl Bora and Necmi Erdoğan argue that "one of the popular and favourite motifs used to stigmatise the left opposition in the 1960s and 70s was the 'hostility to wealth/ the literature of misery [servet düşmanlığı/sefalet edebiyatı]'". This motif, which is also discussed above in the debates on the wealth declaration, was evident in the discourse of both the proponents and the opponents of the declaration. Looking at Turkey in the 2000s, Bora and Erdoğan identify the "lack of hostility to wealth" and argue that the absence of "an expected moral reaction against the way wealth is lived, its arrogance and exhibitionism", in other words, the absence of "hostility to wealth", should be evaluated and analysed as an anomaly (Bora and Erdoğan, 2005).

Given the absence of this social reaction today, it can be concluded that this makes the feasibility of a general wealth tax both possible and difficult at the same time. The absence of such a motive may mitigate and soften the reaction of capital to such a tax,

but on the other hand, a capitalist class whose demands have been largely met and whose favourable policies have been pursued for almost 40 years may be more resistant to agreeing to it. The absence of such a motif leads to the conclusion that the wealth tax will not have a counterpart in social demands, or rather that the widening gap between wealth and poverty will not lead to a social reaction. However, the case for a wealth tax can be made if the issue exists as a social demand based on grounds such as social justice and equality. Of course, the absence of 'hostility to wealth' or a reaction to social injustice may also indicate the absence of a hegemonic discourse based on the social state and planned economic policies.

The negative effects of neoliberal policies on labour relations may partly explain this lack of social reaction. Flexibilization of labour relations, precariousness, the disappearance of job security, the encouragement of subcontracting and temporary work were the main features of the new labour relations after 1980. The loss of the influence of the welfare state, privatisation, subcontracting, and flexible work led to deunionisation in Turkey and around the world (Bakır, 2018, 1467; Çelik, 2015, p. 624). Unionisation in Turkey has declined to around 5 per cent, but it is not possible to explain the decline solely by referring to a global decline. There are deunionisation techniques used by companies in Turkey. Some of the techniques are firing workers who are members of a union, making workers sign a paper at the beginning of their employment promising that 'I will not become a member of a union', or forcing workers into debt if they do not promise to become a member of a union (Çelik, 2015, p. 631). With the pandemic, the centrality of production activity and labour may have been understood, but capital's desire to continue production under all conditions forced workers to work at the cost of their lives, risking their health in order not to lose their jobs (Saad-Filho, 2020, p. 133). These work relations imposed by neoliberalism can create obstacles to employees' demands for social justice and equality by trapping them in a relationship of debt, making them fearful of losing their jobs or preventing them from organising.

On the other hand, the philanthropic and corporate social responsibility activities in Turkey, and the importance given to these activities by different fractions of capital, may be part of the reason why this social reaction has not emerged and why the widening gap between the rich and the poor has not led to a reaction. By engaging in these activities, the capitalist classes establish their own legitimacy on this ground and settle into a position of sharing and giving rather than being the target. Moreover, philanthropy, which is closely linked with corporate social responsibility in the world and in Turkey, can be an effective strategy to cope with the negative effects of the neoliberal economy (Ozan, 2023, pp. 408-410). The role of philanthropy in the absence of a social response to inequality, and its relationship with the applicability of a general wealth tax may be an issue to be considered.

In addition to activities such as philanthropy and donations, it is noteworthy that there is a positive perception of wealth. Another study on the wealth tax in the UK found that people generally consider it ethically right to have wealth, do not want their children to suffer in the future, and envy the rich (Durmuş, 2021, p. 126). These may be some of the reasons why there is no reaction to inequality and social injustice. However, it is also clear that the current period, with its global pandemic, economic and environmental crises, provides a concrete ground for the formation of such a reaction.

Social justice, inequality

Again, the research by Rowlingson and others underlines that the main arguments of those in favour of the wealth tax are that the gap between rich and poor is widening and that the rich are getting richer. The study finds that the strongest argument of the proponents of the wealth tax is related to the concern that inequality will increase with the pandemic (2021, pp. 451, 454).

For Turkey, the pandemic period has also exposed and exacerbated the growing inequality between social classes. For example, according to DİSK-AR's April 2021 survey, based on the Forbes report, the wealth of the 26 Turkish dollar billionaires on the Forbes list increased by $15 billion in the last year, rising by 39 percent from $38.3 billion to $53.2 billion (Durmuş, 2021, p. 117). In the aftermath of the pandemic, income and wealth inequality increased further, income taxes were concentrated on wage earners, and the share of wealth taxes in total taxes remained low (Saraçoğlu and Erul, 2022, pp. 19, 26). Therefore, it can be expected that the concern about inequality and the emphasis on social justice would be at the forefront and that the introduction of wealth tax would be supported in this sense.

In addition to the pandemic, neoliberal policies dating back to the 1980s[6] contain elements that harm a sense of social justice. The crises of neoliberalism, whether economic or ecological, widen the gap between rich and poor and include policies that shift the burden of the crises onto broader social groups. Tax policies in favour of capital and useless tax cuts for the propertied classes over the last fifty years aggravate the situation (Durmuş, 2021, pp. 110, 113).

Conclusion

In view of the economic crises experienced by the countries in the neoliberal era, especially those that have been aggravated by the COVID-19 pandemic, the wealth tax has once again been mentioned and discussed. As the global pandemic and neoliberal policies impose the need to ensure justice and eliminate inequalities between social classes, it is of course useful to discuss the applicability of a wealth tax in Turkey today and to reflect on what kind of interferences can be drawn from the practice of 'wealth declaration' in Turkey (1960-1984), which is the closest thing to a wealth tax.

The article presented and analysed the main discourses/issues that came to the fore in the debates on the practice of wealth declaration between 1960 and 1984 and tried to predict the applicability of the wealth tax in Turkey today. The spokespersons of the main parties of the period, namely the Justice Party (AP) and the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP), and the representative organisations of different fractions of the capitalist class, columnists and academics seem to have discussed this issue and expressed the views of the social classes they represent. As for the political parties, those opposed to the wealth declaration appear to have been voiced within the AP, which generally represented the interests of large farmers and small businessmen and served the big industrial capital (Zührer, 1997, p. 267). Those in favour of implementation voiced their opinions within the CHP, which represented the urban working classes,

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6   According to the Crédit Suisse Global Wealth Reports, while 1 percent of the population in Turkey owned 39 percent of the total wealth in 2002, this proportion rose to 54 percent in 2014 (Oyan, 26 April 2020).

peasants, left-wing intellectuals, and some of the small industrial capital (Ahmad, 1992, p. 315), and within the socialist TİP. As far as the industrial and commercial capital is concerned, it was mainly the commercial capital and its representatives who directly opposed the declaration and insisted on its removal.

It can be concluded that the main issues in the debates on the practice of wealth declaration were tax evasion, the wealth declaration as a self-control tool, the unease of the private sector, the possibility of market stagnation and the 'hostility to wealth'. During its implementation, advocates of wealth declaration basically argued that this practice was a self-control tool and that it was the most appropriate measure against tax evasion. On the other hand, those who were against wealth declaration and those who supported its abolition argued that it was not really a control and that it was a useless practice. Another claim that the practice of wealth declaration stagnates the market and reduces investments was frequently voiced by those in favour of abolishing the practice. It was claimed that the wealth declaration would lead to the withdrawal of money from the market. The private sector described its introduction as 'disturbing' and 'frightening'. This unrest and the resulting reaction of representatives of the capitalist class seemed to be crucial for those who advocated the abolition of the wealth declaration. Another thesis related to the position and discomfort of the private sector was that the practice was 'hostile to wealth'. This assertion, which was debated in different ways by both proponents and opponents the practice, was linked to the dominant discourse of the time, which included the concepts of social state and social justice.

The period of 1960 to 1980 was one in which discourses such as the welfare state and income equality came to the fore in the context of an import-substitution industrialisation strategy. It was during this period that the practice of wealth declaration came onto the agenda.

Planning or planned development was a symbolic expression of the new strategy of hegemony in the 1960s. It was expected to play a leading role in the realisation of both economic development and social justice (Yalman, 2002, 328). In addition, this period signalled a reconciliation between the ruling power bloc consisting of large landowners, commercial and industrial capital, and the masses of the people (Boratav, 2004, p.123). It was an industrialisation strategy in which all socio-economic groups could benefit from the expansion of the domestic market (Yalman, 2002, p. 326, Boratav, 2004, p.123). Although the import-substitution strategy was considered necessary for capital accumulation until its crisis in 1977, the capitalist class reacted against it to the extent that it involved practices contrary to its own interests. One of these was the application of the wealth declaration (Yalman, 2002, p. 331).

After 1980, however, the relationship between capital and labour was restructured in favour of capital. This restructuring was in line with the structural adjustment programme, which required labour discipline, wage cuts and a ban on strikes. Throughout the 1980s, the struggle of the working class was curtailed, and the ideology of the capitalist classes became dominant. The rhetoric of "there is no alternative" prevailed over violently silenced alternatives (Boratav, 2004 p.156). Thus, some tools of the hegemonic strategy of the period between 1960 and 1980, such as 'planning' and 'development', were replaced by the emphasis on 'free market', 'privatisation' and 'structural adjustment'

(Yalman, 2002, pp. 333-35). In this new period, the Turkish tax system was based on the contributions of wage earners and consumers. This approach reduced the share of tax revenues in the national income and the tax concessions in favour of the capital class contributed to the financial crises of the following years (Boratav, 2004, p. 154). There is therefore a contextual difference between these two periods - before and after 1980 - in terms of the compromises and contradictions between social classes, as well as in terms of how capitalist relations of production and capital accumulation were to be secured. This can provide an insight into why the wealth declaration was feasible in that period and why it is difficult to implement it in the current period.

In the world and in Turkey, the global pandemic, and neoliberal policies, these two situations themselves, make it necessary, perhaps more than ever, to ensure justice between social classes and to eliminate inequality. Under these circumstances, it is of course valuable to discuss the wealth tax. However, it is also necessary to consider the extent to which the wealth tax can be a long-term solution to the economic, social, and ecological crises of the existing system, and whether it is a practice that produces short-term temporary solutions.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

Women Against Women: The Limits of Public Visibility in the Early Republican Period
Kadınlar Kadınlara Karşı: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kamusal Görünürlüğün Sınırları

Pınar Aydoğan [1]

Abstract

It is evident that the modernization process in the early period of the Republic can best be observed through women who undoubtedly had been the main actors of the modern lifestyle that the Republic aimed to create. The changes made in many areas such as law, education, and clothing intended to increase women's "public visibility". In the Ottoman period, the existence of women was confined to the private sphere; yet, with the foundation of the Republic, women were now everywhere in society, taking on professional roles as "lawyers, doctors, teachers, pilots, bankers and members of the parliament". This study will examine an article series titled "Women in Business Life" published in Vakit newspaper in 1929 involving women who were a part of the professional life of the respective period, most of whom were publicly known. The aim of this study is to make an analysis of the women's movement in the Early Republican period within the framework of the concepts used by the women whose views were shared in the series, their personal experiences, and the relationship they established with women's rights and nationalism. This study will focus on the points where the basic demands of first-wave feminism and the Republic's approach to women's issues/rights in the process of modernization and nation-statehood meet and/or diverge. The document analysis method was used in this study. The Vakit newspaper was scanned and analyzed for the period between March 1929 and May 1929 when the article series was published.

Keywords: Early Republican Period, Women's rights, Public visibility, Politics, family

Öz

Erken dönem Cumhuriyet tarihinde modernleşme sürecinin en iyi kadın üzerinden izlenebileceği söylenebilir. Kuşkusuz Cumhuriyetin yaratmayı hedeflediği modern yaşam tarzının, temel aktörü "kadın" olmuştur. Hukuk, eğitim, kıyafet ve daha birçok alanda yapılan değişimler kadının "kamusal görünürlüğünü" artırmayı amaçlamıştır. Osmanlı'da özel alanla sınırlı olan kadın varlığı, Cumhuriyetle beraber "avukat, doktor, öğretmen, pilot, bankacı, milletvekili" gibi mesleklerle artık toplumda, her yerdedir. Bu çalışmada, 1929 yılında Vakit gazetesinde dönemin çalışma hayatında yer alan, çoğunluğu kamuoyu tarafından tanınan kadınlarla yapılan "İş hayatında kadın" başlıklı yazı dizisi incelenecektir. Çalışmanın amacı yazı dizisinde görüşleri paylaşılan kadınların, kullandıkları kavramlar, kişisel deneyimler, kadın hakları ve milliyetçilik ile kurdukları ilişki çerçevesinde Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi kadın hareketinin bir okumasını yapmaktır. Çalışmanın kapsamı dahilinde birinci dalga feminizmin temel talepleri ile Cumhuriyetin modernleşme ve ulus devlet sürecinde kadın meselesine/haklarına yaklaşımının buluştuğu ve/veya ayrıldığı noktalara odaklanacaktır. Çalışmada doküman analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Yazı dizisinin yayınlandığı Mart 1929-Mayıs 1929 tarihleri arasındaki Vakit gazetesi taranarak analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi, Kadın hakları, Kamusal görünürlük, Siyaset, Aile

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Our goal in feminism is the equality of duties and rights before the law. In her village, the Turkish woman does all the work that men do without discrimination. In the cities, schools and all kinds of positions are open for her. She is a teacher, a judge, an aviator, a high agriculturalist, a doctor, a chemist, a professor, an engineer, an artist, an influential member in municipal affairs, a member of parliament, and finally, she is the mother who raises the saviors and protectors of the Turkish homeland and a great being who works and is willing to work to serve the country (İnan, February 14, 1937; 5).

Introduction

The Tanzimat was an important threshold in the change of women's social position. Beginning with the Ottoman modernization movements, the regulations, innovations, and changes in every field included women as well. Within the context of the 19th-century modernization philosophy, Turkish intellectuals, and bureaucrats started discussing women's education, clothing, outside activities, and social position, including, primarily, their legal status. Women's education became one of the main topics. New schools opened which changed women's traditional place in the society as well as their social life. During this period, teacher training schools were established, which pioneered women's entry into the workforce, i.e., public life, and conferences were organized to "educate women and ensure their participation in social life" (Kurnaz, 2016, 61).

Although America and Europe suffered great devastation after the First World War, this led to new and important developments in the social position of women. In the absence of men, the working woman, who found a place for herself in every field vacated by men, stepped out of traditional role patterns and experienced a new life that was quite free compared to her old one. Women who entered the workforce did almost every job that men did. However, as the war ended, women left the places they had gained in professional life to men and returned to their homes. These social changes during the war caused significant transformation in the women's movement, resulting in women gaining their long-fought political rights in many countries due to their "services" at the time of war. The new political environment that emerged in the post-war period led the women's movement to take on a "nationalist outlook" (Metinsoy, 2010: 23). In this context, the most fundamental ideology of the Late Ottoman and Early Republican periods was "nationalism" (Akşit, 2005; Çakır, 1996; Durakbaşa, 1988; Sancar, 2012; Berktay, 2002; Arat, 1998; Kandiyoti, 2007). Within the scope of nationalism, women were seen as "cultural symbols and carriers" of society, and also considered as "symbols" of progress and modernism (Yuval-Davis, 2016, 132 Kandiyoti, 2007, 236; Akşit, 2005, 146; Altınay, 2016, 291).

Women became an important subject of the great transformation that began with the proclamation of the Republic. The new women of the Republic, who had equal rights in the fields of education and law, started to discuss their rights on a social and political ground through which political rights would also be obtained (Caporal, 1982, 326). With the Republic -especially with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's decisive stance on this issue- the public sphere, which had been defined for men, was opened to women as well. Indeed, women's public visibility, its nature, and limits constituted one of the most debated issues.

This study will examine an article series titled "Women in Business Life" published in Vakit newspaper in 1929 involving women who were a part of the professional life of

the respective period, most of whom were publicly known. The aim of this study is to make an analysis of the women's movement in the Early Republican period within the framework of the concepts used by the women whose views were shared in the series, their personal experiences, and the relationship they established with women's rights and nationalism. This study will focus on the points where the basic demands of first-wave feminism and the Republic's approach to women's issues/rights in the process of modernization and nation-statehood meet and/or diverge. The document analysis method was used in this study. The Vakit newspaper was scanned and analyzed for the period between March 1929 and May 1929 when the article series was published.

Twenty-eight women's opinions were included in the article series published in Vakit[1] between March 31 and May 9, 1929.[2] Journalist Agah Sırrı prepared the article series and interviewed the women. The series included the following questions: "How do you evaluate married women working?", "Would a working woman's position in the family be strong?", "Was it a necessity or a preference for you to start a career?", "How do you evaluate the necessity for women to enter the workforce?", "Should women work or not? ", "Are you satisfied with your professional life?", "When, how, and why did you start a career?", "What is the future you aspire for in womanhood?", "It is claimed that working women will gradually lose their beauty and become ugly in the face of the struggles of labor?", "What do you think about political rights?".

Such interviews were a frequent practice of Vakit newspaper for the purpose of informing the public.[3] By posing questions to the leading male and female writers, journalists, and literary figures of the period about the issues on the political agenda, it was aimed to both discuss ideas and familiarize the public with these new topics. *Vakit* practiced this on many issues that were unfamiliar to the public, such as austerity, beauty contests, and the new alphabet. On the women's rights front, the newspaper started this article series at a time when women's participation in municipal elections was under discussion, in other words, when suffrage was on the agenda. Although the series included the opinions of women from different social segments, the majority were urban, educated, upper-income women who had been abroad and spoke foreign languages. The occupational groups were distributed as follows: six teachers, four teachers, two doctors, three literary figures, one dentist, two clerks, two artists, two workers, one journalist, two managers, three civil servants, and one seamstress. Most of them were members of various associations such as the Turkish Women's Union and the Union of Teachers.

This article series was about women in professional life. In other words, it related to the public visibility of women. The questions included discussions on women's public visibility and the limits and nature thereof. As another interesting aspect, this article series provides an understanding of the main goals of first-wave feminism as well as the view

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1   *Vakit* was owned by Mehmet Asım Us, a Republican People's Party deputy. It was one of the most popular newspapers of the respective period.

2   Ms. Nakiye, Güzide, Seniha Nafız, Mehlika, Zehra Müfit, Sabiha Zekeriya, Güzide, Cazibe Mualla, Suat Rasim, Emine Talat, Latife Bekir, Beyhan Hüsamettin, Semiha Hatice, Suat Derviş, Türkan, Semiramis Ekrem, Muazzez, Hadiye, Refet Süreyya, Şükûfe Nihal, Halide Nusret, Şükûfe, Ayşe, Sâra Cemil, Nazlı, Hüviyet Bekir, Nebahat Hamit, and İclal.

3   Zafer Toprak mentions tahat newspapers in this period frequently published series of survey-type articles in order to disseminate them in society (Toprak, 2017, 119).

on women's issues from the Second Constitutional Monarchy period onwards and the thoughts and goals of the women of the Early Republican period. These interviews are illustrative in terms of revealing the basic problems of women, and allowing women and their rights to be viewed/accessed through their own eyes, rather than through the lens of men as was customary.

Is work a need or obligation or an ideal and pleasure?

Having been a dream since her childhood and supported by her family, to work was "independence, a desire to live in her own existence, a spiritual need" for Ms. İclal[4], a lawyer, whereas it became an "ideal" for Ms. Nakiye[5], who convinced her prohibiting family and became a teacher. Ms. Güzide, a seamstress, was motivated by "a matter of ability and enthusiasm" rather than the necessity of earning a living, when venturing into business life (Vakit, May 9, 1929; March 31, 1929; April 1, 1929). Seniha Nafiz[6], the principal of a girls' teacher training school, explained her entry into business life as a "matter of taste"; Ms. Mehlika, a clerk at the American Young Girls' Training Home, explained it as "a prevailing feeling of experiencing new things" (Vakit, April 2, 1929; April 3, 1929). Ms. Zehra Müfit[7], the director of an embroidery workshop, stated that the more she saw men working, the more she felt the urge to work, and that she started working after experiencing financial difficulties during the War of Independence and enjoyed it immensely (Vakit, April 4, 1929).

Ms. Sabiha Zekeriya[8], a journalist who published the magazine "Resimli Ay" with her husband Mr. Zekeriya, stated that at first, she entered the workforce with the intention of working casually, but later her thoughts changed, and working became a necessity for her as she had "sick nerves" on her off days. According to her, a person who lives as a "parasite" cannot have any rights in society. Only children, the sick, and the elderly can remain as parasites. According to her, "every human being has the ability to produce, create, and discover. Unproductive women have no place in society (Vakit, April 5, 1929). Ms. Nazlı, a clerk at the Straits Commission, emphasized the necessity for women to work and stated that she entered the workforce because she could not tolerate the view of womanhood as a "parasitic element" (Vakit, April 28, 1929).

Ms. Cazibe Mualla, a sales clerk in a company, stated that she entered the workforce out of the necessity of making a living and that she was happy to earn money and be away from the "famous daily house visits of some women and the annoying gossip and noise" (Vakit, April 7, 1929). Ms. Semiha Hatice, who worked at the switchboard of a telephone company, stated that she started working by chance and although she was in favor of women working, she was not satisfied with her professional life. According to her, women should work for pleasure, not out of obligation (Vakit, April 14, 1929).

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4 She is also a member of the Turkish Women's Union.

5 Nakiye Elgün is one of the first female parliamentarians to enter the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1935. She is a deputy of Erzurum.

6 Seniha Hızal. She was elected as a Trabzon deputy in 1935.

7 Zehra Müfit Saner. She is an artist who makes rag dolls.

8 Sabiha Sertel is one of the leadindg journalists of the Early Republican period. She is the wife of journalist Zekeriya Sertel.

Ms. Hadiye, who worked in a tobacco factory, stated that she was not satisfied with her professional life. She had started working out of necessity, but work life was filled with hardship. She was in favor of women working provided that they chose a good profession, with the note that it was a shame for beautiful women and those with rich husbands to work (Vakit, April 20, 1929). Underlining that women were obliged to work, literary figure Ms. Şükûfe Nihal[9] explained that she started a career as an ideal and pleasure, with the desire to gain social status and not to remain under anyone's patronage or domination (Vakit, April 22, 1929). Literary figure and teacher Ms. Halide Nusret[10] stated that being a teacher had been her childhood dream, but her entry into the workforce was a matter of necessity - since her father had died- and she loved her profession, but being forced to work was not a pleasurable thing for a woman (Vakit, April 23, 1929).

Ms. Ayşe, a clerk at a telephone company, stated that her entry into the labor force started as a whim, but later became a necessity in order to support her family, and she believed that women should work in order to be freed from the domination of living on men's money (Vakit, April 25, 1929). Ms. Emine Talat, a teacher, wanted to avoid being a burden on her family and to think about her own future, while Dr. Semiramis Ekrem[11] started a career for "pleasure" with the encouragement of her family (Vakit, April 17, 1929; April 11, 1929).

Most of the women who answered the questions in this article series explained their venture into professional life as "a pleasure, an ideal, gaining social status, being productive, escaping from male domination, and being independent". These answers were given by educated women with professions belonging to the upper-income group. Women who stated that they compulsorily participated in the workforce due to the difficulty of making a living were uneducated, low-income women from the lower class. The stance that was unsupportive of the presence of women in professional life drew attention to the risk that women might neglect their families and forget their basic responsibilities while working.

What Do You Think About the Need for Women to Enter the Workforce? Should Women Work?

The reasons for women's participation in the labor force included "men's earnings being insufficient to support the household", " the economic crisis" caused by the First World War, "the cost of living", and "a man's inability to take good care of his woman". Ms. Sabiha Zekeriya stated that "a woman and many children on a man's shoulders has turned life into hell for him. Today's family must become a material and spiritual corporation in order to provide a happy home for both men and women and all women and grown children, except small children and old people, must bring something to the household." The loss of the family's former function made women's labor, above all, an economic necessity (Vakit, April 5, 1929). According to Ms. Mehlika, a professional career gave people the opportunity to develop their ideas, make decisions on their own, and get to know those around them better (Vakit, April 3, 1929).

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9 Şükûfe Nihal Başar. She is among the founders of the Turkish Women's Union.

10 Halide Nusret Zorlutuna.

11 Semiramis Ekrem Tezel. She is a pediatrician.

Lawyer Ms. Güzide[12] explained the progress of the nation by associating it with the labor of individuals. Seeing the right to work and professional career as privileges of men causes women to "remain idle and parasitic" (Vakit, April 6, 1929). Ms. Beyhan Hüsamettin, a lawyer, considered labor as a "patriotic duty" but did not find it obligatory (Vakit, April 13, 1929). Ms. Zehra Müfid stated that the period when the man was the sole breadwinner of the family was now over and that women's labor was a necessity in this sense. One of the principles of the modern family should be joint labor (Vakit, April 4, 1929). According to Ms. Güzide, a seamstress, idleness, and unproductivity made people lose their identity, and "women were not created for men's pleasure", and therefore, contrary to Ms. Zehra Müfid, women's participation in business life was not an obligation but a "social responsibility" (Vakit, April 1, 1929).

Ms. Seniha Nafiz described women's participation in professional life as a necessity, provided that they "do not become so immersed in the passion for a career that they leave their children to maids and nannies and neglect their upbringing and education" (Vakit, April 2, 1929). Suat Derviş argued that by working, a woman was "freed from being a parasite" and would no longer suffer the oppression of men (Vakit, April 15, 1929). Dr. Semiramis Ekrem, in a firm stance, stated the following: "(...) Women are not cats. They were not born to spend their lives by the stove. Needs increase every day. That is why they should work. It is extremely wrong to separate a whole half of humanity on the basis of gender and consider it as a housekeeper." (April 17, 1929). Ms. İclal also reacted to the question "Should women work or not?" and emphasized that it was the entire humanity, not men or women, that was subject to social laws (Vakit, May 9, 1929).

According to Ms. Enise Muammer Azmi, who was a dentist and a teacher, it was not correct to evaluate professional life on the basis of gender. "Why should the necessities that drive men to work for a living leave women irrelevant? How can men and women, who are raised with the same ideas at the age of education, be separated in the field of duty?" It is wrong to think that a career will disrupt the family. The harmony between spouses would solve these problems (Vakit, May 7, 1929). Ms. Emine Talat, a teacher, said, "There is nothing more natural than a woman starting a career and working alongside men. Today I believe that it is an absolute necessity for a woman to provide financial support for her family before marriage and her own home upon marriage." (Vakit, April 11, 1929). Ms. Nazlı emphasized that the distinction of "domestic women vs. career women" did not make any sense: "A woman is a woman." Women's labor does not harm family life (Vakit, April 28, 1929).

Ms. Nebahat Hamit[13], a teacher, stated that she did not find the question "should women work?" to be appropriate, as there would be no discrimination between men and women in terms of labor. She sometimes encountered opinions such as "we love flowers, birds and women", which, she considered, were fundamentally against personal freedoms. Labor was a "social obligation." Domestic life would not be affected by women working outside. "Family kitchens" could be set up for working women where they could get food, and similarly, dormitories could be established where women could leave their children for care. Workplaces should give maternity leave which is a human right. Men

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12 Güzide Lütfü is among the first lawyers of the Republic.

13 She worked actively in the Turkish Women's Union.

could leave their jobs for a while for military service, and this could also be the case for women. Accordingly, Ms. Nebahat suggested solutions to the problems women faced in their professional lives.

In opposition to these views, Ms. Nebahat said, "Are housewives always busy at home? Do you think that, for example, Şişli ladies are only busy with housework? I see them going to the movies. They visit each other, go to the hairdresser... They are busy with idle activities and of course gossip. Can these women be accused of gossiping, no, a woman with nothing to do will eventually gossip." Ms. Nebahat considered marriage as a social participation and need, and emphasized that working women should also get married (Vakit, May 8, 1929). For Ms. Suat Rasim[14], a woman was a necessity in order not to be dependent on someone (a man) and a "national duty" for the rise of the country (Vakit, April 8, 1929).

The egalitarian discourses of the period and encouraging of women's participation and advancement in public life form the background of these discussions (Duben and Behar, 2013, 235). The view that defended women's right to work criticized the opposite view that entitled only men to the right to work and saw such right not only as an economic necessity but also as a social responsibility. Only through labor would women become productive, thoughtful, and responsible, and thus be free from dependence on men. Essentially, the view that was unsupportive of women's labor was opposed to the idea that women could do everything that men did in social life. There was a natural division of labor between men and women. If women stepped out of this cycle, it could lead to the breakdown of the family, which would cause a social collapse. Women should work in fields that did not prevent them from fulfilling their duties whereas unmarried women could work in any job.

Can a Working Woman Build a Good Family? Does a Career Spoil Domestic Bliss?

Ms. Sâra Cemil was not in favor of women working, as she thought it would harm domestic life. As much as she appreciated her friends who worked, she also pitied them:

> (...) I think of a lawyer with a 3-month-old baby, a doctor performing a long operation with a baby waiting to be breastfed, or an 8-month pregnant lady who is a train driver. If women work, what will happen to their children? How can she succeed in business life if she leaves her children to strangers? I was going to enroll my child in a school in Germany, but no school accepted him. When I asked why, they said, "A child gets inspiration from his home, and his parents undertake his upbringing whereas the school accustoms him to life and gives him an education." Every woman should take care of her child herself. Germans made women train drivers only during mobilization (Vakit, April 26, 1929).

Although she admitted that her ideas might be found "a bit old and outdated", Ms. Cemil stated that women would not be "miserable" if they made a budget according to their husbands' earnings, thus domestic harmony would not be disrupted. Şükûfe Nihal criticized Ms. Sâra Cemil for her unawareness of the economic conditions and the respective changing circumstances. The living conditions had destroyed the idea of "a happy home with flowers, and offspring in tranquility and bliss". There was almost no woman who was "married and able to make a living": "(...) There are unmarried

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14 Suat Rasim Gız. She is the first female surgeon of the Republic.

or divorced women or widows with no income. What will these women do? You will probably suggest they should earn their living. This idea is wrong. How can a woman start working at a time of need, if she has no previous knowledge or preparation?". Expecting women, who make up half of a nation, to remain idle and unproductive means "not seeing the waves of revolution that are turning the world upside down". Nihal stated that she could not understand the objection to women becoming train drivers and that if a woman is enthusiastic about it, she will find the time to work (Vakit, April 30, 1929).

Ms. Sâra Cemil responded to Ms. Şükûfe Nihal. A woman was created as a female by nature. Her first duty was to be a mother. If the conditions of life separated women from this basic duty, it would be the homeland that would suffer the most. The dominating attitude of working women towards their husbands has disrupted domestic harmony. First, the children, then the whole nation would be affected by it. In Europe, there were institutions where working women could leave their children for care, which did not exist in Turkey. When a poor woman got employed, her children would be left hungry and uncared for on the streets. Therefore, women should not work. "In such a case, educated and rich women will not extend a hand to those youngsters. Wouldn't it be better if those who attend unions and associations did something positive in this field instead? Let us expect from women in good circumstances such charity and compassion, rather than building a career in any other way." Hence, she presented a point of view that advised women to turn to "charity organizations", which was indeed a common argument that women would often encounter against their demands for political rights (Vakit, May 2, 1929).

Ms. Refet Süreyya, a musician and a dancer, was satisfied with her art but not with her career. Women's participation in the workforce has diminished "domestic bliss, the harmony of the world, and the value of men". The morality of working and earning women has changed, as they have become haughty and developed an aversion toward their husbands. Now quarrels, fatigue, and boredom prevailed in the family. She was aware that her ideas would be objected to and criticized, but "women's aspiration for being like men and their entry into the workforce have put family life in trouble. Nature has a way of working: "A woman is a woman, and a man is a man. Imagine the ridiculousness of a pregnant woman in business life. I beg you. Now women will refuse to have children in order not to look ridiculous, and indeed, they have actually started to do so." Hence, Ms. Süreyya drew attention to population, one of the most pressing problems of the Early Republican period, and claimed that this process would harm population growth (Vakit, April 21, 1929).[15]

Şükufe Nihal emphasized that women were obliged to work and be active in every field: "Even in politics! If women can be lawyers, doctors, teachers, why not MPs!" While answering Agâh Sırrı's questions, Nihal was accompanied by Halide Nusret, who

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15 During this period, the press also covered definitions of feminism. Such definitions first included the rights/gains granted to women and then underlined the basic duties expected of women outside the public sphere. It was emphasized that feminism should not be perceived as "masculinization": "It is feminism to sit in the same row here with men, to start a career and serve as men do, and to become a lawyer, a doctor or a member of the municipal council. But it is also feminism to smile at your husband when he comes home tired from work, to take care of the house, to make your children comfortable, to organize the budget, not to waste, to be hospitable, to obey your husband, and to use the maid well. To the extent that women are feminists when they demand to be equal to men, they are much more feminist when they fulfill their rights as women, mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters. This should always be kept in mind" (Vakit, December 24, 1933).

asked, "(laughing) Imagine how a woman can be a train driver?" Nihal replied, "Why not? We can't put women in a vase like flowers." She rejected the claim that working women were/would be unhappy and stated that on the contrary, they would feel confident (Vakit, April 22, 1929).

Ms. Şükûfe Nihal expressed her discomfort about the fact that women would remain unemployed and dependent on men, and she added that she did not reject the idea of a family, but believed that women should have careers. Halide Nusret stated, "It is the woman who builds the home. A woman's labor at home is heavier than a man's labor outside. The most sacred duty of a woman is motherhood. The laws of nature have separated the labor of men and women. This should not be resisted." Accordingly, she supported the idea that women should leave their professional life/public sphere and return to their homes/private sphere as the economy improved (Vakit, April 23, 1929). Ms. Güzide, a lawyer, supported the idea of professional work for single women but advocated for women to quit their jobs after marriage in order to establish unity in the family (Vakit, April 6, 1929). Ms. Latife Bekir, a teacher and the president of the Turkish Women's Union, did not completely agree with the claim that a working woman could not build a good family, but stated that a self-employed woman could devote time to both her home and work, however, it would be better for her to stay at home rather than work under harsh conditions (Vakit, April 12, 1929).

Women who did not support professional work for married women emphasized the importance of education for women but expressed that a woman's priority should be her family and the upbringing of her children. In this context, participating in the workforce should not outweigh women's domestic duties. A professional life that neglects the family will have dire consequences than women remaining idle/unproductive. The dominant tone in the women's views was the importance of women's "inherent sense of duty". Women would not advance by leaving the family behind. On the contrary, this would lead to the moral decline of the society. These women's views were in harmony with the Republic's family-oriented policy, which equated the continuity of the family with that of the society (Şerifsoy, 2016, 170; Çakır, 1996, 316, Berktay, 2006, 108).

Does a Working Woman Lose Her Beauty?

Agâh Sırrı asked a question regarding the argument that women participating in the workforce would "gradually lose their beauty and become ugly". Those women who did not accept this view agreed that the understanding of beauty has changed. The era of "doll-like beauty" in women has passed, and in its place has come a new understanding of beauty that was "dynamic, meaningful, interesting and lively" accentuating the invisible rather than visual traits. According to Semiramis Ekrem, a career would enhance both physical and spiritual beauty (Vakit, April 17, 1929). According to Ms. Nazlı, who stated that she could not make sense of the relationship between professional life and beauty, this view could be true if one talked about the beauty of a "puppet doll" that spent all day in front of the mirror. However, today's working woman had no time to strive to "gather in herself the color, shape, and charm that she did not inherently have" (Vakit, April 28, 1929). Hüviyet Bekir did not think that professional life had an effect on beauty, unless one engaged in extremely hard labor (Vakit, May 5, 1929).

Ms. Nebahat Hamit was critical of this view and stated that this gender-based question was extremely improper and women were not "the guardians of beauty" (Vakit, May 8, 1929). Ms. İclal also expressed that just as men had the opportunity to shave while working, working women could also spare time for personal grooming, and shared her own experience: "For example, they say to me, 'Now that you are a lawyer, you have nothing to do with tailoring. What a strange mentality, isn't it? Working women are not men, are they? Why should they sacrifice their toilette? Do men do that?" (Vakit, May 9, 1929). Şükufe Nihal, who held a similar view, responded to the question "Does a working woman lose her beauty?" with the question "Why does this not apply to men, don't men become ugly?" Agâh Sırrı said, "Women's beauty is considered essential," to which she responded, "If professional life makes people ugly, then one should ask whether men also become ugly" (Vakit, April 22, 1929).

For Suat Derviş, it was true that working women endured various difficulties. However, it was not true that these difficulties made her ugly. On the contrary, labor would render a woman lively and dynamic: "Imagine the old type of coy ladies, for example, a fat, fair -skinned woman running after a tram and not being able to catch up. What a funny scene that is, isn't it?" (Vakit, April 15, 1929). Ms. Semiha Hatice was among those who thought that working life spoiled women's beauty (Vakit, April 14, 1929). Ms. Muazzez stated that "beauty" had no meaning in the face of "the struggle to make a living", but that the "pale faces and angry moods" of the women and girls working in the tobacco factory constituted ample evidence that women were worn out and disfigured by labor (Vakit, April 18, 1929).

In the background of the claim that professional work spoilt women's beauty, there was a reference to the idea that women should be visually appealing, beautiful, and well-groomed. This question about the beauty of working women, included in the article series, pointed to a shallow discourse that was far from addressing the problems faced by lower-class women in the labor force. This discourse opposed the idea that women could do any job that men did and emphasized the danger of "masculinization" of women who entered the workforce. One of the pillars of this masculinization concern was the risk of women who monopolized "beauty" becoming ugly, thereby masculinized. It would not be misleading to think that the articulation of this risk was a warning against the danger of women, who were defined as the "guardians of beauty", neglecting their responsibilities -being beautiful and well-groomed- for the sake of their careers.

What Do You Think About Political Rights?

Those Who Supported Political Rights

In 1929, the hottest topic regarding women was political rights. This was an "unforgotten" issue that had also been voiced in the Ottoman women's movement and demanded by the Women's People Union and Nezihe Muhittin in 1924. In 1929, the background of the right to vote in municipal elections, which was to be granted in 1930, was the scene of heated debates. The main basis for those who favored political rights was the belief that the "government of the Republic, which did not hesitate to implement modern views when the time came" would soon grant political rights to women. Both Ms.

Seniha and Ms. Nakiye shared this belief. Ms. Nakiye, who considered that women had enough intelligence and ability to receive this right, said, "There is no need for a struggle regarding this issue. We gained neither the Civil Code nor equality in education as a result of a struggle; they were given to us, and there is nothing that will not be given as long as we can do it" (Vakit, March 31, 1929; April 2, 1929). Ms. Beyhan Hüsamettin agreed with this opinion. Women would obtain their political rights, and at this point again the "statesmen" had a say in this (Vakit, April 13, 1929).

Ms. Suat Rasim, who advocated equality of rights, emphasized the "imminence" of obtaining political rights (Vakit, April 8, 1929). Expressing women's desire and struggle for political rights, Ms. Latife Bekir argued that it was wrong to think that "the level of women had not risen, and that womanhood was defined only by urban women", because the level of women was sufficient, and as urban women rose, rural women would follow them (Vakit, April 12, 1929). According to Ms. Muazzez, who stated that she believed in the equality of women and men, there was no obstacle to the recognition of political rights and they would be granted "in the near future" (Vakit, April 18, 1929). Ms. Hadiye was among those who answered the question of political rights in a broader way. Women "could do anything". For this, men should treat women with more respect and accept them as friends (Vakit, April 20, 1929). What is undoubtedly emphasized by these words is the idea of equality between men and women.

Ms. Şükûfe Nihal, who thought that there was no reason why a woman who worked in all areas of life should not be a member of parliament, rejected the claim that women were "very sensitive and impressionable, therefore would often change their minds", hence were unsuitable for politics. This was entirely a matter of women's upbringing and will (Vakit, April 22, 1929). Ms. Hüviyet Bekir did not find it right to make such a generalization about women. "This is a matter of character, upbringing, and morality" (Vakit, May 5, 1929). Ms. Nebahat Hamit stated that those who considered women too sensitive were ignorant about history and life, because there have been many women who went to war, served as train drivers, and did the heaviest work in the face of necessity (Vakit, May 8, 1929). Ms. Ayşe was among those who opposed this claim. She expressed her astonishment at the approach of "Participation in education, labor and punishment! Exception in politics!" (April 25, 1929).

Suat Derviş had a very sharp discourse against the debate on whether women should be granted political rights which she defined as "our most precious right": "Women are the majority in the country. So how can only the minority rule the nation? After all, we are not treated as exceptional, are we? If we kill a man or steal, we are punished the same. They wouldn't exempt us just because we are women." Thus, she referred to the understanding that did not see women as equal. Derviş also criticized the idea that women must reach a certain "level" in order to receive political rights: "As for the argument about the level of women, this is a lie, I mean, it is false... A civil servant has more or less the same education as his wife. A grocer's wife is not inferior to her husband in accounting and administration. A peasant woman is just as enlightened as her man. Especially in big cities." She argued that women should have a voice in the Parliament in order to prevent injustices against them (Vakit, April 15, 1929).

Ms. Şükûfe stated that Turkish women were in a better position than the majority of their European counterparts and that it was "only a matter of time" before they

received their political rights (Vakit, April 24, 1929). Ms. İclal argued that political rights constituted a general human right and could not be separated in terms of gender (Vakit, May 9, 1929). Ms. Nebahat Hamit was among those who believed that the granting of rights was "imminent". It was common among the proponents of rights to assert the "legitimacy of women": "A woman is also an organism that can see, think and distinguish good from evil, and she is half of humanity. Decisions taken with the participation of women will be more productive. There may be issues that do not directly concern us. But there are many things that can be accomplished through the eyes and words of women in the Parliament and the Municipality, in accordance with the division of labor." (Vakit, May 8, 1929). According to Ms. Sabiha Zekeriya, suffrage was the most sacred right of every individual in democracies, regardless of gender. In order for women to obtain not only suffrage but also other rights, they needed to organize. Only working women could form this kind of organization (Vakit, April 5, 1929).

Those who Considered the Demand for Political Rights "Premature"

In reply to the discussions on "demanding" or "granting" political rights, those women who expressed that "the time has not yet come" mainly argued that women needed to reach a certain "level" in order to exercise this right and become "enlightened". Ms. Güzide, Ms. Mehlika and Ms. Güzide, who stressed the need for a certain level of "social upbringing and perception", claimed that it was necessary to wait for political rights (Vakit, April 6, 1929; April 3, 1929; April 1, 1929).

Ms. Cazibe Mualla considered it premature to talk about political rights and emphasized both the condition of "level" and the condition of "enlightenment", that is, "education": "When the number of female intellectuals approaches half of male intellectuals, then maybe it will be time" (Vakit, April 7, 1929). According to Ms. Emine Talat, another woman who emphasized both conditions, one should not think only of women living in big cities and forget those living in Anatolian villages. Women should become conscious through education for political rights to be considered (Vakit, April 11, 1929). Ms. Zehra Müfit, who did not support the idea of equality between men and women in all areas and believed that the time had not yet come for women to "participate in political life", stated that she was "on the side that preferred family life" for women (Vakit, April 4, 1929). Ms. Semiha Hatice was also not in favor of political rights, as she thought that women could not do the work that men did (Vakit, April 14, 1929).

Ms. Refet Süreyya, who was "absolutely not in favor" of political rights, explained her reasoning as follows: "Women can only enter a field related to fine arts, but not politics... Because a woman is a very sensitive creature who is easily overcome by her emotions. Her soul changes every moment, she does not stick to her argument like a man. A small emotional crisis affects her completely and causes her to change her opinion instantly. So, women and politics... Wouldn't that be a very strange thing? Unfortunately, that's how it is. These things cannot be denied. This is how we are." (Vakit, April 21, 1929).[16] Ms.

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16 The patriarchal point of view, which considered women's "temperament" unsuitable for politics, frequently manifested itself in the newspaper articles of this period. Ms. Zekiye Halil, who applied for membership to the Republican People's Party, was asked, "Being a party member requires privacy (secrecy) in many cases. I wonder if our women will be able to adapt to this important requirement." This question directed to Ms. Zekiye Halil referred to the "nature" of women, who were considered "unable to keep secrets, extremely talkative and loose-tongued". In reply to this question, Ms. Zekiye Halil expressed that the women who were

Sâra Cemil stated that she could not yet see "a personality who could occupy a political position" among Turkish women and that women could serve the country by "extending a hand of humanity and compassion to the poor, the hungry and the sick" instead of running after political rights (Vakit, April 26, 1929). Ms. Enise Muammer Azmi, who did not find the demand for equal rights for men and women natural, asked "women to keep calm and not hurry" regarding political rights (Vakit, May 7, 1929). Ms. Türkan also found women "in a hurry" on this issue.[17] According to her, if women reached a level where they could take their destiny into their own hands, nothing would stand in their way. However, if they were not at this level, they would exhaust themselves in vain and be mistaken (Vakit, April 16, 1929).

The first reason given by women who did not look favorably on women's demand for political rights was the emphasis on a certain "level", followed by the unsuitability of women for politics. Politics was a field reserved for men, meaning that women were incapable of leading a political life due to their inherent characteristics -sensitivity, emotionality, irritability, mood swings, etc. This idea has led to an understanding that saw parliament to be under the monopoly of men and "determined/limited the issues that women could be interested in". Women's duty to be "good wives and mothers" was emphasized. Women who supported the demand for political rights adopted a discourse based on equality of rights. They wanted to have a say in the future of the country together with men by exercising their political rights as citizens (Mitchel and Oakley, 1998: 174).

What Kind of Future Do You Aspire for Women?

Ms. Nazlı emphasized the universality of the women's movement's demand for rights, stating that this was not only a problem for Turkish women but all women around the world (Vakit, April 28, 1929). Ms. Seniha Nafiz wished women to be equipped to be "good companions of ideas" to their husband and a "compassionate and knowledgeable" mother to her children so that they could be raised as "loyal citizens devoted to their country and the republic", and Ms. Mehlika wished women to play a greater role in the social life of the country (Vakit, April 2, 1929; April 3, 1929). Ms. Suat Rasim wished that Turkish women, who worked at least as hard as men, would have every right that men had; Ms. Suat Derviş wished for a future in which women had the professional, personal, economic, and political freedom they desired, working women were protected, and equality between men and women was ensured (Vakit, April 8, 1929; April 15, 1929). Ms. Emine Talat aspired a level of cognizance which would enable women to be aware of their "national, social and moral duties" (Vakit, April 11, 1929).

According to Ms. Sabiha Zekeriya, the future of women would be determined by the role they would play in economic life. The greatest cause of "slavery, poverty and misery" was "neediness and being parasitic". "A woman cannot be happy as long as the family is only a table for her to eat and a walking stick for her man to walk on." Women and men should have equal rights at every stage of social life. "Every woman who shows equal ability with a man should be treated equally. It is an exploitation of women to

members of the Association for the Defence of Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia, including herself, showed "no less ability than men" in terms of "privacy" (Vakit, April 4, 1930).

17 Türkan Başbuğ Feyziati, Director of the Girls' Section of Boğaziçi High School

keep them underpaid and overworked. Working pregnant women will be best protected by establishing nursing homes for their children." (Vakit, April 5, 1929). Women's emancipation was related to their productivity. This was how a modern woman was made. A parasitic woman, on the other hand, was a woman who did not participate in the production process nor felt uncomfortable about it and who had no desire to break from this bondage. The women's struggle would be led by not the "parasitic woman" but the "oppressed woman". Ms. Sabiha Zekeriya approached women's issues within the context of socialist thought, viewing them as a social problem influenced by the economic order. According to her, feminism would not be a struggle between men and women, but a struggle that women, together with other oppressed segments of the society, would wage against the society and the social, economic and moral institutions (Özman and Bulut, 2003: 200-202).

> Why shouldn't women have a say in the laws they obey? A woman who has reached a position to demand this right cannot be told to stop there. It is very strange to say to women, "Don't go into politics". Those who oppose feminism which is the idea that women should be equal to men in civil, social, and political rights, argue that women cannot be equal to men because they are more sensitive, weaker, and less intelligent. But are these deficiencies inherent or acquired? I wonder if men had been exposed to the life that women have lived for hundreds of years, would they have come out as successful as women?" (Müfide Ferit, April 1919, 531-532).

This was penned by Müfide Ferit[18] in 1919, who was an important figure in the Ottoman women's movement. In the Ottoman Empire, women had already obtained the right to education, and they were primarily concerned with the right to work, but political rights were also frequently discussed. With the Republic, having achieved the goals of the first-wave of feminism, namely the right to education and the right to work, the new goal for women, who already had equal rights with men in many areas and whose presence and visibility in public life increased rapidly, was political rights - the suffrage. In late 1929, as the rumors about the grant of political rights grew louder, the agenda focused on the relationship between politics and women. In general, it is observed that the views on the relations between men and women did not change. Male journalists, writers, and intellectuals supported this initiative in order not to go against Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's decisive and strong stance on women's rights, especially suffrage, yet they voiced certain criticisms.

These criticisms included the idea that politics and women's nature were incompatible, that those who demanded suffrage -which can also be interpreted as a demand for full equality with men- should also serve in the military, and that matters regarding women's nature such as fashion, toilette, and beauty were incompatible with the harsh political environment.[19] The male perspective rejecting the rights-based understanding of equality in Müfide Ferit's 1919 article can also be observed in the views of women who did not support suffrage in 1929. Those women who supported political rights emphasized two main points. First, they rejected the view on women's "political incapacity", and hence did not "seek legitimacy" for women's suffrage: Men and women were equal and suffrage

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18 Müfide Ferit Tek.

19 For a study that sheds light on this period of debates regarding the process of granting political rights to women, see Serpil Çakır (2019). Erkek Kulübünde Siyaset. Istanbul: Sel Basım Dağıtım.

was a fundamental right. Secondly, while rejecting the argument on women's political incompetence, they emphasized with examples that women had sufficient "legitimacy" to obtain this right. In this respect, the sacrifices made by women during the War of Independence constituted ample evidence for women's interest in national affairs.

Conclusion

The "new woman" created by the Republic attained many rights including education, legal equality, and suffrage thanks to the changes made in her social, legal, and political status. As a result of legal regulations, particularly the Civil Code, which was designed to create a social space for women outside the private sphere, women, as the new public subject, gained a position equal to men in the public sphere. The main topics of the Ottoman women's movement and the debates regarding women that emerged in the Second Constitutional Monarchy period related to "women's public visibility, their participation in the public sphere, the limits of their public visibility and their presence in the workplace". These main topics were also inherited by the Republic, which granted women the right to participate in all spheres of public life and the opportunity to make themselves visible.

It is observed that the women interviewed in this article series did not have similar attitudes on issues that concerned them. Some of them, e.g., Şükufe Nihal and Suat Derviş, adopted a strong rights-based discourse that had a libertarian tone and rejected any limitation on public visibility, while Sabiha Zekeriya emphasized the inequality between classes and the oppression of women; whereas Halide Nusret, Refet Süreyya and Hüviyet Bekir were influenced by a male-dominated view that saw the public sphere as belonging to men and advocated women to return home and embrace their natural traits. It can be said that the view that relegated women to the private sphere under the themes of family, motherhood, morality, duty, and responsibility was positioned along nationalist and conservative lines. Undoubtedly, the movement that emerged during the post-war period, particularly in Europe, advocating a pro-natalist and male-dominated family structure and suggesting the child and the family as the priority for women, also influenced the Republic and created a decisive effect on this point of view.

The views expressed in this series provide clues for understanding how women regarded feminism, productivity, nationalism, political rights, public visibility, and patriarchy. The article series brought the basic demands for rights and the agenda of the feminist movement of the respective period into its questions. The idea was that it was too early for rights and there should be no hurry focused on education. Women would be worthy of rights as they became "enlightened". This perspective opened the door to an elitist view that excluded uneducated lower-class women from the process. The views of women who did not support and wanted to limit women's public visibility, as in the case of political rights, were blended with nationalism. This outlook considered the public sphere as an area belonging to men, and aimed to keep women in the private sphere by integrating them with "family and children", which were seen as women's national duties, and wanted to limit their presence in the public sphere to participation in charitable organizations. The view that aimed to limit women's public visibility did not accept a change in gender roles. On the contrary, it emphasized that these roles originated from

nature and were inherent, and criticized the opposite as "masculinization". On the other hand, the view that accepted the public presence of women at any and all levels argued that to be freed from male domination, first and foremost, women had to change their gender roles by stepping out of an idle and "parasitic" state, switch to a productive role and remove the obstacles to emancipation.

The Early republican period can also be interpreted as a historical era that witnessed tensions among the "values of modernity", "feminism" and "nationalism". The idea of women's participation in business life during this period can shed light on this tension. The emphasis in the article series on the existence of women's labor beyond necessity also reveals the dichotomy between women's domestic roles and their participation in public life. For example, the word "feminism" was used only once throughout the series although it heavily dwelled on the discourses regarding women's rights. It was often the case that the women's opinions entailed confusion between modernity and conservatism, or nationalism and feminism. Therefore, the opinions expressed by the women who participated in this article series constitute a valuable source for evaluating such tension.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

Converting Wealth into Capital:
Bank Savings Accounts, National Savings Movement, and the *Kumbara* (1929-1938)

Zenginliği Sermayeye Dönüştürmek:
Banka Tasarruf Hesapları, Milli Tasarruf Hareketi ve Kumbara (1929-1938)

Y. Doğan Çetinkaya [1]

Abstract

The National Economy gained prominence as a dominating political and economic discourse after 1908. The National Economy was not merely a political project; it possessed significant economic and social dimensions as well. As an integral component of Muslim/Turkish nationalism, the National Economy had a social base. Historiography has often posited the National Economy as an endeavor to establish a national bourgeoisie. In contrast, the National Economy was also a demand of the emerging Muslim/Turkish bourgeoisie. A primary aspiration of this class was the establishment of a credit institution. Consequently, and not coincidentally, this class spearheaded the establishment of local banks. There was a need to mobilize a campaign to gather deposits in support of the National Banking. The necessity of converting savings and wealth into bank capital for the bourgeoisie led to the Savings Movement and the advent of the money box, *kumbara*. Promoting the use of local products and Savings Movement paved the way for a drastic increase in savings accounts, accumulated in banks. Consequently, national banks surpassed foreign banks in terms of deposits and the wealth in the hands of the public also turned into bank capital and was made available as credit to the Muslim/Turkish bourgeoisie.

Keywords: National Economy, Bank Savings Accounts, Savings Movement, Money Boxes, Muslim/Turkish Bourgeoisie

Öz

Milli İktisat 1908 Devrimi'nden sonra siyasal ve iktisadi söyleme egemen olan bir anlayış olarak yaygınlık kazandı. Ancak Milli İktisat sadece bir siyasal proje değildi. Aynı zamanda iktisadi ve toplumsal boyutu da vardı. Yükselen Müslüman/ Türk milliyetçiliğinin bir parçası olan Milli İktisadın bir toplumsal tabanı da vardı. Tarihyazımında Milli İktisadın bir milli burjuvazi yaratma projesi olduğu iddia edildi. Oysa Milli İktisat yükselmekte olan Müslüman/Türk burjuvazisinin bir talebiydi. Bu sınıfın milli iktisat çerçevesinde gündeme getirdiği en önemli talep ise kendisini destekleyecek bir kredi kurumunun kurulmasıydı. Bundan dolayı bir tesadüfün eseri olmayacak şekilde yerel bankaların kurulmasına öncülük etti. 1923 öncesinde de sonrasında da Milli Bankacılık hareketi bu bağlamın bir sonucu olarak gelişti. Milli Bankacılık hareketini desteklemek için de bir mevduat toplama seferberliği gerekiyordu. Toplumdaki küçük birikimlerin ve mevcut zenginliğin bankalarda sermayeye çevrilerek burjuvazinin kullanımına sunulması gerekliliği tasarruf hareketi ve kumbara gibi sembolik gelişmelerin ortaya çıkmasına yol açtı. 1920'li yılların ikinci yarısında ortaya çıkan milli tasarruf hareketi, yerli malı kullanımı kampanyaları bankalarda tasarruf cari hesap birikiminin artmasına vesile oldu. Bu sürecin sonucunda hem milli bankalar yabancı bankaların mevduat miktarlarını geçtiler hem de halkın elindeki zenginlik bankalarda sermayeye çevrilerek kredi olarak Müslüman/Türk burjuvazinin kullanımına sunuldu. Kumbaralar ve tasarruf hareketi bu süreçte önemli roller oynadılar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milli İktisat, Tasarruf Mevduat Hesapları, Tasarruf Hareketi, Kumbara, Müslüman/Türk Burjuvazi

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Introduction

In historiography, studies on the National Economy (*Milli İktisat*) are mostly approached as a political project and, initially in the late Ottoman Empire and later in the Republican era, an initiative to create a national bourgeoisie. The National Economy as a political project, economic thought, and concrete economic policies is unquestionably significant. However, recent studies have started to emphasize the other side of the coin, building a considerable accumulation of publications (Aytekin, 2021; Kaya, 2021, Başaran, 2014; Başaran 2023; Cora, 2013; Cora 2023; Akyol, 2022; Çetinkaya 2023). These new studies emphasize that the National Economy was not only a political project but also a historical process with social and economic aspects. The National Economy and politics did not create a social class from scratch but rather emerged as an expression of the class interests of the existing Muslim/Turkish bourgeoisie. Initiatives and periods called "National Banking" were in this context not just the result of a political design by political elites, political parties, and governments but also a product of the needs of this particular social class. Indeed, banking, evolving from the mid-19th century at different turning points, entered a new phase after the 1908 Revolution in the context of the National Economy. A significant feature of the National Banking Era was its introduction of small savings and reserves to capital accumulation. Therefore, the Savings Movement (*Tasarruf Hareketi*) that emerged within the discourse of the National Economy was also a component of the developing banking activities. This article examines the Savings Movement and the increase of savings deposits in banks in the context of intersecting phenomena of the National Economy, Muslim/Turkish Bourgeoisie, and the National Banking Period. For this reason, after dwelling on this background, the Savings Movement, which consisted of one of the most crucial economic mobilization patterns of the early Republican period, will be scrutinized.

What was National Economy?

The prominence of the National Economy thought and policies as a movement with significant consequences began mainly after the 1908 Revolution, during the Second Constitutional Era and the years of World War I. The National Economy can be considered as the economic dimension of the rising Muslim/Turkish nationalism. The National Economy, which preached that classical liberal economic doctrines and corresponding policies disadvantaged the "true owners of the empire", that is to say, "the dominant nation (*millet-i hakime*, Muslims/Turks) has assigned new missions to the "nation" and the state. Indeed, the National Economy primarily countered the liberal economic theory and policies, also referred to as the Manchester School, by promoting the school of German economists, foremost among them Friedrich List (Toprak, 1995: 10-22).

According to this perspective, to catch up with economically developed countries, the ruling elites of countries that are lagging behind felt necessary to protect and nurture their own economies. With the widespread acceptance of the ideas of National Economy in the Ottoman Empire, the following concepts and phrases quickly entered the public discourse: "economic and social revolution that will follow the political revolution," "active role of the state in the economy," "liberation from economic dependency," "promotion and consumption of local goods," "economic awakening," "wealthy individuals investing in

industry like capitalists," "creation of a national bourgeois class," "implementation of protectionist tariff policies," "economic patriotism and construction of a national moral consciousness," etc.

The concept of "National Economy" certainly had a history. After the 1908 Revolution, a liberal atmosphere prevailed. It was difficult for the German school of economic thought, inspired by List, to gain ground in an environment where the most competent figure on these matters of the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) was the liberal Cavit Bey (Toprak, 2019: 54). However, even during this initial period dominated by liberal economic views, there was a broad discussion about the comprehensive development of the Ottoman Empire, the production and consumption of local "sacred" goods, industrialization as a means to free the empire from dependency on developed countries, and achieving independence through economic revolution and economic warfare. Demands related to these were expressed. This early period of the National Economy concept was largely Ottomanist (that is to say involving also the non-Muslim community of the empire) during the heydays of the Second Constitutional Era, which were marked by the principles of "freedom-brotherhood-equality-justice" (*hürriyet-uhuvvet-müsavat-adalet*) (Çetinkaya, 2004: 133-172).

However, the content of these concepts and the goal of "National Economy" would undergo a transformation, especially with the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars. The National Economy was no longer about the total development of the Ottoman Empire. Instead, it became a project mainly focused on the development, progress, and economic improvement of the Muslim/Turkish element within the empire, often at the expense of non-Muslims (Çakmak, 2012). It was believed that what held the empire backward was not just the unequal economic relationship with the West, but perhaps even more so, the "foreigners within" the empire. While the National Economy continued the demands of its initial phase, it was now the Muslim/Turkish element that was deemed necessary to achieve and own these objectives (Çetinkaya, 2015: 67-226).

Following World War I, the Armistice Period, and the War of Independence, National Economy lost an empire and became an ideology and policy of Turkish Nationalism and Turkification in a newly forming nation-state. The First World War marked a period where significant steps were taken towards the "Turkification" of the economy though it began a bit earlier during the Balkan Wars. The abolition of capitulations, the economic awakening with the establishment of national companies dominated by the Muslim/Turkish element, and especially the efforts to establish a national bank over the locally formed banks in Anatolia, all signified the major steps taken during this period towards economic Turkification and Muslimization (Eldem, 1994; Toprak, 2003). It should also be noted that significant demographic changes took place during the war which devastated the non-Muslim communities of the empire left a unique legacy for the Republic. Following the First World War, the Armistice Period and the War of Independence became the era in which the National Economy transformed into the economic program for Turkification and nation-building (Koraltürk, 2011; Aktar, 2006). The economic policies of the Republic were to be built upon this legacy and accumulation, aiming to establish a national economy and construct a nation-state.

Muslim/Turkish Bourgeoisie

When it comes to social classes in studies related to Turkey's social history, it's often briefly mentioned, emphasizing either its irrelevance or lack of significance. The prevailing argumentation in historiography asserts that the Muslim/Turkish element consisted of peasants and civil servants (Çetinkaya, 2014). In this point of view, even artisans are not included in this discussion. What is emphasized is the alleged disinterest of the Muslim/Turkish element in commercial and industrial activities. A significant portion of the studies relies on an article published in German during World War I, which was later translated into English in 1966 and became influential. Sussnitzki's article classified social and economic activities among ethnic and religious groups in the Ottoman Empire. According to this, while non-Muslims focused on trade and industry, Muslims were occupied with agriculture and state affairs (Sussnitzki, 1966). This claim contradicts the apparent factual reality that the primary area of production was agriculture and the vast majority of the non-Muslim population, like Muslims, were also engaged in agriculture.

Sussnitzki's study was a text written in the context of the German Orientalist propaganda literature and foreign relations that were active before and during World War I. The Germans aimed to cooperate with the Muslims/Turks, whom they said were in need of them, and their political representative, the Committee of Union and Progress, against the non-Muslims whom they saw as allies of the English and French. Indeed, this orientalist literature serving this foreign policy depicted non-Muslims as "blood-sucking" parasites exploiting their own countries, while preaching that Muslims/Turks lacked "racial talent in commerce (Kaiser, 1997). Interestingly, the racist theses of this literature regarding ethnic/religious division of labor for years have been repeatedly reproduced without any questioning in studies on Turkey and the Middle East. Because both the National Economy discourse and non-Muslim nationalism reproduced this discourse for different purposes. Non-Muslim nationalist elites, by restricting commercial and industrial activities within their own communities, imposed a civilizing mission on their communities (Vrynois, 1969-1970: 286; Augustinos, 1997: 174). Meanwhile, Turkish nationalists developing the National Economy discourse legitimized the economic liquidation of non-Muslims who exploited them by abusing the empire's tolerance with this thesis. Yet, the same National Economy discourse addressed Muslim/Turkish merchants and the affluent, whom it claimed were non-existent or improper examples compared to their non-Muslim counterparts. This thesis was later frequently reproduced in economic and social history studies on Turkey. The main argument was that the modern transformation experienced in Turkey was realized from top to bottom and fundamentally by the state and bureaucracy. However, in many of the studies supporting this thesis, there was a constant implication between the lines that behind the policies of Islamization and Turkification, there was also a Muslim/Turkish merchant class and nobility.[1]

A significant portion of studies on economic history has been predicated upon external trade, predominantly utilizing foreign state and commerce archives as primary sources. These studies consequently posited that the Muslim/Turkish segment had suffered setbacks in their integration into the capitalist global economy. This perceived decline

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1   For example, even in the frequently used industrial statistics, the share of the Muslim element was one-fifth. (Ökçün (ed), 1970).

in their external trade and economic position inadvertently led to their marginalization in historiographical accounts. So pervasive was the belief that Muslims did not engage in commerce that, as Kafadar underscores, the sheer dominance of this narrative deterred scholars from critically examining this claim. In fact, even studies focusing on periods prior to the 19th century have proven to be markedly deficient in this regard because historians refrain from searching them (Kafadar, 1986: 191-218).

In accordance with this thesis, the Muslim/Turkish element was the economic and social loser of capitalist modernization. The Muslim/Turkish bourgeoisie was created as a political project during the Second Constitutional Era, primarily in the Kemalist Republic, within the context of the National Economy and as a result of state policies. Consequently, it was a nascent class without established class characteristics and identity (Ahmad, 1996: 25-26; Boratav, 1995: 15; Keyder, 2003: 142; Kasaba, 1993: 88; Buğra, 2003: 67-72; Issawi, 1982; Keyder, 1995: 93-95; İnsel, 1996: 138; İslamoğlu-İnan, 1987: 11; Berkes, 1970: 273-279). Within this literature, the Muslim/Turkish bourgeoisie is at times depicted as an element benefiting from Turkish nationalism and the elimination of non-Muslims, and at other times, as a socially weak segment either emerging entirely from this void or timidly supporting these policies. However, while international trade, which led to a tremendous accumulation of capital among a few individuals, was significant, it was never as important "in terms of volume or significance" as domestic trade, as Quataert rightly pointed out. (Quataert, 2000a: 124). It is a significant fact that well-documented, easily accessible, and measurable sources in Western languages have led to the exaggeration of international trade and especially its economic and social consequences (Quataert, 1997: 824). As Quataert clearly shows domestic trade was overwhelmingly more significant than international trade, and in the empire, cities, trade networks, and port cities, as well as their hinterlands, were dominated by Muslim merchants (Quataert, 1997: 834-841). This domestic trade might not have allowed as few merchants to accumulate as much capital as foreign trade did, but this does not justify underestimating the mentioned social segment in political and social terms. Indeed, there are a few, but significant, studies that establish a connection between the emerging political projects and ideologies after the 19th century and the rising Muslim middle class (Karpat, 2001: 91-94). There are also significant studies based on concrete data about this small business and capital owner class (Tanatar-Baruh, 1993; Tanatar-Baruh, 1997:39; Eldem, 1997:61; Frangakis-Syrett, 2008: 47-55; Yılmaz 2008: 71; Aktar, 2006: 170, 224; Mataracı, 2005: 8; Gilbar, 2003: 3).

In conclusion, it is evident that there exists a Muslim bourgeoisie with access to economic resources and an organized civil society. The reforms carried out by state elites within the framework of modernization in areas such as a modern education system, transportation, press, industry, and charitable organizations have contributed to the strengthening of the Muslim middle class, just as they have in other empires. Ideological discourses and programs such as Islamism, Ottomanism, and Turkism were not only intellectual currents but also represented the aspirations of an emerging middle class and its demands. Consequently, the concept of National Economy and the subsequent emergence of ideas and demands like banking and their relationship with this class is significant for the context of the article you are currently reading.

National Economy and Banking System

The period referred to as "National Banking" (*Milli Bankacılık*) emerged after the 1908 Revolution and was closely associated with the previously mentioned Muslim/Turkish middle class (Kuyucak, 1948: 151-165; Tahsin and Saka, 1930: 57). In Turkey, the historical periodization of banking generally includes the period of premodern money brokers (*sarraflık*) that lasted until 1846; followed by the phase of the Galata Bankers; the mid-19th century era of "debt banking", which supported foreign capital; and the final period described as National Banking (Atalay, 1954: 15; Akgüç, 1987: 9; Artun, 1980: 22-45). The first use of modern banking and the term 'bank' entered daily vocabulary in the mid-19th century when the money brokers in Galata started to meet the government's need for debt and credit, and they turned into so-called Galata Bankers (Ulutan, 1957: 138). In this context, literature considers the establishment of the "Banque de Constantinople" in 1847 by two Galata bankers, J. Alleon and Th. Baltazzi, as a milestone. They were authorized by the Ottoman Empire to maintain the stability of the currency against the British pound. However, the bank, which would lend foreign currency to the state and in return receive two million kurush annually, went bankrupt due to the government's inability to repay its promised debt on time, the impact of the 1848 Revolutions on the markets, and its own speculative ventures. It was liquidated in 1852 (Şanda, 1968: 16; Kazgan, 1991: 41).

In the context of the state's debt needs and its relationship with the Galata Bankers, various bank establishment initiatives came to the agenda in a similar manner. Towards the end of the Crimean War, in the year when the Reform Edict (*Islahat Fermanı*) was announced, one of the most significant steps in the history of banks was taken, and the Ottoman Bank (*Bank-ı Osmani*) was founded in 1856 in London with a capital of 500,000 pounds. The bank, which opened branches in various major ports of the Ottoman Empire, provided credit to the Ottoman State and facilitated its external borrowing (Blaisdell, 1979). In 1863, the French capital joined in and became a partner of the bank, and it was given the status of a state bank, changing its name to *Bank-ı Osmani-i Şahane* (Imperial Ottoman Bank). The bank would maintain this privileged state bank status for many years, including the early years of the Republic (Eldem, 1999).

Between 1856 and 1876, in addition to the establishment of banks with foreign capital, significant European banks such as Deutsche Bank and Credit Lyonnais opened branches within the empire. However, due to various reasons, including the 1876 Ottoman-Russian War and the first major crisis in world markets around 1875, the Ottoman Empire went bankrupt. Consequently, with the 1881 Muharrem Decree, a significant portion of the state's revenue sources came under the control of an international organization called *Düyun-ı Umumiye* (Public Debt Administration) (Birdal, 2010). A significant milestone in this period was the establishment of Ziraat Bankası (Agriculture Bank) in 1888. The origins of Ziraat Bankası trace back to the *Memleket Sandıkları* (Homeland Funds) established in Niš in 1863 by Mithat Paşa to provide credit for agriculture. This initiative, which initially started in the *Tuna Vilayeti* (Danube Province), would later spread throughout the empire, undergo transformations, take the form of *Menafi Sandıkları* (Benefit Funds), and eventually evolve into today's Ziraat Bankası (Quataert, 1975: 213).

In Sum, every turning point in the 19th century was accompanied by a particular development in the history of banking. The era that began with the 1838 Treaty of Balta Liman at the outset of the *Tanzimat* period was marked by the Galata bankers. The

long-term foreign borrowing process that started in the 1850s led to the establishment of the Ottoman Bank. Another pivotal moment was after 1875 when the Ottoman Empire declared a moratorium; especially in the 1880s when direct foreign investments, particularly in the railways and banking sectors, increased, foreign banks and Ziraat Bankası were established.

After the banking activities that accompanied these three turning points of the 19th century, the fourth significant phase would come with the 1908 Revolution, marking the National Banking era (Ökçün, 1975: 409-475). These banks emerged under the influence of the National Economy movement, pioneered by the Committee of Union and Progress but not limited to it. However, in this area, as can be seen in the example of Türkiye İş Bankası, there is an excessive emphasis in the historiography on politics in a narrow sense. The claim that a political movement can create a social class from scratch is a vague assertion that should be rejected firsthand. Therefore, while acknowledging the importance and influence of politics, it is necessary to identify that the existing Muslim/ Turkish bourgeoisie is also a social element that demanded and established the national economy.

Indeed, between 1909 and 1930, it should be highlighted that nearly fifty banks were established in 28 different locations, and those who founded and benefited from them, formed the social base of the Committee of Union and Progress, the National Struggle, and the Kemalist regime in terms of National Economy and nationalist politics. This is crucial because the Muslim/Turkish landowner class, which was trying to engage in export-oriented agricultural production, needed to enhance their competitiveness, that is to say, they had to reduce product prices and develop their commercial activities to become an entrepreneurial class. The solution to their problem was a bank that would provide credit. Indeed, efforts were made to address this problem within the framework of the Ziraat Bank Law proposal in 1914 (Akyol, 2022: 330-333).

These companies and banks emerged as a result of the initiatives of the landowner and merchant classes and public administrators in certain regions of Anatolia. When it came to banks, three regions (Western Anatolia, Çukurova, and the Konya-Kayseri-Eskişehir line) were particularly prominent. In the Black Sea region, influential families also held sway in commerce. The prominent banks in these regions were as follows: Konya Milli İktisat Bankası, Asya Bankası Anonim Şirket-i Osmaniyesi, Emlak ve İkrazat Bankası Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi, Milli Aydın Bankası, Karaman Milli Bankası Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi, Kayseri Milli İktisat Bankası, yine Kayseri'de Köy İktisat Bankası, Akşehir Osmanlı İktisat Anonim Şirketi, Manisa Bağcılar Bankası, Milli İktisat Bankası, İktisat Anonim Şirketi, İtibar ve Ticaret Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi, Eskişehir Çiftçi Bankası Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi (Eldem, 1994; Toprak, 2003; Ökçün, 1997: 275; Atalay, 2011; Erol and Atalay, 2011). Thanks to these banks and the credits they provided, both cooperatives and joint-stock companies were being established, and the capital accumulated through the trade and production done with these credits was being reinvested in the bank as capital. Furthermore, the modest savings in the hands of small peasants were also made available for large enterprises through banks.

In 1923, when the Republic was promulgated, there were 14 foreign banks alongside 8 local and private banks (Silier, 1975: 492). According to another statistic, in 1923, there

were 13 foreign banks and, including local banks, a total of 19 national banks (*Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk Finans Tarihi,* 1999: 63). However, based on the aforementioned social dynamics and the needs of this social class within the Turkish economy, the number of local banks operating from before 1923 and continuing to operate between 1923-1929 was 28 (*Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk Finans Tarihi,* 1999: 82). In the 1920s, when the Türkiye İş Bankası was also established, of the five major banks operating, four other than the İş Bankası were state banks. These were the Emniyet Sandığı, Ziraat Bankası, Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası, and Emlak ve Eytam Bankası. In literature, the importance of local banks is often understated, and it is emphasized that many of them ceased operations due to the impact of the Great Depression (Silier, 1975: 530). However, many banks in the so-called "developed capitalist countries" also closed due to the 1929 Crisis (Keyder, 1998: 115-126). For example, in the United States of America, nearly 4,000 banks closed due to the impact of the crisis in the first three years (Olson, 2001: 26).

After the 1929 Crisis in Turkey, the number of foreign banks that closed their balance sheets with a loss was six (Tahsin and Saka, 1930: 64). When we compare local banks with foreign banks, as is often done in the literature, we cannot conclude that these banks were insignificant. For example, the profits of the leading foreign bank, Selanik Bank, at the end of this period were 416,101 liras and 463,135 liras for the years 1928 and 1929, respectively. In the same years, Aksaray Halk İktisat Bank earned 129,630 and 124,904 liras, while Adapazarı Türk Ticaret Bank earned 119,714 and 150,964 liras. Meanwhile, in 1929, when six foreign banks were losing money, the total profits of the seven foreign banks (excluding Selanik Bank and Osmanlı Bank) were 323,000 liras. However, the profit of Türkiye İş Bankası, the most profitable bank among all the banks in Turkey, was 1,707,119 liras in 1929 (Tahsin and Saka, 1930: 60-64). As a consequence, after about twenty years of accumulation, one might easily argue that national banks in Turkey achieved a successful position in the capital market in the 1920's. This process was an outcome of the success of the National Savings Movement in collecting small savings as deposits and the reputing of those savings to the service of the Muslim/Turkish bourgeoisie.

The Savings Movement and *Kumbara* (Money-box)

From the Second Constitutional Period onwards, the topic of savings and the efficient utilization of money accumulated in banks' savings deposits within the framework of the national economy entered the agenda of public debates.[2] However, especially during the 1920s, when the state did not directly intervene in the economy with several instruments, the emphasis on savings became more prominent. The 1929 Depression appeared as a significant turning point in this field.

A year before the outbreak of the 1929 Crisis, the *kumbara* (money box), which would become a major symbol of the Savings Movement, was introduced by Türkiye İş Bankası. The year 1928 marked the debut of the money box in Turkey, an item that would become synonymous with İş Bankası and emerged as part of a broader Savings Movement. The

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2   A poem published in a periodical for children even mentions savings deposited to a *kumbara* as a bank in 1913: "Küçük Tomris," Çocuk Dünyası, No. 35, 7 Teşrinisani 1329. "Küçük Yavrularımızın Yazıları: İstikraz Hikayelerinden Müttefik İki Kardeş," *Küçükler Gazetesi*, No. 6, 13 Haziran 1334. Ethem Nejat, "Tasarruf," *Say u Amel*, No. 7, 23 Mart 1911, pp. 6-8.

focus on savings and the national economy's mobilization efforts during the 1930s and 1940s, characterized by a more statist approach, was also prevalent and strong during the 1920s. Before the Great Depression, the money box had already entered Turkish banking as a significant symbol of savings. During this period, İş Bankası initiated this venture not only as a substantial advertising campaign but also with an ambition to achieve a notable leap in its savings accounts (Akçura, 2008). The solution to achieve both aims was a *kumbara* campaign, which yielded remarkable results. The objective was to increase the savings deposits from the existing 1,368,000 liras to 10 million liras. Money boxes, referred to as "savings boxes" (*tasarruf kutusu*) at the time, were also a consequence of İş Bankası's decision to expand the volume of its transactions. In a short span, other national banks, led by Ziraat Bankası, would follow İş Bankası's lead by introducing their own money boxes.

In one of his earliest statements on this topic, published in *Akşam*, Celal [Bayar] Bey said:

> "We have ordered savings boxes from Europe, and they will arrive in our city very soon. These boxes will be sent to all branches in Turkey. Those who wish can reserve one of these savings boxes for themselves. In this manner, one key of the box will be with the person leasing it, and the other key will remain at the bank. These boxes have been introduced to encourage the public to save to the greatest extent. Those who wish can also store jewelry and other valuable items in them."[3]

According to this statement by Celal Bayar, and as he described both during that era and in his later years, they had made a decision in 1928 to create a conscious movement to enhance the overall welfare and wealth of the nation. Celal Bey was the founding father and primary patron of this proposal. He would often recount in his talks related to İş Bankası that his colleagues at the bank initially underestimated this initiative and wanted to keep the number of ordered *kumbara* modest (Bayar, 1999: 56-57; Cüceoğlu, 1982: 3). However, contrary to what has been written in the literature and what Celal Bey recalled, there was no decision taken by the management of İş Bankası, that is, the Board of Directors, in 1928 or any other time regarding the "savings box" (money box). Moreover, there was no decision or discussion in the records of the 1928 Board of Directors meetings to initiate a savings campaign. The İş Bankası Board of Directors Minute Books not only contain decisions but also records of significant discussions and opinions. However, according to these books no decision was made. It seems this matter was discussed among the bank's senior figures. Considering the statements of the İstanbul Branch Manager Muammer Bey, perhaps it was organized through the İstanbul Branch. Indeed, once the money boxes arrived, they were distributed through the İstanbul Branch (Akçura, 2008: 16).

Money boxes, which were ordered from Europe and turned into a savings campaign, would soon be engraved in the "national memory" as a symbol of İş Bankası. These money boxes were later produced in Turkey by Zümrezade A. Şakir and his company *Mevad-ı Harbiye and Madeniye* Factory.[4] In other words, local national production was started in a short time. This was not a coincidence, because the *kumbara* would quickly become a

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3   "Tasarruf Kutuları, İş Bankası'nın Mühim ve Faideli Bir Teşebbüsü," *Akşam* , 30 Ağustos 1928.

4   İş Bankası Sözlü Tarih Projesi İbrahim Göktalay Röportajı, 3 Eylül 1999; (Akçura, 2008: 16).

part of the savings campaign and the mobilization campaigns to promote domestic goods (Duman, 2003). With the money boxes, small depositors were addressed, and especially for this purpose, to create awareness and raise consciousness about the significance of savings, the nation's little ones, the children, were particularly addressed.

In the late 1929 and early 1930, İş Bankası initiated "savings day celebrations"(*tasarruf günü kutlaması*) in its branches, beginning in İstanbul. High-ranking officials like the Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mahmut [Soydan] Bey, participated in these events (Akçura, 2008: 36). Within a short time, particularly in 1929, due to the removal of certain restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Lausanne and the effects of the Great Depression, the National Economy and Savings Society (*Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*) was founded on December 12, 1929, under the leadership of the most prominent figures of the regime to promote the Savings Movement and the use of domestic goods in a more organized manner. The speech given by Prime Minister İsmet Paşa on that day, discussing measures to increase the value of the currency, would be considered a milestone. In this speech, he specifically addressed the significance of savings.[5] In fact, in 1926, one of the first institutional proposals to promote savings and the use of domestic goods was put forward by the Deputy of Kırklareli, Fuat (Umay) Bey. However, his proposal was not accepted as it was perceived as a state-supported boycott against foreign goods (Özçaylak, 2017: 117). Yet, initiatives to promote the use of domestic goods were proliferating. The Society for the Protection of Domestic Goods (*Yerli Mallarını Koruma Cemiyeti*) had already been established a year before Fuat Bey's proposal. Furthermore, months before the start of the National Economy and Savings Society and the savings campaign, the Domestic Goods Exhibition (*Yerli Malları Sergisi*) was inaugurated on August 11, 1929, successfully drawing attention.[6]

Three years after Fuat Bey's proposal, in a speech given by İsmet Paşa — which would later be considered a foundational moment for the National Economy and Savings Society — a previously contentious point was reiterated: "There is nothing in my words that would undermine the honor of the treaty and inspire citizens to forcibly boycott foreign goods. We will not allow such endeavors, just as we have not allowed them in the past."[7] In subsequent years, the day on which this speech was delivered (December 12, 1929) would begin to be celebrated as Savings Day, ranking among the significant "national days."

In December 1925, the Society for the Protection of Domestic Goods merged with this organization (Semiz, 1996: 29). The president of the society was to be Kâzım [Özalp] Pasha, the chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Toprak, 2019: 16-22). Under the patronage of Mustafa Kemal, the society, which tuned its name to a much more "Turkish" version, *Ulusal Ekonomi ve Arttırma Kurumu,* in 1936 after the so-called "language revolution", was actually led by the circles around İş Bankası and their well-

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5 "Başvekil İsmet Paşa'nın Paramızın Kıymetini Yükseltmek İçin Alınacak Tedbirler Üzerine Konuşması," *Belgelerle Türkiye İktisat Politikası (1929-1932)*, Vol. I, Edited by Bilsay Kuruç, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1988), pp. 35-40.

6 "Türk Sanatı Üzerine Dostun da Düşmanın da Nazarı Hayretini Celbeden Yerli Malları Sergisi Dün Açıldı," *Milliyet*, 12 Ağustos 1929.

7 "Başvekil İsmet Paşa'nın Paramızın Kıymetini Yükseltmek İçin Alınacak Tedbirler Üzerine Konuşması," s. 38.

known opponents from the *Kadro* journal.[8] Vedat Nedim (Tör) was the editor-in-chief of the İktisat ve Tasarruf (Economics and Savings) journal published by the society and was also elected as the society's adjacent director (*Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk Finans Tarihi,* 1999: 49) Şevket Süreyya Aydemir was one of the leading figures of the society (Aydemir, tarih yok: 488). Once again, during this period, we have the chance to observe not only the debate of two worldviews but also their closeness. İş Bankası was to be the first institution to join the society with all its staff.[9] Among the founding members were İş Bankası General Director Celal Bey, Chairman of its Board of Directors Siirt Deputy Mahmut Bey, and the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly, Trabzon Deputy Hasan [Saka] Bey, who held a prominent place in the history of İş Bankası. The society's General Secretary was again a member of Board of Directors of İş Bankası, İzmir Deputy Rahmi (Köken) Bey. (Özçaylak, 2017: 118-119).

In December 1929, the President of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Pasha [Atatürk], also supported this institutionalization. In addition to the messages he sent to the society which were mentioned and quoted in the press, on December 16, 1929, when he arrived by train from İstanbul to the Ahi Mesut (Ankara Etimesgut) station, he was wearing a navy blue vest made from domestic fabric. The national press also highlighted the issue in their news that the President had ordered all his clothes from domestic materials.[10] Mustafa Kemal Pasha had ordered four suits and one coat made from domestic fabric.[11] The President announced that he took the National Economy and Savings Society under his own protection.[12] The statement of the Mustafa Kemal Pasha saying, "Maximum Savings Must Be Our National Motto!" (*Azami Tasarruf Şiarı Millimiz Olmalıdır!*) made the headlines of newspapers.[13]

The following day, a meeting took place at the Industrial Association in İstanbul, attended by representatives of national factories. Discussions centered around the implementation of measures to ensure that domestic products could effectively compete with foreign goods and could be procured at a more affordable rate. Decisions were also made to establish retail outlets in both Ankara and İstanbul for the sale of domestic products. Each factory would be allocated a designated space within these stores.[14]

Subsequently, legal entities such as the İstanbul National Industrial Association (İstanbul Milli Sanayi Birliği) and Chamber of Commerce (*Ticaret Odası*) became members of the society. The most crucial criterion for membership in the society was the utilization of domestic products. In a brief period, the society opened 160 branches nationwide (Coşar,

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8   The society, which merged with the Turkish Economics Society (*Türk İktisat Cemiyeti*) founded in 1939, took the name Economic Institution of Turkey (Türkiye Ekonomi Kurumu) on January 18, 1955."

9   With the decree dated December 21, 1929, and numbered 216, the bank requested that all male and female officers be registered as members of the National Savings Society. Türkiye İş Bankası Etlik Archive, Ankara Merkezi'nden Türkiye İş Bankası Umum Müdürlüğüne 25 Kanunuevvel 1929. "Tasarruf ve İktisat: İş Bankası memurları tasarruf cemiyetine aza oldular," *Milliyet*, 19 Kanunuevvel 1929; (Semiz, 1996: 56).

10   "Reisicümhur Hz. – Reisi Cümhur Hz. Dün Şehrimize Geldiler," *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 17 Kanunuevvel 1929.

11   "Gazi Hz. Yerli Kumaştan Dört Kostüm Ismarlamışlardır," *Milliyet*, 17 Kanunuevvel 1929.

12   "Gazi Haz. Cemiyeti Kendi Himayeleri Altına Aldılar," *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 17 Kanunuevvel 1929.

13   "Gazi Diyor ki: "Azami Tasarruf Şiarı Millimiz Olmalıdır!" *Cumhuriyet*, 18 Kanunuevvel 1929.

14   "Milli Fabrikalar Mümessilleri Sanayi Birliğinde Toplandı," *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 18 Kanunuevvel 1929; "Yiyeceğe Ait Mevattan 30 Milyon Lira Tasarruf Edebiliriz," *Milliyet*, 19 Kanunuevvvel 1929.

1995: 6). The society organized exhibitions like the Domestic Goods Exhibition (*Yerli Malları Sergisi*), National Industry Sample Exhibition (*Milli Sanayi Numune Sergisi*), Agriculture Technical Exhibition (*Ziraat Teknik Sergisi*), and the Decennial Economic Exhibition (*On Yıl İktisat Sergisi*) to promote and introduce the use of domestic goods (Duman, 1992: 138-139). The Turkish Women's Union also announced its support for the savings campaign. The Union's President, Latife Bekir Hanım, stated, "The Women's Union will fulfill its role in this national struggle," emphasizing the importance of propaganda and conferences to foster awareness in this matter.[15] The Union's General Secretary, Efzayiş Suat Hanım, declared that they had commenced this initiative the previous year. Highlighting their commitment to treating the use of domestic products as a national duty, Efzayiş Suat Hanım revealed that they had garments made from domestic fabric and organized an exhibition of domestic items in the past year.[16]

In the context where such statements and campaigns were made, İş Bankası declared December 25th, the establishment date of its İstanbul branch, as its special Savings Day (*Tasarruf Günü*). On December 25th, 1929, a grand ceremony and tea reception were organized at the İstanbul Branch. Through advertisements previously placed in newspapers, mothers and female teachers, in particular, were invited. The invitation stated as follows:

> "In our economic life, the İş Bankası, which plays a pivotal role, will commemorate the fifth anniversary of the establishment of its İstanbul branch on December 25th, a Wednesday. İş Bankası has not merely chosen this day for its significance to the institution but has also taken the opportunity to organize a special event to encourage the public to adopt saving habits. At 4:30 p.m. on that day, a tea reception will be held, and Turkish mothers and female teachers will be invited. Since mothers are instrumental in instilling the idea of savings in our children, and teachers engage with our children daily, they will be solicited for ideas on how to discourage our youth from frivolous spending and to cultivate in them the value of thrift.

> On the same day, in various parts of the city, announcements will be made to promote this objective. Furthermore, symbolic images and advertisements emphasizing the importance of savings will be displayed in some renowned stores."[17]

On the 25th of December, a luminous sign reading "Savings Day" was affixed to the door of the İş Bankası's İstanbul branch. The bank equated this sign to a symbolic gesture, indicating its new objective to the Turkish nation. The General Director, Celal Bey, Chairman of the Administrative Board, Mahmut Bey, and the Branch Manager, Muammer Bey, personally greeted the attendees at the entrance. Mothers and female teachers filled the building, with prominent journalists like Yunus Nadi, Hakkı Tarık [Us], Ahmet Şükrü, Orhan Seyfi, Zekeriya [Sertel], and Burhan Cahit present for the ceremony. The display cases, reportedly shining brightly, prominently showcased the bank's money boxes adorned with red and white ribbons. Walls were decorated with proverbs related to savings and significant illustrations and plaques. By the afternoon, a huge crowd had arrived, filling up the staircase leading to the second floor. From the

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15 "Hanımlar Birliği, Yerli malı Giymek Lüzumu İzah Edilecek," *Milliyet*, 19 Kanunuevvel 1929.

16 "Milli Tasarruf, Kadınlar Birliği Faaliyete Girişti, Efzaiş Suat H.'ın Bir Muharririmize İzahatı," *Milliyet*, 26 Kanunuevvvel 1929.

17 "Tasarrufa Alışalım, İş Bankası 25 Kanunuevvelde Mühim Bir İçtima Hazırlıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 Kanunuevvel 1929.

bottom steps, Celal Bey and Mahmut Bey addressed the guests. Following Celal Bey's introduction, Mahmut Bey delivered an extensive speech regarding the significance of the day. This was followed by speeches of others and a tea reception.[18] The central theme of the discourse underscored the importance of the *kumbara* introduced by İş Bankası 15 months prior and expressed confidence in the success of the Savings Movement, drawing parallels with the general achievements of İş Bankası.

Almost six years after the introduction of the first money boxes, the number of opened running accounts had reached 50,000 by the year 1934.[19] In the financial report of 1935, which marked the eleventh fiscal year, the following assessment regarding money boxes was made:

> "We cannot overlook the notable increase in our small current running accounts. While its significance may not have been highly regarded in the initial stages, we wish to highlight an initiative that we recognize as one of our most significant contributions. This initiative pertains to our pioneering introduction of *kumbara* in our country, combined with our extensive organized campaign and encouragement for saving money. The momentum we initiated on the first day has not waned and, predicated upon the consistent and astute economic policy of the government, the widespread trend of savings not only holds its current prominence but will, in the future, constitute one of the primary sources of strength for the Turkish economy. The modest *kumbara*, not the ornament of every Turkish household or Turkish child, has become synonymous with our bank's name, serving as the predominant tool for inculcating a passion and pleasure for financial growth. We take immense pride in this initiative from our previous operational years, firmly believing that it will leave an indelible mark on our national economic ethos."[20]

The National Economy and Savings Society, which received a high level of patronage and had access to all means of propaganda, highlighted the *kumbara* as a significant tool in the mobilization for more savings. In other words, these money boxes served as a crucial and symbolic instrument for savings and accumulation. The İktisat ve Tasarruf journal frequently published articles on the relationship between money boxes and savings.[21] İş Bankası promoted its money boxes as the armoury for economic mobilization, encouraging citizens to arm themselves in the economic war with the *kumbara*. The *Kadro* journal also described this campaign as a "national economy mobilization." It was also stated that this state of mobilization yielded tangible results. For instance, in a statement made by İş Bankası regarding the 1932 Savings Week, it was noted that the number of savings accounts opened during that week doubled compared to other weeks, announcing that 629 new accounts were established within that week.

The National Economy and Savings Society underlined in one of its booklets that the purpose of saving was to accumulate, not merely to hoard. In other words, burying or hiding one's savings might offer individual advantages, but it would be detrimental at a national level. It was essential to deposit accumulated money into savings funds (*tasarruf sandığı*) or banks, ensuring both that the saver could benefit from interest and that these funds could be utilized for national economic endeavors. Banks had introduced

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18 "İş Bankasında Milli Tasarruf Günü," *Milliyet*, 26 Kanunuevvel 1929.

19 "İş Bankası Kumbarası," *İş Dergisi*, Sayı 36, Ağustos 1974.

20 "Türkiye İş Bankası'nın Onbirinci İş Senesi İdare Meclisi Raporu," *Türkiye İş Bankası 24 Mart 1935'te Toplanan Hissedarlar Alelade Genel Heyeti Onbirinci Mali Yılı*, (Ankara: 1935), no page numbers.

21 "Bir Baba Ne Diyor? Bozukluklar Kumbaraya!" *İktisat ve Tasarruf*, Sayı 11, Ekim 1932, s. 12.

money boxes as a means to instill this discipline. Furthermore, the society, in its industrial catalog, provided tables illustrating how a certain amount of money could accumulate interest over time, and presented these to citizens at their branches.[22]

Banks, in response to the already popular money boxes that received overwhelmingly positive feedback, planned to further promote them by organizing prize lotteries. In addition, İş Bankası was set to launch a savings and money box campaign, installing clock-shaped money boxes in public squares. Collaborations with prominent intellectuals and artists of the country, such as Zekeriya Sertel and İhap Hulusi, were also in the pipeline for advertising efforts, leading to the design of promotional posters. Furthermore, according to the İş Kumbarası magazine, the first entirely domestic-sound Turkish movie, which revolved around the concept of saving, was produced.[23] The magazine also shared a photograph from the film and provided detailed information about its content, which was reflective of the zeitgeist, under the title "thanks to the machine..."[24] (Akçura, 2008: 62).

The clock-adorned money boxes, which decorated Turkey's squares for a long time and imprinted in the memories of several generations, were also the idea of the first general manager, Celal Bey. Initially, he had thought of placing these money boxes in squares as advertising mock-ups. However, the then-governor of Ankara, Nevzat Tandoğan, suggested adding clocks to them to provide a service to the public, thus giving rise to a symbol that became synonymous with İş Bankası.[25] In the following years, local administrators would even request these iconic clocks to be installed in their towns and cities. One of them was the Mayor of Karasu, who wrote a letter to the bank for this purpose.[26] The 1931 advertising program and budget included plans to place Zenith-brand clock money boxes in central locations of major cities like İstanbul, Izmir, Ankara, Adana, and Konya.[27] In subsequent phases, instead of Zenith, Longines-branded clocks would be more commonly installed.

A decade after the formal organization and ceremonies related to savings began in 1929, an evaluation and a kind of balance sheet published by Hasan Refik Ertuğ, an inspector for Ziraat Bankası, in the *Siyasi İlimler* journal in June 1939, revealed a noteworthy development:

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22 *Tasarruf Nedir?* (Ankara: Milli *İktisat ve* Tasarruf Cemiyeti Umum Merkezi, tarih belirtilmemiş), s. 6.

23 "Gençlik Tasarruf Teşkilatı," *İş Kumbarası* , Sayı 11, Mart 1934, s. 5.

24 "Makine Sayesinde...,," *İş Kumbarası* , Sayı 4, Haziran 1934, sayfa numarası yok.

25 Video record of the interview conducted by General Director of İş Bankası, Burhan Karagöz, with Celal Bayar in 1984, Türkiye İş Bankası Archive.

26 Türkiye İş Bankası Etlik Archive, "Karasu Belediye Reisinden Türkiye İş Bankası Umum Müdürlüğe", letter dated 1936.

27 Türkiye İş Bankası Etlik Archive, "İstanbul Şubesinden Türkiye İş Bankası Umum Müdürlüğe" 4 Mart 1931.

Total Savings Deposits in Turkey[28]		
Years	**Amount (TL)**	**Saving Deposits / GDP (%)**
1920	1.675.000	
1925	7.526.000	0,49
1930	32.287.000	2,03
1935	72.234.000	5,50
1939	100.000.000	4,84

Conclusion: Increase in Savings Deposits and National Banking with Numbers

The Savings Movement, as seen in the table prepared by Hasan Refik Ertuğ and published in 1939, had achieved significant success. This was not just an increase in savings deposit accounts, but also a part and parcel of the success of the national economy and nation-building project, which was a fundamental peculiarity of the period. Total savings deposits in Turkey rose drastically between 1920 and 1939. The advance of the savings deposit in GDP after 1925 is also clear. The positions of national banks had steadily risen against foreign banks, influenced by the national economy and the mobilization for savings. The statistics, tables, and diagrams presented below and compiled from State Archives reveal the achievement and concrete outcomes of the National Savings Movement well. Those numbers are based on the information provided by the Prime Ministry Public Directorate of Statistics (*Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü*) during the 1930s.[29]

The credit needs of the Muslim/Turkish bourgeoisie led to the establishment of local and national banks from the beginning of the 20th century. Even when political movements and governments lagged behind or were delayed, this social class did not hesitate to establish their own banks. Political nationalist organizations would later initiate the establishment of national banks under the pressure of this social class. Throughout the 1920s, Savings Movements were organized to support the rise of national banks by accumulating the small savings and wealth of the public as capital in banks. This mobilization brought symbolic tools, such as *kumbara*, to the forefront. The compiled statistics below clearly demonstrate how these movements significantly increased the savings amounts in national banks.

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28 Ziraat Bankası Müfettişi Hasan Refik Ertuğ, "Türkiye'de Tasarruf Bankacılığı," *Siyasi* İlimler, No. 99, Haziran 1939, s. 78.

29 BCA, 30-10-0-0 / 24-136-13; BCA, 30-1-0-0 / 95-595-2; BCA, 30-10-0-0 / 24-139-2; BCA, 30-1-0-0 / 25-141-6; BCA, 30-1-0-0 / 25-142-23.

Amounts of Savings Deposits in National and Foreign Banks in Turkey
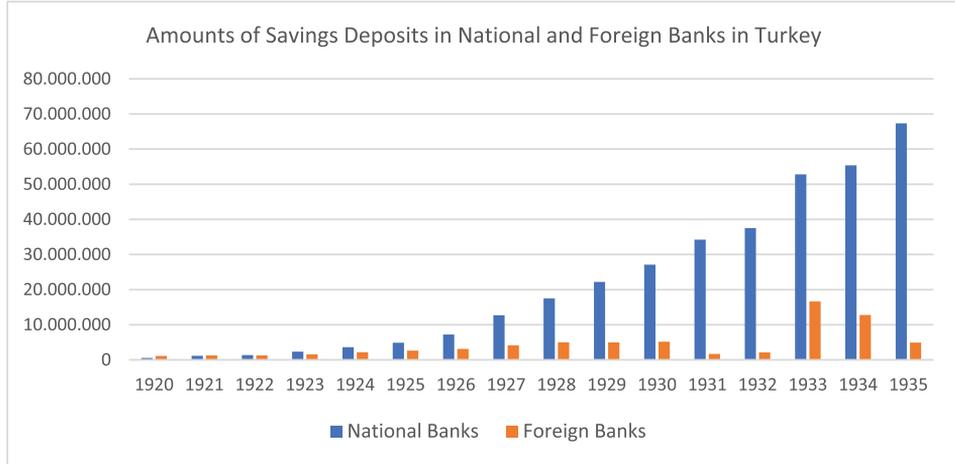
Total Savings Amount in National and Foreign Banks in 1933	
Banks	**Total Savings Amounts (TL)**
Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası	22.787.707
Türkiye Ziraat Bankası	39.786.394
Emniyet Sandığı	20.144.667
Türkiye İş Bankası	48.296.224
Adapazarı Türk Ticaret Bankası	4.028.131
Emlak ve Eytam Bankası	4.958.807
Sümer Bank	1.290.962
Other 31 National Banks	3.396.727
Osmanlı Bankası	22.685.834
Banko Di Roma	4.618.860
Selanik Bankası	8.453.094
Banka Kommersiala İtalyana	6.140.915
Doyçe Bank	1.135.217
Doyçe Oryant Bank	2.762.853
Şark-i Karip Ticaret Bankası	380.688
Hrisoveloni Bankası	241.098
Hollanda Bankası	3.056.263

Total Number of Depositors in National and Foreign Banks in 1933.	
Banks	**Depositors**
Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası	275
Türkiye Ziraat Bankası	49.534
Emniyet Sandığı	23.784
Türkiye İş Bankası	70.306

Adapazarı Türk Ticaret Bankası	8.924
Emlak ve Eytam Bankası	2.727
Sümer Bank	315
Other 31 National Banks	7.469
Banko Di Roma	2.771
Selanik Bankası	6.142
Banka Kommersiala İtalyana	2.375
Doyçe Bank	1.035
Doyçe Oryant Bank	1.247
Şark-i Karip Ticaret Bankası	267
Hrisoveloni Bankası	255
Hollanda Bankası	1.542

Amounts and Ratios of Deposits (1933-1938)						
Years	National Banks		Foreign Banks		Total Deposits	
	Lira	%	Lira	%	Lira	%
1933	144.689.619	100	46.675.060	100	191.364.679	100
1934	146.803.702	101	39.379.626	84	186.183.328	97
1935	168.716.322	116	35.474.619	76	204.190.941	106
1936	199.548509	137	52.565.496	112	252.114.000	131
1937	237.195.105	163	59.626.185	127	296.821.290	155
1938	270.657.572	187	64.911.937	139	335.569.509	175

Total Savings Amount in National and Foreign Banks in 1938	
Banks	Deposits (TL)
İş Bankası	98.171.514
Ziraat Bankası	83.589.777
Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası	26.197.230
Emniyet Sandığı	23.303.931
Sümer Bank	12.001.460
Emlak Bankası	11.182.031
Türk Ticaret Bankası	8.598.677
Other National Banks	7.612.952
Osmanlı Bankası	27.769.924
Holland Bank	9.065.526
Banka Komersiyala	7.890.831
Banko diRoma	6.195.333
Selanik Bankası	5.947.530
Oryant Bank	4.901.585
Doyçe Bank	3.141.308

Years	Number of Depositers	Amount of Savings (TL)
1925	13.458	7.525.528
1930	82.626	32.286.891
1935	120.425	72.240.000
1938	271.821	112.266.000

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RESEARCH ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

Reflections on "Centralization and the Civil Administrative Division" in the Nation-State Building Process during the Early Period of the Republic

Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ulus Devlet İnşa Sürecinde "Merkeziyetçilik ve Mülki Taksimat" Üzerine Düşünceler

Barış Kandeğer [1] ⓘ

Abstract

The founders of the Turkish Republic had in mind the idea and aim of building a modern nation-state and society. This idea and aim formed the basis of the approaches and policies adopted in the early period of the Republic. This paper aims to seek an answer to the question of whether there is a close relationship and a multidimensional interaction between nation-state building, centralization and administrative division in the early Republican period. The paper argues that the centralization approach and civil administrative division had multidimensional functions beyond the administrative function "for the construction of the nation-state in the early Republican period". In this context, parliamentary debates, laws, draft laws and legal texts on the centralization and civil administrative division served as the main sources of reference and were analyzed as part of the study. In this framework, the basic approaches and policies adopted in the nation-state-building process of the early Republican period are presented, followed by an analysis of the role and functions of the laws and draft laws that constitute the basis for the centralization and civil administrative division in the construction of the identity of the "modern nation-state" in the light of parliamentary debates. The paper also draws attention to the conclusion that the founders of the Republic were engaged in a decentralist discourse and centralist action in the aforementioned construction process and that they adopted the centralization and civil administrative division as a constructive approach for the modern nation-state and society.

Keywords

Early Republic, Nation, Nation-State, Centralism, Civil Administrative Division

Öz

Cumhuriyet kurucularının zihin dünyasında modern ulus devleti ve toplumu inşa etme düşüncesi ve amacı vardır. Bundan dolayı erken cumhuriyet döneminde benimsenen yaklaşım ve politikaların temelini bu düşünce ve amaç oluşturmuştur. Bu makale, Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde ulus devlet inşası ile merkeziyetçilik ve mülki taksimat arasında yakın bir ilişki ve çok boyutlu bir etkileşim var mıdır? sorusuna cevap aramayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, merkeziyetçilik yaklaşımı ve mülki taksimatın yönetim işlevinin ötesinde "Erken cumhuriyet dönemi ulus devleti inşa etmeye yönelik" çok boyutlu işlevlere sahip olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bu bağlamda merkeziyetçilik ve mülki taksimata ilişkin meclis tartışmaları, yasa ve tasarıları, hukuki metinler ana referans kaynağı olarak seçilmiş ve analiz edilmiştir. Bu çerçevede, Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi ulus devlet inşa sürecinde benimsenen temel yaklaşımlar ve politikalar serimlenecek, sonrasında merkeziyetçiliğe ve mülki düzenlemelere zemin teşkil eden yasa ve tasarılarının "modern ulus devlet" kimliğinin inşa edilmesindeki rol ve işlevleri, meclis tartışmaları eşliğinde analiz edilecektir. Cumhuriyet kurucularının bahsi geçen inşa sürecinde, ademi merkeziyetçi bir söylem ile merkeziyetçi bir eylemsellik içinde olduklarına, merkeziyetçiliği ve mülki taksimatı modern ulus devlet ve toplum için kurucu bir yaklaşım olarak benimsediklerine ilişkin bir çıkarıma dikkat çekilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Erken Cumhuriyet, Ulus, Ulus Devlet, Merkeziyetçilik, Mülki Taksimat

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Introduction

The modern nation-state paradigm emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a necessity for state and social forces. Dynamics such as modernization, capitalism, and revolutions, which were effective in reproducing and shaping the political and social sphere, were the factors that necessitated the nation-state paradigm. This new state identity was embodied in policies that built political and social structures that were standardized, homogenized, and unified around certain values under the influence of the aforementioned dynamics. In this framework, the "people" of the state were conceived as citizens with a homogeneous identity and bound to the state by a sense of belonging. Instead of traditional fragmented identities, the modern state required the existence of homogenized national identities under a supra-identity. This was considered necessary for the state to have a healthy relationship with and influence over the people living within its territory. One of the main goals of the early Republican period was to build a nation-state. In this context, the nation-state sought to unite the people under the umbrella of a national identity, which was "Turkishness". In this process, the ideology of nationalism was one of the founding elements of a common consciousness, a sense of belonging and a common identity. In this axis, the modern nation-state defined a national identity based on the ideology of nationalism and constructed a concept of citizenship that acts with a sense of belonging and is dependent on the state. This was considered very important for the existence and effectiveness of the nation-state. The founders of the Republic tried to complete the construction of the nation-state through a similar process. Therefore, the ideological basis of the founders of the Republic was generally the philosophy of the Enlightenment, the idea of modernization, and the French Revolution. The nation-state that the founders of the Republic tried to build on this ideological basis was characterized by centralization and a civil administrative division in line with centralization (Önen, Reyhan, 2011: 541-543). Therefore, it seems important to consider the construction of the nation-state in the early Republican period within this framework and to place centralization and the civil administrative division[1] within this framework.

The word "civil administration" is defined as a concept that refers to the entire territory of a country (Güler, 2009: 279). Within this conceptual framework, the territorial organization of the state in the Republic of Turkey has been shaped by two structures: the "provincial administration" and the "local administration". The provincial administration is the central administration organized at the provincial and district levels (Nadaroğlu,1998). Local administrations, on the other hand, are those that meet their own local needs on the basis of autonomy (Çukurçayır, 2000). In the regulations on provincial and local administrations, it is assumed that it would be important to seek an answer to the question of whether the main issue is to increase the possibilities of exercising initiative by delegating duties and powers to the provincial and local administrations in accordance with the principle of decentralization and separation of powers as stipulated in the Constitution, or whether the main issue is to transfer the values accepted by the political center to the provincial and local administrations and implement a holistic modernization process in accordance with a nation-state identity.

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1   Civil administrative division refers to the division of land in relation to the organization of the State. Civil administration, on the other hand, refers to the central government. In this framework, civil administrative division includes the organization of the central government based on land.

In the early Republican period, the centralist policy formed the basis of the arrangements regarding the administrative structure. In the minds of the founders of the Republic, centralization had a very broad meaning for the construction of the modern nation-state and society. Centralization, as a pillar of the dynamics of building a modern nation-state and society, has an important function in ensuring unity between the center and the provinces/localities. The civil administrative division is important to open a wide space for the functioning of centralism for these purposes. The civil administrative division of the early Republican period has a dual approach. While a decentralized approach characterized the civil administrative division in the period between 1920 and 1923, the civil administrative division in the period after 1924 is based on a comprehensive centralist approach. The Constitution of 1924 provides the legal framework for centralization, but it also indicates the direction of civil administration. It should be noted at this point that the decentralization approach lacks the ability to go beyond rhetoric and produce a concrete reality. Indeed, the civil administrative division in the period between 1920 and 1923 was geared towards strengthening the central government (Keskin, 2007a).

In the early Republican period, the centralist organization of the state played an important role in the construction of the nation's identity, as well as its reproductive function in a wide range of areas, including political, administrative, economic, and socio-cultural. It is necessary to recognize the existence of a reduced geography and a narrowed ethnic and religious pluralism in the process of establishing the nation-state. Therefore, centralization has a constructive function in the building of national identity as well as in the holistic development of modernization within its territorial borders. In the formation stages of modern Turkey, the political center defined Turkishness as a supra-identity within its territorial borders while striving to integrate other ethnic identities into this supra-identity. The common founding elements such as language, history and culture were sought to be integrated with social segments through ideological tools and a centralist approach. Therefore, the founders tried to adopt the transformative and comprehensive policies of the political center in many dimensions through centralization.

This paper focuses on the close relationship between the nation-state-building process in the early Republican period and centralization and the civil administrative division. The centralized administrative structure that both the late Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey adopted and sought to build has a wide repertoire to address a wide range of issues. This article aims to show that the centralization adopted in the early Republican period had a meaning and function beyond an administrative approach and that the desired and/or actual civil administrative divisions were planned in this context. The paper attempts to make a comparison based on the differences between discourse and action by conducting a content analysis of the opinions expressed during the parliamentary sessions and debates on the draft laws in each period.

One of the main objectives of the newly established Turkish Republic was to build a modern state and society under a national identity. This objective was undoubtedly adopted as a result of a political and social necessity and imperative in terms of the overall conditions of the time. Within the framework of the theoretical approaches, the national identity was intended to be made a common denominator by creating a sense of belonging, consciousness and emotion through the phenomena of history, language,

religion, tradition and culture. The founders of the Republic saw it as a necessity to take the helm in line with the need for this common denominator, in other words, a collective identity. In this context, it seems meaningful to emphasize the assumption that there was a close interaction between the building of the "nation" state in the early Republican period and centralization and the civil administrative division, as claimed in this paper. The arguments that can support this assumption are the intellectual references, the discourses[2] used, the parliamentary debates, the legal acts, and the administrative tools that were intended to be implemented.

Centralization, which was one of the pillars of the nation-state in the early Republican period, aimed to build a modern state and society through various policies and instruments that would make the provinces/localities dependent on the state. While the state provided public services on a very large scale, the provincial and local administrations tried to perform the services assigned to them by the political center within a national integrity. Moreover, the political center sought to exercise its power and transformative effect on social organization through centralization in various dimensions. The paper aims to answer the question of whether there was a close relationship and a multidimensional interaction between the building of the nation-state in the early Republican period and centralization and the civil administrative division, and to this end, it takes the parliamentary debates, laws and draft laws as a source of reference. The focus of the paper is to analyze the roles and functions of the centralist approach and the civil administrative division in the building of the nation-state in the early Republican period within this scope. This paper is categorized into three sections. The first section examines the "building process of the modern nation-state" in the early Republican period, the second section focuses on the "projections of centralization" and the last section includes "an analysis of centralization and the civil administrative division".

Building of the "Nation-State" in the Early Republican Period

The nation-state is a modern phenomenon that has the right to exercise legal power over a territory with defined borders and aims to unite the people under its rule by homogenizing them, creating a common culture, symbols and values, and keeping alive and reproducing traditions and myths of origin (Guibernau, 1997: 93). In addition, the nation-state is defined as an institutional form of government that maintains an administrative monopoly over a territory with defined boundaries, establishes its administrative authority by law, and enforces it through direct control of internal and external means of violence (Giddens, 2008: 165). As the state paradigm of modernity, the nation-state, which has taken a strong place on the stage of history, has adopted a homogenizing approach with the enveloping and transformative effect of modernity and has created a nation and citizen identity by integrating different identities into one supra-identity. The nineteenth century was an important period of change in the phenomenon of the state, as in many other phenomenal changes. The clear manifestation of this change in the phenomenon of the state is the identity of the modern nation-state. Therefore, one of the constitutive elements of identity is the state and the other is the nation. Without going into the details of whether the nation is a historical reality or a political necessity, it is necessary to state here that the identity of the nation corresponds to a reality based on the needs of the modern state.

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2   Discourse can be defined as a multidimensional plane of practices, meanings and habits that enable the establishment of a certain conception/perception of reality and understanding of society (Çelik, 2003: 33).

A nation is defined as a community with a common ancestry, united geographically by settlements and neighborhoods, culturally by a common language, customs and traditions, and as a form of state organization (Habermas, 2012: 18). According to Smith, a nation is a community of people who collectively share a territory, myths and historical memory, public culture, economy, legal rights and obligations (1991: 14). Scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner, who offered a different and important approach to the phenomenon of nation, defined nation as an imaginary, invented, artificial community (Anderson, 1995; Hobsbawm, 2010; Gellner, 1992) and emphasized that it was shaped and gained dynamism within the idea of nationalism. Therefore, the conditions of modernity provided an important context for the formation of the idea of nationalism and its foundations. Common affiliations had to become a denominator for the creation of a national identity in the modern period.

The basic dynamics of the new state and the Republic were the ideas of building a nation-state, modernization and development (Bozdoğan, 2012: 18). The intellectual climate on which this idea was based was essentially rooted in the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the fundamental values of the French Revolution, and the founders, intellectuals, and professionals of the Republic were the constructive actors. They adopted the most comprehensive and radical approach possible to achieve this goal, and the main approach was to act quickly. An important reason why the founding actors of the republic adopted a more radical approach was to achieve these goals quickly and radically (Zürcher, 2004: 152). The philosophy of the Enlightenment, which inspired the founding ideology of the Republic, the ideal of modernization, and its founding elements, generally emphasized man's dominance over nature and adopted a positivist and secularist approach to life. Therefore, for the founding cadres of the Republic, part of the roadmap for building a modern nation-state bore the intellectual traces of this philosophy[3]. Positivism and secularism were the main concepts used in the reproduction of the political and social sphere (Mardin, 2006: 190-191; Lewis, 2008: 545). It should be noted that positivism and secularism had a guiding and determining effect on the modern nation-state and society, while nationalism functioned as an ideology for the construction of the nation-state.

In this process, it is possible to see the function of nationalist ideology, which is an important element in the construction of national identity in the early Republican period, by homogenizing various identities along with the instruments of the modern state to establish sovereignty. In this context, an attempt was made to establish a national identity through (Kemalist) nationalism, a principle of Kemalism. This approach to nationalism was based on positivism and secularism (Karpat, 1996: 62; Ergüç, 2019: 89). Turkish

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3 The early Republican period coincides with a period of intense and profound revolutions. An important goal was to build a modern state and society through rapid radical changes and transformations guided by positivist and secular thought. Accordingly, the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, the abolition of religious lodges, the abolition of the Department of Sharia and Foundations, the abolition of the religious courts, the adoption of a civil code, and the abolition of the phrase "Islam is the religion of the state" all serve this purpose. In short, the aim was to build a modern state and society through large-scale revolutions and reforms that would enable the intellectual, institutional and social functioning of modernity. Suitable means to accomplish this goal, such as instruments of force and violence or ideological apparatuses were sought and found within the theoretical and practical realm of the modern state, for example, instruments of force and violence or ideological apparatuses. Louis Althusser's Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses and Michael Mann's the Sources of Social Power: Volumes I-II-III provide an invaluable perspective on these issues.

and/or Kemalist nationalism in the early Republican period adopted elements of French/ political nationalism, which was characterized by abstract, moral, and spiritual elements rather than material elements of national identity. In particular, Kemalist nationalism was expressed as a French-style political nationalism because it did not show an expansionist approach abroad and wanted to homogenize and unify ethnic and cultural differences within the country through a supra-identity (Alakel, 2011: 23). However, under the influence of the wind of fascism blowing across Europe, it was also influenced by German and Italian ethnic and cultural nationalism, especially in the 1930s, and adopted a nationalist approach based on the material elements of national identity (Sarı, 2021). As a natural consequence of this approach, the identity of nation and citizen became an identity embodied within this framework.

For the founders of the Republic, one of the main ideas was to reject the multicultural and multiethnic legacy of the Ottoman Empire by melting all the different identities under the Turkish identity into one pot and transforming the Ottoman Muslims into a "civilized", homogeneous Turkish nation. According to Zafer Toprak (2006: 15), the Turkish Republic is a nation-state that seeks to build a homogeneous structure. In this axis, the main approach to transforming a people with a traditional and religious identity into a modern nation is the construction of a secular state and society (Kaya, 2015: 26). Within this framework, the distant past of Turkishness became the main source of reference for the construction of the national identity, while the close relationship between Turkishness and religion[4] was intended to be weakened by pointing to an identity other than the Islamic identity. Therefore, the founders aimed to construct the national identity of the early Republic by articulating a distant past beyond the Ottoman Empire and, in a sense, Islamic identity.[5] While the state intellect of the early Republican period put the construction of the modern nation-state on its agenda as an important goal, the members of society, both the subject and the object of this goal, were to be assembled around "national identity" on the basis of "citizenship".[6]

In this context, the political center's "right to have a say" on issues such as the construction of the modern state and nation, civic identity and the ability of this identity to

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4   Religion, together with nationalism, provided an important motivation during the War of Independence. In particular, it was used as a means to ensure national unity and to ensure social mobilization for a common goal. Within this framework, the two-fold use of the concept of nation, including both religion and nation, reflects a conscious choice in the context of the period (Çoban, 2021: 89).

5   Constructing a national identity through the "distant past" of Central Asia, presented as a golden age in place of the Ottoman Empire, which has an important and powerful place in social memory, was not an easy goal to achieve (Van Het Hof, 2010: 553).

6   Modern nation-states, by their very nature, produce a civic identity that embraces the official ideology, in other words, the accepted constitutive values, the ideological instruments that enable this civic identity and the constitutive values to establish as much commonality as possible are mobilized accordingly. This meaning attributed to citizenship is an effort to create, in Füsun Üstel's concise expression, "Desirable Citizens". The idea of creating a desirable citizen is a product of the efforts of modern nation-states to shape it through their ideological apparatuses. While the concept emphasizes the acceptability of citizenship by the state, it describes a collective personality that knows its duties and responsibilities towards the state and society, acts within the boundaries set, and is "docile, civilized, patriotic, hardworking and obedient". In this context, there are studies which make it possible to read the effort to create a 'desirable citizen' in the Ottoman and early Republican periods through many elements. An important study on this subject is Füsun Üstel's "In Pursuit of the Desirable Citizen: Citizenship Education from the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy to Today (*Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*). Istanbul: İletişim Publications, 2004.", which is noteworthy for shedding light on the formative dimensions of the issue through educational tools.

establish a rational relationship with the state, and the ability to respond to and reproduce the revolutions in the people's world of meaning strengthened. According to Tanör (2018: 321), the primary mission of the founders of the republic was to establish the nation and the state. To this end, national independence, national sovereignty, reforms in the fields of language, alphabet, education, and history were concrete instruments of this mission. The "elitist" founding cadre of the republic saw themselves as the guarantors of the regime to be built (Alakel, 2011: 19). Therefore, the pedagogical attitude determined by the founding cadre as the dominant power was an attitude towards the adoption/imposition of the regime by segments of society.

Language and education policies[7] created a unifying effect as effective tools in the nation-building process (Eren, 2018: 229). The importance of educational tools in the establishment and dissemination of a common language is quite high. Therefore, the function of education in constructing a national identity was used through ideological apparatuses[8] and institutional tools. In this respect, language and education were considered as important tools. It should be noted that the representatives of German Romanticism pointed out the importance of language in creating a common spirit/identity concerning the issue of national identity. In this regard, language, which Herder and Fichte saw as the soul of the people, the history, and the pillar of a nation's knowledge, fulfills a constitutive function, establishing a link with the linguistic, historical, and cultural foundations of national identity and indicating that the nation is an organic entity (Candan, 2015: 181; Kadıoğlu, 2003: 285; Çolak, 2007: 31). While the founding cadre of the republic used language and educational tools for these purposes, they also aimed to increase the level of literacy of the people through education and to ensure the adoption and permanence of the revolutions[9] (Ahmad, 2008: 101; Zürcher, 2004: 273-277).

Phenomena that changed the demographic structure of the population[10] both quantitatively and qualitatively, such as forced migration and deportation in the late Ottoman period and population exchange and settlement policies in the early Republican

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7   The Third Grand Congress of the Republican People's Party emphasized that education was the most important means of raising republican, nationalist, secular, patriotic citizens who know their history (Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Üçüncü Büyük Kongre, 1931: 80-81). Therefore, educational institutions played a significant role in the construction of a national identity as one of the most important ideological tools in the early Republican period.

8   Althusser states that political power possesses and intensively uses repressive and ideological apparatuses in order to maintain its existence. The state maintains its existence on the basis of repressive and ideological apparatuses. The repressive apparatuses of the state are agencies such as the law, the courts, the police and the army, which operate in areas where there is an overt use of force or coercion. The ideological apparatuses of the state, on the other hand, are institutions that perpetuate the affirmation of political power in areas such as the family, education and religion. Within these spheres, individuals are named, given identity and imprisoned in the sphere of state sovereignty (Althusser, 1991).

9   The founders of the Republic did not see themselves as revolutionaries and their changes as revolutions. According to Taha Parla (1993: 155), since this cadre were ideological positivists who avoided the notion of revolution, they adopted the idea of political and social change in harmony and unity. In the literature, the radical reforms in various sections of political, social and individual life are referred to as Reforms, Kemalist Revolution, Atatürk's Revolution and Turkish Revolution (Tanör, 2018: 321).

10 Between 1923, when the Republic was founded, and 1938, more than 400,000 immigrants, exchanged persons and refugees were naturalized by the state (Yılmaz and Konya, 2022: 24) and settled in various regions of Turkey pursuant to the Law on Resettlement. However, population arrangements and settlement policies also became an option in the early Republican period as instruments for building the nation-state (Göker, 2019).

period, also influenced the construction process of the modern nation-state in the early Republican period to some extent and created a broad basis for its homogenizing policies (Tanör, 2002: 360; Çağaptay, 2006: 155).

In the early Republican period, the political center aimed to intervene, change, and transform many areas through a strong centralist approach to build a modern nation-state. This goal was to help the state acquire an identity with modern forms, on the one hand, and to establish a social structure that was modernized and developed and that embraced the values of the Republic, on the other. Therefore, it seems useful to study and evaluate centralism in the early Republican period with its many dimensions.

"Repertoire" of Centralism

The early Republican period was a time when political power sought to exert its influence on all levels of social life and formulate its policies accordingly. In this context, a strong central power and a corresponding model of administrative organization were considered essential for the construction of a modern nation-state and society. Ensuring that cities, which are an important part of the identity of the modern nation-state and society, acquire a modern identity was also incorporated into this framework. Like many postcolonial nation-states in the twentieth century, early Republican Turkey adopted the idea of urbanism and modern architecture as an expression of national independence, pride, and progress (Bozdoğan, 2012: 23). During this period, the political center actively sought to mobilize various policy instruments that would build the modern nation-state formation. In this context, the reorganization of the state on its territory and the reproduction of space are important to achieve goals such as uniting different identities under a supra-identity to build the modern nation-state, modernize society, and ensure the adoption of the fundamental values of the Republic. Therefore, the supporting instrument of this idea of reorganization and production was centralism.

The centralism of the early Republican period should be considered and evaluated from this perspective. In particular, the existence of a close relationship between the reproduction of space and the reproduction of social life (Lefebvre, 1991) is the intersection of this interaction. For the founders of the Republic, the production of a space compatible with the values of the Republic and the modern living climate had more than a symbolic value. An important dimension of the civil administrative division within the framework of the nation-state identity is the integration of the population around a homogeneous supra-identity. Therefore, in the early Republican period, unifying policies were intensively implemented to eliminate the elements that weakened the national identity and to bring the strengthening elements to the fore. In this process, the non-Muslim population was taken out of the equation in the founding policies of the modern nation-state in the early Republican period. Beginning in 1913, the nationalist movements in the Balkans, which were the important ruptures that paved the way for the idea of constructing a national identity, and their aftermath had a corrosive effect on the Ottoman territories. This erosion continued to have an impact during the National Struggle, producing an exclusionary result for non-Muslim identities and an inclusionary result for Turkish and Muslim identities (Ergüç, 2019: 86-87).

In this context, the draft law on the establishment of a 'liva' under the name of Giresun[11], consisting of the Giresun, Tirebolu and Ordu districts, which was submitted

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11 The administrative unit of 'liva' was abolished in the Republican period and 'province' became the largest

to the Parliament in November 1920 with the signature of Mustafa Kemal, the head of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM), was linked to the problem of Pontic Greek separatism in the region (Keskin, 2007a: 246). This territorial arrangement sought to reorganize the territory and reproduce space on the basis of nationalist ideas and an understanding that excluded non-Muslim identities. During the discussion of this draft law, the speeches of Dr. Abidin Bey, member of Parliament for Lazistan, on ethnic and religious identity made this state of affairs visible. Dr. Abidin Bey's opinion that "Ordu cannot be made into a province/vilayet because of the majority of Christian merchants in Ordu and their concentration in commercial life" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 1, Volume 6, 1336: 142-144) is noteworthy as a discourse that shows the close relationship between civil administrative division and national identity. For the founders of the Republic, as for the Unionist leaders, the phenomena of the national economy and the national bourgeoisie (Toprak: 1995) and the phenomenon of the nation-state (in which Turkishness and Islam were considered constitutive elements of national identity) were mutually influential. Therefore, a modern nation-state could create a national bourgeoisie and economy, and a national economy and bourgeoisie could create a modern nation-state. Until the late 1920s, this approach envisioned the domestic economic power needed to build a modern state and society and the transformative effect of that power[12]. The political center sought to construct the state and social order in the early Republican period by reorganizing on land and intervening in space to create similarities rather than differences through centralization.

Although the Constitution of 1921 stated that sovereignty belonged to the people and would be exercised through the Parliament, the existence of the Sultanate and the Caliphate made the nature of the regime unclear. With the abolition of the Sultanate and the subsequent establishment of the Republic, the nature of the regime became clearer. With the Constitution of 1924, the legal framework of the regime was also defined. Thus, constitutionally, the people became the owner of "sovereignty" and the Parliament acquired the right to exercise sovereignty. With this Constitution, the Parliament, which was the sole holder of legislative and executive power, in other words, the political center, became a powerful actor in the policies that established the modern nation-state. As one of the important elements of this power, the concept of centralized administration fulfilled important functions. The 6th Section of the Constitution of 1924 defines the civil administrative division as provinces, districts and townships, stating that townships are composed of townships and villages, and that provinces, cities, townships and villages have sovereign status; however, townships/nahiyas and districts/kazas are not recognized as legal entities. It was stated that provinces would be governed according to the principle of breadth of authority and separation of duties (The Constitution of 1924, Articles 89-91). As in previous Ottoman-Turkish constitutions, it was reiterated that provinces would be governed on the principles of "breadth of authority and separation of duties" (Kili and Gözübüyük, 1985: 128-129).

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unit of settlement. The province of Giresun, consisting of the districts of Tirebolu and Görle, and the province of Ordu, consisting of the districts of Fatsa and Ünye, were established with the enactment of the draft law.

12 Enterprises that were under the concession of foreign companies were nationalized in parallel with the national economy, national bourgeoisie and statism policies in the early Republican period (Afet İnan, 1982: 15-16). If one purpose of this nationalization was to open up space for a national economy and bourgeoisie, another was to acquire the means to intervene in various areas of social life through the state's economic instruments.

The political center wanted to build a strong centralized administrative structure, especially through the Constitution of 1924 and the legal arrangements it sought to make regarding the civil administrative division. In this respect, the Constitution of 1924 provided an important framework. The centralist approach embedded in this framework provided the means and conditions for intervening in and transforming the social sphere. There were also dissenting voices in Parliament against the centralist approach of the Constitution of 1924. One of these voices was Halis Turgud, a member of Parliament for Sivas. Halis Turgud objected to the centralist approach of the Constitution of 1924, arguing that the provinces should not be under the tutelage of the central government in order to fulfill their primary duties and local services, that the province councils should be given powers as stipulated in the Constitution, and criticized the centralist approach of the civil administrative division (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 2, Volume 7, 1340: 245). The founders of the Republic believed that the model appropriate to the political and social foundation they wished to build was not decentralization, but centralism[13]. It should be noted that the centralist approach was quite compatible with the basic dynamics of the nation-state within the conjuncture of the period. In this context, the centralist approach adopted in the early Republican period became one of the most important pillars of the modern nation-state construction process. The words of Celal Nuri, a member of Parliament for Gelibolu, during the parliamentary debates on the draft Constitution of 1924, make the purpose of this approach more visible. According to Celal Nuri, the state consisted of a nation. Therefore, centralism was equated with one nation and federation and decentralization were to be rejected. Moreover, the "benevolent state" was reproduced in which the citizens, who were considered to be one and the same and identical with the state, were united in the person of the state (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 2, Volume 8/1, 1340: 915). Within this framework, the views expressed by Ragıp Bey, a member of Parliament for Kütahya, during the parliamentary debates on the Draft Law on Villages in 1924 were also directed towards the local objectives of the political center. According to Ragıp Bey, the principle of breadth of authority was a means for the center to establish control and supervision over local structures (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 2, Volume 6, 1340: 233-234).

The attempt to understand the reforms attempted in the early Republican period as a whole is important in terms of several dimensions. The first dimension is the construction of the modern nation-state, the second is the acceptance of centralism as the basic approach to reform in this construction process, and the third is the shaping of the civil administrative division together with the other two dimensions. Therefore, the political, administrative, and legal arrangements made in the early Republican period should be viewed and interpreted through these three dimensions. In this context, the statements made by Necati Bey, a member of Parliament for Erzurum, during the discussions on the

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13 Centralism refers to a top-down organization in state on the basis of the integrity of the administration and the division of tasks with the delegation of authority between levels; decentralization or subsidiarity (closeness to the people in service) refers to a bottom-up organization and the division of tasks between levels based on the separation of duties. There is no delegation of authority in decentralization; the administrative structure that undertakes the task in accordance with the division of tasks uses any kind of authority required by it (Güler, 2001: 9). The centralist understanding of government does not allow for a democratic, autonomous and strong local government. The reason is that the central government wants to maintain its sovereignty over political power sharing and resources. Therefore, it implies a lack of trust in elected local administrators, local policies and local democracy (Yalçındağ, 1992: 4).

draft law on the Administration of Townships and Villages, which was presented to the Parliament in January 1921, represent an understanding that constructs the nation-state. Necati Bey's statement that "the names of many villages are not Turkish and are in foreign languages" and that "the names of these villages should be changed and made Turkish" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 1, Volume 13, 1337: 69) shows that the importance of language in the construction of a national identity was recognized. Language is important in the process of building a nation-state in terms of creating a common identity (Eren, 2018). Therefore, one of the important goals in the early Republican period was to make Turkish the dominant language as a constitutive element of national identity. However, in a draft law submitted to parliament in December 1923, the issue of "abolishing elected memberships in administrative assemblies" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 2, Volume 4, 1339: 367) was put on the agenda, and elected memberships in provincial and district administrative assemblies were abolished in 1926 (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 2, Volume 21, 1926). This approach is important for the construction of a nation-state in two ways. First, this draft law aimed to put an end to the membership of non-Muslim elected members in the administrative assemblies, and second, it aimed to build a strong centralist structure at the local level by abolishing the membership of elected representatives of the people. Thus, on the one hand, there was an approach that acted with the reflex of the nation-state, and on the other hand, there was an approach that wanted to bind the localities to itself with a centralist approach.

Sovereignty is undoubtedly one of the founding characteristics of the modern state and the most fundamental element that defines the only power that has a say in social organization (Saygılı, 2010: 78). In particular, a strong centralized structure has a very important function in the establishment of sovereignty. In this regard, the establishment of sovereignty in every part of the country was an important goal for the founders of the Republic, as sovereignty and authority were considered prerequisites for the construction of a modern nation-state and social identity. Within this framework, the political center, instead of directly and explicitly considering banditry as a problem of state sovereignty, considered it as a reason for the long distance between administrative structures and presented it as a justification for the establishment of subsidiary administrations. The justification of the draft law prepared for the establishment of a district named Hekimhan under the Malatya province was emphasized as the prevention of banditry activities. However, the opinions expressed by the members of Parliament in their parliamentary speeches indicate that there was a lack of sovereignty and authority. The remarks of Lütfi Bey, member of Parliament for Malatya, on the need for new administrative structures in order to record the population and taxes of the tribes and to ensure security and the remarks of Emin Bey, Member of Parliament for Sivas, on the fact that Hekimhan township had been given to some aghas and that no taxes were being collected and no soldiers recruited from this township and that it could not be administered (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 1, Volume 10, 1337: 406-409) showed that there was a lack of sovereignty and authority. "General Superintendencies"[14] were established in many regions to provide solutions to problems that were considered threats to the construction of the nation-state, such as tribal and minority issues, to establish sovereignty and authority, and to

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14 Although the issue of general superintendency was included in the Constitution of 1921, it was implemented as late as 1927.

promote modernization and development (Yılmaz, 2013; Korhan, 2012). Therefore, one of the important objectives of the early Republican period was to effectively implement the policies of the modern nation-state that penetrated the social sphere by establishing sovereignty and authority. Looking at the civil administrative division in this context puts the issue in a more meaningful framework. It is understandable that the political center wanted to assert its authority in such places through administrative levels and the establishment of a law enforcement force because the purpose behind this was to establish sovereignty and authority. Especially in some regions, the high degree of tribalism and the existence of fragmented local power structures were the reasons that pushed the political center to establish new administrative levels in these regions.

In order to establish a modern nation-state identity and strong centralization, a draft law called "Draft Law on Administrative Organization" was prepared in 1926. The political center prepared this draft law and submitted it to the Parliament with the aim of reducing the number of provinces and building manageable provinces and related administrative structures. This draft law provided for the transformation of the provinces of Beyoğlu, Üsküdar, Çatalca, Gelibolu, Genç, Ergani, Ardahan, Siverek, Kozan, Muş and Dersim into districts (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 2, Volume 25, 1926: Annex No. 199). This draft law dealt with the question of which provinces and districts would be retained, which would be abolished and which would be merged with another province. In addition, it aimed to reorganize the local administration, such as redetermining the district centers, changing those deemed necessary, reorganizing the townships and villages accordingly, and determining the townships that would be eligible to be made into districts. This draft law had political and administrative objectives, as well as the provision of public order and security and the reorganization of economic relations. With the intervention of the political center, the idea was to reconstruct the civil administrative division according to the structure of the modern nation-state and to make the cities manageable. In fact, the draft law emphasized the necessity of forming the civil administrative division on the basis of political, administrative, economic, health and military factors. In particular, issues such as security, tribal structures and banditry were emphasized in the justification for changing the status of Dersim into a district.[15] In addition, the "primitive" state of society was mentioned, and it was stated that it should be annexed to a province in order to introduce it to "civilized" life. In a sense, the state wanted to ensure sovereignty and security as a dimension of modernization by carrying out extensive reconstruction activities in these regions. In the draft law, many reasons were given for the abolition of an administrative structure, such as low revenues, weak administration, small population, small territory, economic and social underdevelopment, or the presence of developed provinces in the immediate vicinity. In addition, approaches such as weakening the economic and commercial power of non-Muslim minorities, bringing the tribes that created security problems under the control of the government, securing their support through compromises with local government forces, and suppressing the separatist movements of ethnic tribes were the main foundations of the civil administrative division.

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15 Laws undoubtedly played a significant role in the elimination of social objections and resistance to the idea and/or method of modernization. In this respect, the Law on Treason, the Law on the Maintenance of Order and the Independence of Courts, which interpreted and ruled based on these laws, aimed to suppress the elements of objection and resistance coming from the social sphere and to include them in the modernization process as the state's instruments of oppression and coercion.

In a way, it was an attempt to secure sovereignty and authority (Keskin, 2007a: 250-251). In the reorganization of the civil administrative division, security problems in some parts of the country were seen as a factor that weakened the sphere of influence of the political center. This dimension of the problem was also raised during the parliamentary debates on the draft law.

Münür Hüsrev Bey from Erzurum, one of the Parliament members who opposed this draft law, said that the civil administrative division was not based on the right criteria and that the provinces were to be turned into districts based on arbitrary criteria, which implicitly showed that the political center was trying to establish sovereignty through the civil administrative division. However, Cemil Bey, the Minister of Interior, stated that there were two ideas of provincial administration: general administration and local administration. He said that the idea of general administration makes it possible to divide the country into a small number of provinces and a large number of districts and townships and to manage it more easily. Furthermore, the idea of local administration allowed for more provinces, the development of administrative structures under provinces, and the self-government of provinces. He noted that the Republic administration and the Grand National Assembly adopted the second idea and that the government wanted to create provinces where the people could govern themselves (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 2, Volume 25, 1926: 610-611). These ideas of the Minister of the Interior suggest that while decentralist discourse constructed the domain of social legitimacy, legislative regulations laid the groundwork for the operational domain of centralism and sovereignty-building attitudes. This legislation, the first "Law on Administrative Organization" of the Republican era, was adopted on May 30, 1926, and came into force on June 26, 1926. With this law, 11 provinces were reorganized into districts, 27 districts were reorganized into townships, 60 townships were abolished, 18 districts were reconstituted and 17 districts were annexed to other provinces (Düstur, Session 3, Volume 7: 1394-1398). The province status of Üsküdar, Beyoğlu, Çatalca, Gelibolu, Genç, Ergani, Ardahan, Siverek, Kozan, Muş and Dersim, which were included in this draft law, was changed to district status with this law. In 1927, the civil administrative division included 63 provinces, 343 districts and 681 townships; in 1928, 63 provinces, 328 districts and 699 townships, and districts were made into townships in this process (Önen and Reyhan, 2011: 486).

On April 18, 1929, the government submitted to the Parliament a draft law entitled "Draft Law on the General Administration of Provinces". The preamble of the draft law stated that the Law on the General Administration of Provinces of 1913, which regulated the administration of provinces, was a temporary law and that the powers granted to the governors had been taken away by laws in the course of time and that the law had lost its character. Emphasizing that governors should be representatives of both the government and each ministry, the government requested that the powers of governors be expanded to ensure the functioning of an effective local administration in rural areas. With this draft law, the political center aimed to establish a civil administration structure in the rural areas that could effectively implement the policies of the political center by granting broad powers to the governors. The preamble of the draft law referred to the civil administration structure in the Ottoman period and emphasized that "with the abolition of the Janissary Corps, the extensive decentralization in the rural administration was ended and a strict

centralization procedure was implemented, and with the Reformation, improvements were made in the central and rural organizations" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 3, Volume 10, 1929: Annex No. 134). An evaluation of these justifications shows that the government believed that decentralization created problems of sovereignty and authority and led to a "disorderly" system. To emphasize, both in the Ottoman and Republican periods, the local/periphery was viewed with suspicion and there was a constant tension (Mardin, 2006). Therefore, the political center wanted to transfer its values to the periphery to bind them.

In the parliamentary debates on the draft law, the principles of "breadth of authority and separation of duties" were used to explain why there should be a strong governor's office in the provinces. The Minister of Interior, Şükrü Kaya, explained the reasons for granting broad powers to a responsible authority representing the power of the state in the provinces with this draft law. These reasons included ensuring the security and peace of the country and lawfulness among the citizens, and ensuring that the central and local administrative, economic and social activities are carried out according to the general program and instructions of the center and specific objectives. Kaya's statements suggest that the aim was to effectively implement the policies adopted by the political center at the local level through strong centralization and to create a harmonious coexistence between the center and the local level. The remarks of Mustafa Şeref Bey, a member of Parliament for Burdur, regarding the draft law also show that the state aimed to have a strong presence at the local level. According to Mustafa Şeref Bey, this draft law provided for the principle of the unity of the state, ensured the implementation of state administration in the provinces, and included principles that would guide and direct the governors and officials working in the provinces towards the government's program (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 3, Volume 10, 1929: 78-80). From the late 1920s, the centralist discourse became more visible. One of the most important reasons for this was undoubtedly the changing situation at home and abroad. The lack of diversity in the Parliament led to the adoption of this draft law without much discussion. The 1929 Law on the Administration of Provinces, the first law on the provinces of the Republic, was adopted after debates in the Parliament and amended the 1913 Provisional Law on the general administration of the provinces. This law represents an understanding that strongly constructs centralization in the rural areas. It did not talk much about decentralization and separation of duties, and emphasized the principle of breadth of authority, thus aiming to establish a strong rural organization on the basis of centralism. Therefore, this law aimed at enabling the center to intervene strongly at the local level.

As a result of the impressions gained by Mustafa Kemal during his travels around the country in 1930, the Ministry of Interior prepared a report on the civil administrative division. This report emphasized the need to restructure the civil administration in a way that would provide solutions to the basic economic, social, cultural and transportation problems of the cities. Until 1930, these problems of the cities had been ignored, but from that time onward, the issue of urban development became particularly important due to the realization that modernization could gain significant momentum from the cities. Therefore, the 1930 report was prepared with the idea that the civil administrative division should be revised within this framework. In particular, it was emphasized that the

duties and powers of local administrations should be increased, that they should be able to exercise their powers and that they should be financially strengthened. In addition, it was envisaged that the powers of the governors should be increased and that they should become the highest administrative authority in the provinces and that the rural areas should become more powerful (Yıldız, 2022: 155). Thus, the provinces were given an important role in modernization and development. Municipality Law No. 1580 of 1930, the first municipal law of the Republican era, should also be considered in this context.

The first municipal law of the Republican period was adopted and came into force on April 3, 1930. This law regulated the municipalities as the most important structure in the provision of local services. Recognizing the importance of cities in modernization and development, this law, in addition to establishing an autonomous local administration, also gave municipalities an important role in implementing the modernization-oriented policies and/or services of the political center. During the parliamentary debates on the law, the Minister of Interior, Şükrü Kaya, emphasized that cities are important structures for modernization and development as they are important for civilization and progress and promote science, art and commerce. However, he emphasized that municipalities in the Republic of Turkey had problems related to zoning and settlement as well as problems arising from the civil and social needs of society. He stated that to solve the problems of cities and municipalities, it was necessary to give them duties, powers, instruments and financial means and to provide them with an organizational structure, and this law gave municipalities the duties and powers they needed (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 3, Volume 17, 1930: 22-23). A reading of Kaya's thinking reveals that the political center established a close link between civilization and the urban, and realized that modernization meant building modern cities and modern municipalities. In particular, Kaya's view that "municipalities are schools of political and social education" shows the mission that the political center assigned to municipalities the role of shaping the identity of citizens. Ahmed Ağaoğlu, a member of Parliament for Kars, who spoke in favor of decentralized local administration, pointed out that Kaya's attitude was ambivalent and that he showed two different attitudes as Şükrü Kaya the politician and Şükrü Kaya the citizen. According to Ağaoğlu, he spoke as Şükrü Bey the citizen when he said that municipalities could become modern cities with a democratic and liberal identity, while he spoke as Şükrü Bey the Minister of Interior or "with the mentality of a statesman" when he mentioned regulating and controlling all areas of the state and demanded that municipalities should not be left unsupervised (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 3, Volume 17, 1930: 24-25). Ağaoğlu's words are important because they show that the political center was conflicted between discourse and action. After all, in the early Republican period, the "discourse" of the political center in all its dimensions reflected a decentralist approach, while its "actions" reflected a centralist perspective. The crucial point here is that the political center was the only power that took the initiative in the construction of a modern state and society and achieved holistic modernization and development through its policies. Therefore, as Şükrü Kaya stated, the wide range of duties and powers granted to the municipalities by the Municipalities Law of 1930 in its various dimensions was to start and spread the modernization of the country from the cities and to undertake the project of a modern state and society. Kaya's words, "Every city belongs to the state and the state will have control over it" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Term 3, Volume 17, 1930:

31), summarize the purpose of the law. It should be noted that the direct appointment of the mayor of the Municipality of Ankara by the political center, the merging of the Municipality of Istanbul with the Istanbul Provinces Administration and the appointment of the governor as mayor are concrete examples of centralization. This is an approach that weakens local autonomy and establishes tutelage over the local.

The fact that centralism was perceived by the founders of the Republic as an approach that would build the modern nation-state, lead the society to a modern identity, and make the values, principles, and goals of the "Republic" acceptable and permanent to the social segments caused the local governments to be considered as implementing institutions of the state ideology (Yalçındağ, 1997: 11). Therefore, it did not allow them to have a real local government identity. The political center wanted the local structures to establish a harmonious coexistence with itself through legal regulations that would build a modern nation-state and society. Within this framework, it envisioned that the laws and policies it enacted would be meticulously implemented by municipalities at the local level. By declaring that mayors who did not show sufficient diligence in this regard would be dismissed, the political center demonstrated its patronizing attitude toward the locals.

The centralist approach adopted in the early Republican period and the civil administrative division made within this framework were important for the construction of the nation-state and modernization on the one hand, and for the political center to establish sovereignty and influence at the local level on the other. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze and evaluate the impact of centralization and the civil administrative division on the political and social structure and the relationship between the center and the countryside/local.

An Analysis of Centralism and the Civil Administrative Division

The idea and concept of the modern nation-state were important factors in the restructuring of the civil administration in the early Republican period. A strong and centralized administrative structure was the primary goal to implement the idea of building a modern nation-state and society. Once this goal was achieved, the envisioned republic and its citizens would have the opportunity to establish a meaningful coexistence. For the founders of the Republic, who won the War of Independence and established the Republic, the centralization of the regime in political, administrative and economic terms was considered imperative. It was accepted as a basic approach that overcoming economic and socio-cultural problems and imbalances, spreading the values of the Republic throughout the country, and implementing reforms effectively and permanently could only be achieved through centralization, not through local governments with limited resources and capabilities and localization (Keskin, 2007b: 142).

Centralization played an important role in the construction of the nation-state. Centralization produced important results not only in the political and administrative spheres, but also in the reproduction and expansion of the social and cultural spheres. The desire to reduce the size of provinces and transform them into manageable cities provided the political center with more opportunities to intervene in the construction process of the nation-state and contributed to the homogenization of social organization (Önen and Reyhan, 2011: 541-542). Therefore, the centralist approach matured the conditions

for the creation of the nation-state. The establishment of sovereignty and authority and the spread of reforms and founding values necessary for a modern republic throughout the country were crucial for the adoption of the centralist approach (Yayla, 1982: 135). Looking at the general outlines of the process, many issues affected the direction and content of the nation-state building process, centralization and civil administrative division in the early Republican period. In particular, objectives such as controlling the Armenian and Greek minorities in the southeastern provinces and Trabzon, eliminating the tribal structure in Sivas and Malatya, combating Pontus-Rum separatism in Ordu and Giresun, and suppressing the Sheikh (Şeyh) Sait rebellion in the east were decisive in this approach (Keskin, 2007b: 120).

The policymakers of the early Republican period took into account factors such as geographical area, population, economic relations and security issues in the context of the nation-state when reconstructing the civil administrative division of the country. The idea of reducing the size of the provinces and establishing a manageable structure, especially in regions where the Armenian-Greek minorities were concentrated and tribes were dominant, shaped the administrative arrangements (Keskin, 2007a: 462). One of the important goals of the modern nation-state was to be able to penetrate the entire country and become a sovereign power. This goal was considered important for the effectiveness and sustainability of many state policies. The existence of a strong central administration was one of the main preferences for the policies of the modern nation-state, as it created the basis for the recognition and acceptance of these goals and policies in the periphery/ locality. In this context, the founders of the Republic in the 1920s and 1930s emphasized the centralist approach[16] to the establishment of the modern nation-state and society, the formation of manageable modern cities, and the adoption and acceptance of the values of the center by the periphery (Mardin, 2006). While the founders of the Republic responded to the question of "how to save the state" in the period of constitutional monarchy with the National Struggle, the founding actors of the early Republic and the one-party government sought an answer to the question of "how to transform the state into a sovereign and powerful" modern nation-state with the existence of a strong centralized administration.

Centralization, which was the key element of nation-state building in the early Republican period, had the effect of expanding the capacity of the state on the one hand, and paved the way for local structures to become dependent on the center and to be supervised and controlled on the other. However, in the process of building the nation-state and achieving modernization, important tasks were assigned to the localities to ensure unity between the center and the localities. The period between 1920 and 1923 and the period from 1924 onwards witnessed a significant break, if not in discourse, then in action. While a decentralist discourse and an autonomous approach were present in the period between 1920-23, when the first term of Parliament was in power, a centralist

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16 For the founders of the republic, a centralist approach was first and foremost considered as a method that could bring about the principles of the republic, modernization and development. Therefore, the aim was to suppress and/or eliminate the opposition against the centralist approach. The important reason behind the dissolution of the Progressive Republican Party (Terakki Perver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) founded in 1924 and which supported the Sheikh Sait uprising in 1925 and the reason for the dissolution of the Free Republican Party (Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası) founded in 1930 was that these parties advocated the liberation of the country from centralism and supported a decentralized approach and found support for this approach (Mardin, 2006: 61).

approach made itself felt on a larger scale with the second term of Parliament. Although the autonomous approach did not go beyond "discourse", it had an important place in the draft of laws and proposals on the civil administrative division (Kandeğer, 2016). The discourse of popular sovereignty formed the basis of the social legitimacy of policies in the early Republican period while centralization constituted the practical field of policies in a wide range, especially with the 1924 Constitution.

Article 1 of the Constitution of 1921 stated that sovereignty belonged to the people, Article 2 stated that the authority to exercise sovereignty on behalf of the people was vested in the Parliament, and Article 3 stated that there was a parliamentary system of government (Constitution of 1921, Articles 1-3; Kili and Gözübüyük, 1985: 91-93), thus giving the source of sovereignty to the people and the right to exercise it in the Parliament and the government. The Constitution of 1921 reorganized the local administration as a tripartite structure based on the province system, including "province, district and township", and sought to shape the locality through a new administrative organization. With this Constitution, provinces and townships were given legal personality and province councils were to be elected by the people (Constitution of 1921, Articles 10-21). Therefore, this decentralized approach has a unique place as an approach adopted until the 1920-1923 period. One reason for the adoption of a decentralized approach in the period between 1920 and 1923 was that Muslim identities other than the Turkish identity helped during the National Struggle. The mobilization of different segments of society and different identities during the National Struggle distinguished the 1920-1923 period from later periods. This reality can be seen in the structure of the first Parliament as well as in the Constitution of 1921. The Constitution of 1921 is a text that regulates the relationship between the center and the local within a "decentralized" framework. This constitutional approach, which can provide an important basis for local governance and democracy, such as communal structures, elected bodies and legal entities (Ortaylı, 1985: 207; Tanör, 250-257; Kandeğer, 2021a: 31), is noteworthy in that it reflects an understanding suited to the social diversity and multi-identity structure of the period. Looking at the legislation between 1920 and 1923, the main approach was decentralization. This is particularly evident in the Constitution of 1921, namely the Draft Law on the General Administration of Provinces of 1921 and the Draft Law on the Administration of Townships and Villages.

The Constitution of 1921 and the civil regulations redefined the relationship between the center and the local through " province-based organization," and the civil organization of the feudal order was replaced by a civil arrangement that included the organization of the new order. With the new civil administrative division, the broad province system was replaced by a narrow province system (Keskin, 2007b: 130-131; Önen and Reyhan, 2011: 455). This arrangement eliminated the large provinces and their associated livas and made the provinces smaller and more manageable. Thus, the large provinces ceased to have a large administrative structure together with the province attached to them. While the Constitution of 1924 continued this civil administrative division, it adopted a strictly centralist approach instead of the decentralist approach of the Constitution of 1921 and abolished the autonomous structure granted to the townships. While the townships, which had been included in the Ottoman administrative structure for the first time with the Province Regulation of 1864, were recognized as a communal administration

with governmental personality until the Constitution of 1924, they were removed as an autonomous structure and their sovereign entity was abolished in the Constitution of 1924. With this Constitution, the founding political authority aimed to establish control and supervision over the local level and to transform it by adopting a centralist approach. Centralization became the basis of the civil administrative division with the Constitution of 1924. By abolishing the livas and reducing the size and increasing the number of provinces, the goal was to create manageable cities subordinate to the center. According to Birgül Ayman Güler, the centralization approach adopted with the Constitution of 1924 weakened local sovereign powers and reduced their ability to use public power (Güler, 1998: 155). The Constitution of 1924 sought to ensure the central government's tutelage over the provinces by reducing the number of provinces on the one hand and creating a manageable local/ provincial structure by placing the provincial administration under the supervision and control of the governor's office on the other (Keskin, 2007b: 119-120). Therefore, the creation of a manageable local structure through the provincial administration under a strong centralization was one of the main objectives.

The Law on Provinces enacted in 1929 aimed to create a rural organization centered around a strong governorship structure, and the Law on Municipalities enacted in 1930 aimed to create local structures with broad duties and powers under the supervision of the center. The Law gave broad powers to the governors (Önen and Reyhan, 2011: 540). The Law on Administration of Provinces enacted in 1929 regulated the rural administration, which was a natural extension of the central administration, rather than the provincial administration. The law abolished local powers, aghas, and beys in the provincial and district councils, ultimately ensuring the control and supervision of the center over the local authorities (Keskin, 2007a: 297). This decision was crucial for establishing the political center's sovereignty over local powers in rural areas. During the early Republican period, local powers were viewed as a threat to the Republic and as "weeds" that needed to be removed. This arrangement thus bolstered the political center's position and established the framework for enacting planned policies.

The political center, through the Municipalities Law of 1930, aimed to have municipalities participate in the modernization process of the country by building modern cities on the one hand, and on the other hand, giving municipalities a mission in the effective use and promotion of the Turkish language in the process of creating a nation-state (Doğanoğlu, 2015). Istanbul Municipality's "Municipal Police Ordinance" issued in 1925 prohibited vendors from selling their wares by shouting in a language other than Turkish (Tümerkan, 1946: 192). Moreover, the attitude of many municipalities that wanted to ban the veil and burqa was seen as a result of the tasks assigned to the municipalities in the modernization process (Doğanoğlu, 2015: 128). In this context, municipalities were included in the process of establishing a national language to create a nation-state. Additionally, it was envisioned that local structures would play a significant role in modernization efforts and aid in the process.

Concluding Remarks

During the early Republican period's nation-state construction process, centralism encompassed a broad spectrum of meanings. Its repertoire ranged from establishing

national identity to achieving modernization and development, constructing modern cities to adopting republican values, and producing social mobilization to enhance the state's capacity to intervene politically. Within this framework, the civil administrative division also constituted a broad ground for the regulations provided for important functions. While local arrangements were regarded as a means of establishing the state's sovereignty and authority over social organization, they also offered valuable opportunities for the political center to intervene in rural administration and local governments, as well as for the nation-state's development and the promotion of a uniform national identity. Within this framework, it should be acknowledged that local governments could not attain these fundamental objectives with their own resources.

The founders of the Republic deemed centralism crucial to constructing a rational nation-state. Their objective was to implement reforms and mobilize society effectively based on this ideology. They aimed to improve economic and social development, spread republican values across the country, and implement reforms geared toward reconstruction. Centralization and its administrative instruments were again among the most important elements of these efforts.

In the context of nation-state and centralization, many issues were considered in the construction of the nation-state, including subordinating and controlling tribes and local power centers, eliminating banditry activities, establishing security, preventing and/or weakening minorities from participating in governance, engaging in commercial activities, and becoming an economic power. This is because these issues were designed to address a vacuum of sovereignty and authority. Ensuring sovereignty and authority, key elements of the nation-state was deemed critical during the early Republican period. In this context, the political center assigned significant value to centralization and the civil administrative division as solutions. Although centralization and the civil administrative division were initially viewed as administrative concepts during the early Republican period, in the founding stages of the nation-state and the modernization process, they formed a political line and provided a basis and momentum for policies aimed at uniting ethnic and religious identities under the umbrella of the "Turkish" identity.

The citizens envisioned by the Republic would only come into being once the modern nation-state and society had been successfully established, and the people became the true and exclusive possessors of sovereignty. Consequently, the adoption of a "citizen" identity by the people in the nation-state was considered crucial, with centralization being a means of building this identity. After 1923, a crucial factor in the shift from decentralization to centralization was the political center's aim to undertake a comprehensive construction process as a sovereign power.

The Constitution of 1924 and subsequent regulations on local administration served as the foundation for the widespread support of centralism. The reason for this is that decentralization was seen as a cause of division in the early Republican period, just as it had been in the Constitutional Monarchy period. The founders of the Republic regarded centralization as a prerequisite for both the existence of such a concern and the success of the construction process. However, although there is a debate regarding whether decentralization is a requirement of democracy, democracy was not a priority for the Republic's founders. Therefore, centralization served a wide range of purposes

for the state, including the achievement of various key objectives such as building a nation-state. Building manageable cities by reducing the size of provinces was considered an important goal. Centralization played a crucial role in implementing this idea. The political center aimed to spread modernization throughout the country, beginning in the cities and ensuring standardized implementation. Meanwhile, rural administration and local governments executed and monitored the political center's policies. Therefore, the constitutional principles of "breadth of authority and separation of duties" were interpreted in accordance with the nation-state formation and centralization.

Finally, centralization was seen as crucial in the nation-building process to establish a national identity and achieve holistic modernization. It also facilitated the expansion of state capacity. Centralization, which aimed to guarantee the construction of the nation and the harmonious coexistence of modernization and development, was embodied as a manifestation of agency rather than discourse. During the early Republican period, the political philosophy and discourse expressed populism and decentralization, while the philosophy of administration and the field of action embraced centralism.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

From an Unknown Territory to a Nation's Motherland: An Analysis of the Memoirs of the Republic's First Generation of Intellectuals

Bilinmeyen Topraklardan Anavatana: Cumhuriyetin İlk Aydın Kuşağının Anılarının Analizi

U. Ceren Ünlü [1] , Mehmet Ertan [2]

Abstract

This article aims to analyze the memories and autobiographies of six intellectuals who witnessed and contributed to the foundation of the Turkish Republic and played important roles in the cultural policies of the era of the early Republic of Turkey. In the analysis, the sociological concept of generation is utilized as a conceptual framework. Characterizing a group of people that not only share approximating birth dates and locations but also have experienced similar historical moments or political and socioeconomic transformations as a generation, this article regards Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Süleyman Edip Balkır, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Ahmet Emin Yalman and Hasan Âli Yücel as members of the same generation. An in-depth analysis of the memoirs and autobiographies reveals two common themes among these people's memories: first, because they were born and grew up on the western side of the Ottoman lands, they were all strangers to Anatolia before World War I or the foundation of the Republic; and, second, all six intellectuals believed in the fact that the path of turning Anatolia into a modernized and secularized homeland passed through education. Their strangeness to Anatolia and the importance of education for its socio-cultural development were highly related because the transformation of Anatolia through education not only aimed to create a homeland but also ended the strangeness between these intellectuals and Anatolia.

Keywords: Generation, Intellectual history, Memoirs, Early republican period

Öz

Bu makale Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşuna tanıklık etmiş ve katkıda bulunmuş ve erken cumhuriyet döneminin kültürel politikalarında önemli roller oynamış altı aydının anılarını ve otobiyografilerini incelemeyi amaçlıyor. İncelemede kavramsal çerçeveyi kuşak kavramı çiziyor. Kuşak kavramını sadece benzer tarihlerde aynı coğrafyada doğmuş olmak değil benzer tarihsel an ve sosyoekonomik dönüşüm süreçlerini deneyimlemek üzerinden ele alarak, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Süleyman Edip Balkır, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Ahmet Emin Yalman ve Hasan Âli Yücel'i aynı kuşağın üyeleri olarak değerlendiriyoruz. Bu isimlerin anı ve otobiyografilerinin derinlemesine analizinde ortaklaşan iki ana tema öne çıkmaktadır. İlki Anadolu'ya yabancılıktır, çünkü bu isimler Osmanlı topraklarının batısında doğmuşlardı ve Anadolu ile tanışıklıkları I. Dünya Savaşı ya da cumhuriyetin kuruluş dönemlerine denk düşüyordu. İkinci ortak temaysa Anadolu'nun kalkınması ve aydınlanmasının yolunun eğitimden geçtiğine inanmalarıdır. Bu entelektüellerin Anadolu'ya yabancılıkları ve eğitime verdikleri önem de birbiriyle ilişkilidir, çünkü eğitimle Anadolu'nun dönüşümü anavatanın kalkınmasını sağlamanın yanı sıra, bu isimlerin Anadolu'ya yabancılıklarının da sona ermesine katkıda bulunacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kuşak, Düşünce tarihi, Anılar, Erken cumhuriyet dönemi

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Introduction

This article traces the general attitudes of six intellectuals who were influential in politics and education in the early Republic of Turkey, by analyzing their memoirs and autobiographies. While there are plenty of memoirs and autobiographies by the founding members of the Turkish Republic, the number of social science studies that analyze the sociological characteristics of this generation has remained inadequate. One example of this paucity of literature is penned by Erik Jan Zürcher. While analyzing the Young Turks of the late Ottoman Empire who became the founder elites of the Republic in his renowned article "Who Were the Young Turks? The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey," Zürcher (2010a, pp. 106-107) assembles a representative sampling of thirty-six individuals who served in at least a quarter of the cabinets of the first twenty years of the Republic, played influential roles for the army, and were close to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk since his childhood or army days. Geographically, 35 percent of them were born and raised in the Ottoman Balkans, 20 percent were from the Aegean region, 20 percent were from Istanbul, and 11 percent were from other cities of the Marmara region. Zürcher asserts that these birth places can be assessed as an integrated zone with Europe, where the literacy rates and material and cultural development were completely different from Anatolia. It was striking that only 14 percent (5 individuals) of the founder elites originated from Anatolia, which was considered the heartland of the new Republic. In addition to the geographical alienation, nearly all the leaders of the Republic came from urban environments and 75 percent of them were educated in military or civil colleges.

After analyzing the socio-cultural background of the founding generation, Zürcher (2010b, p. 113), in another article, underlines two important features of the mindset of the founding generation: the role of education and the perspective of Anatolia. Both Young Turks and Kemalists owed their careers to their education. Therefore, they believed that education, which had changed their lives, could produce progress and enlightenment for the whole country. They portrayed themselves as the educators of a backward population. As mentioned above, Anatolia was a strange geography for the founding generation, most of which had Balkan origins. After the loss of their ancestral land, they had to settle in Anatolia. Anatolia was designed as the homeland of Turkishness and heartland of the new Republic (Zürcher, 2010b, p. 120). The founder elites, who were strangers or *yabancı* to this homeland, thought to transform and enlighten Anatolia through education.

This study will take Zücher's analysis as a starting point, especially his focus on the strangeness of Anatolia and the role of education, but will follow a different path in terms of sampling and methodology. Zürcher has chosen historical figures who had been very influential in the political life of the early Republic. He has adopted a methodology that is based on the analysis of birthplaces and educational statuses. This article, however, will engage in a qualitative analysis of a generation by scrutinizing the memories and autobiographies of several figures, who had been at the periphery of the political sphere but at the center of the intellectual domain of the early Turkish Republic. In order to give due to the qualitative methodology, a limited number of memories and autobiographies will be analyzed in depth.

In this regard, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir's *Suyu Arayan Adam* (*The Man in Search of Water*), Ahmet Emin Yalman's *Gördüklerim Geçirdiklerim* (*Those I Have Seen, Those I*

Have Experienced), Hasan Âli Yücel's *Geçtiğim Günlerden* (*Days That I Have Passed by*), İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu's *Hayatım* (*My Life*) and Süleyman Edip Balkır's *Bir Köy Öğretmeninin Anıları* (*Memories of a Village Teacher*) will be analyzed as memories and autobiographies in this article. Besides these, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu will also be a part of the analysis with his novels *Yaban* (*The Stranger*) and *Ankara*.

First, we will introduce the concept of generation, which equips us with a framework that enables us to analyze several people who were born in a similar geography and around close dates as a group. A theoretical debate on how to use this concept reveals the fact that a generation is bound by not only a shared birth time and geography but also shared periods of social change and trauma. The memories of the republic's founding generation, who witnessed wars, experienced migration, went through radical socioeconomic and political transformations, and actively contributed to the foundation of the republic, will provide us a basis on which we can analyze this historical process through an inside reading. Similar to Zürcher's analysis, an in-depth study of these memories has depicted that, first, Anatolia was a strange geography for these people. They were born in different geographies and became familiarized with Anatolia during the War of Independence or after the foundation of the Republic. Second, the praxis that defined their relations with this new and unfamiliar homeland was education. While they were striving to get to know and understand Anatolia, they were aware that they shouldered a new responsibility to turn this land, strange to them, into a homeland for the nation. According to them, the tool that would shake off the centuries-old stagnancy and lead Anatolia to the path of modernization was education. These people were not only witnesses of history but also active agents in history. Moreover, they shared the experience of not only decline and trauma but also novelty and future projections. These facts made this group of people a generation that connected the past to the present and the future.

A Prelude to the Sociological Concept of Generation

In social science research the theoretical tool of generation is a slippery slope that may lead researchers to false generalizations. Designating certain general characteristics for several people who happen to live in the same period may pave the way for conclusions too neat and interpretations too symmetrical. However, using generation as an analytical tool should not be cast aside, for it may provide significant generalizations about the relevant period. In other words, its strength lies in its weakness, and this article aims to use this precarious analytical tool with utmost caution.

The first thing to do is to define this ambiguous conceptual tool. Karl Mannheim (1952, pp. 288-289), a prominent sociologist, in his 1923-dated essay, called "The Problem of Generations," states that a generation is not a "concrete group" as measurable as family but a "social category" that several people fall into because they share "similar location" within a social entity. Generation is an ambiguous concept. It does not have straight edges or a concrete existence. Families are gathered through bloodlines, organizations around causes and statutes, and neighborhood communities through physical adjacency. However, as Mannheim (1952, pp. 288-289) states, generation is not a "concrete group" that people choose through "proximity or rational will," i.e., not an assembly that is formed "through naturally developed or consciously willed ties". As a "*temporal* abstraction" (Berger,

1960, p. 14), the only common perceptible string that ties the concept of generation to the tangible life is age; though the unlikelihood of squeezing all age contemporaries into one generation or the inability of some age contemporaries to form a memorable generation adds up to the fact that age is an unstable ground to emplace the phenomenon. However, while the bonds between individuals within the same generation are not as concrete as blood relations, generation is still an objective social reality (Mannheim, 1952, pp. 288-290):

> Generation location is based on the existence of biological rhythm in human existence – the factors of life and death, a limited span of life, and ageing. Individuals who belong to the same generation, who share the same year of birth, are endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process.

Therefore, generation is primarily a biological concept linked to the time of birth. It is a matter of life and death: "The most elemental fact of human life is that some [people] die and others are born" (Gasset, 1958, p. 41). One after another, various lineage-age groups producing offspring trail each other. In this so-far never-ending journey, different age groups in human societies have formed different generations. In *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1957, p. 1044), among many definitions, generation is defined as (1) an "act or process of producing offspring; procreation," and (2) "the average lifetime of man, or the ordinary period of time at which one rank follows another, or father is succeeded by child; an age." However, in the human world of complexities, biological age and life-span, progeny and engenderment compose only some of the many aspects of the notion of generation.

The sociological concept of generation transcends "the biological rhythm of birth and death" (Mannheim, 1952, p. 290). This biological cooccurrence turns into a sociological reality only if it corresponds to a historical and sociological coexistence. Mannheim (1952, p. 6) asserts that "[t]he *sociological* problem of generations… begins at [the] point where the sociological relevance of… biological factors is discovered." As the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1993, p. 95) further suggests, the phenomenon of generation is not biologically but socially determined. Biologically coincident age contemporaries, who have experienced the same historical circumstances, and who have socially shared similar lifestyles, aspirations, oppositions, and fears, form a generation.

Returning to Mannheim's "problem of generations," the notion of a common "location" appears as a key concept in the article which acts as a socio-historical glue holding the members of a generation together. Regarding generation as one of the dynamics of socio-historical development and an important tool for social classification, Mannheim (1952, pp. 290-291) thinks that a generation rises upon "a similarity of location of a number of individuals within a social whole." Being born around the same year to the same socio-historical and cultural context, and experiencing a similar world in the formative years of youth, the members of a generation share "certain definite modes of behavior, feeling and thought."

However, for Mannheim (1952, p. 290), "a common location in the historical dimension of social process" does not suffice to explain the whole generational tableau. First of all, a shared location does not supply people with a consciously-belonged entity in which they actively join. Like in class position, one cannot end one's membership in a particular

generation by appending a conscious signature on the contract. Second, people in the same socio-historical location might compose diverse "generation units" (Mannheim, 1952, p. 304), differentiated "by their geographical and cultural location; by their actual as opposed to potential participation in the social and intellectual currents of their time and place; and by their differing responses to a particular situation" (Pilcher, 1994, p. 483). If one assumes that each epoch has a distinct mentality, a *Zeitgeist*, one cannot expect this mentality to create in every living human mind the same responses against, and thoughts and aspirations about the particular socio-historical situation (Mannheim, 1952, p. 313). Concurrently, "the assumption that even dramatic events will be interpreted in the same way by all members of an age group, with the consequence that the same lessons will be adduced, seems implausible." (Holsti and Rosenau, 1980, p. 19). These two points have led Mannheim (1952, p. 303) to conceptualize a more complex and explanatory notion of "generation as actuality," defined as a conscious "*participation in the common destiny* of [the] historical and social unit" of the shared location:

> Mannheim characterizes… shared location as an unconscious and inactive one, as opposed to a "generation as actuality," whereby members have a "concrete bond" through their exposure to and participation in the "social and intellectual symptoms of a process of dynamic destabilization," such as in time of war. Mannheim expresses the difference between basic "generational location" and "generation as actuality" as that of potentially being capable of being "sucked into the vortex of social change" and in actually participating in the "characteristic social and intellectual currents of their society and period" (Pilcher, 1994, p. 490).

This notion of actual participation in the shared experience of social change coincides with a third point indicating generational location's insufficiency as an explanatory concept: all people who share a social location do not form a generation, at least a distinguished one. The Great Depression or the 1960s certainly ring bells in one's mind, but not every decade or epoch has left a mark of equal profundity in history. Mannheim (1952, p. 309) states that:

> ... not every generation location – not even every age-group – creates new collective impulses and formative principles original to itself and adequate to its particular situation. Where this does happen, we speak of a *realization of potentialities inherent* in the location, and it appears probable that the frequency of such realizations is closely connected with the tempo of social change.

The above-mentioned point reveals the fact that dealing with the sociological concept of generation requires the answer to one other question: Why do "generations arise during certain periods in history but not in others" (Braungart and Braungart, 1986, p. 217); What does make some epochs special? June Edmunds and Bryan S. Turner (2002) stress the mobilization opportunities of a period, which enable people to actively engage in the production of a brand-new social and cultural fashion peculiar to the specific generation.

This question of appropriate periods for the formation of a generation urged some scholars to enlist the steps of the process through which distinctive historical generations have appeared. For example, sociologists Ron Eyerman and Bryan S. Turner (1998, p. 96) enumerate six conditions for a generation to arise: (1) the shared experience of a traumatic incident like disaster, war, or massacre, (2) "cultural or political mentors" theorizing the particular traumatic incident and the opposition against the dominant power and culture,

(3) a profound demographic change disturbing the allocation of societal resources, (4) epochal changes, which lead the society from success to failure, failure to success, (5) the existence of holy sites, or what Pierre Nora (1996) calls "*lieux de memoire*," that maintain "a collective memory of utopia," and their origins, heroes, struggles, and (6) the feeling of a shared luckiness among people, who regard themselves as the true members of their generation. As to this *formula*, people who witnessed the hard times of the Great Depression gathered around the shared experience of this trauma and affected by ideologists and activists opposing the dominant system have assembled around the memory of "Black Tuesday" as a generation. Similarly, Woodstock has acted as a sacred realm holding the 1960s' generation together. For Mannheim, the actualization of a distinct generation through the constitution of a concrete bond between the members is most likely to take place, when these members are "exposed to the social and intellectual symptoms of a process of dynamic de-stabilization," i.e., social and cultural change. In order for an age-group to create its own meanings, aspirations, interpretations, and, struggle methods, it must experience a quick and profound social transformation (Mannheim, 1952, p. 303, p. 310). In a similar vein, some generational theorists, emphasizing the dynamism of social change, have regarded the conflict of generations as the motor force of historical development. Rudolf Heberle (1951, p. 125) links generation gap to social change, and states that "[t]he differentiations *between* generations are likely to be greater in periods of rapid social change than in periods of slow and gradual change."

The question of the reason for unique periods in history generating generations has especially been the area of interest of scholars specialized in generational politics and political generations. According to Richard G. Braungart and Margaret M. Braungart (1986, p. 207) the only sociologically valid type of generation is the political generation composed of age contemporaries collectively struggling for social, cultural, and political change. Braungart and Braungart (1986, pp. 217-218) emphasize that these generations' distinctive presences correspond to unique periods in history:

> From a generational perspective, the dynamics of the formation of political generations appear to be that historical circumstances (especially population growth, urbanization, industrialization, economic depression, unemployment, technological change, nationalism, and cultural change) and mobilization forces (organized networks, solidarity, charismatic leadership, intergroup competition, and conflict over political goals) have combined during certain periods in history to form active political generations.

Based on this line of thinking, this article analyzes several memoirs as subjective narratives from the early Republic of Turkey, which have the potential to complement, question, or resist official narratives. We aim to analyze the individual experiences of several people from the early Republic of Turkey by clearly scrutinizing their social backgrounds, places of birth, and economic statuses, for these larger sociohistorical entities shape a generation's biographical and autobiographical narratives.

The Generation of the First Intellectuals of the Early Republic of Turkey

Generation is a collective issue, in which a group of people share a similar social location, past, beliefs, choices, lifestyles, and future projections. Like every collectivity, a generation is built upon an umbrella identity that is molded by a sense of belonging. This feeling of collective attachment translates into a social, historical, political, cultural,

and even linguistic togetherness that renders singularities into collectiveness, in which "'I' is simultaneously 'we'" (Nora, 1996, p. 526). However, as stated, when a generation is considered not only a biological but also a social entity, it becomes clear that not every period in history could create memorable generations. Yet, we can easily assert that the founding members of the Turkish Republic who were born between the 1880s and 1900s definitely formed a generation. These people experienced the euphoria of a revolution that transformed the empire from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy and later the disappointment with the unfulfillment of their expectations, lost the geography in which they were born and raised – their homeland – in the Balkan Wars, witnessed the fall of the empire which they strived hard to protect in World War I, fought the War of Independence and consequently founded a new republic out of a fallen empire, struggled to sustain this new state whose demography changed radically due to deportation and population exchange, and switched from being the saviors of a declining empire to becoming the pillars of a newly-founded republic. They were active agents throughout this overwhelming wave of political, demographic, and socioeconomic transformation: the last generation of a dying empire and the first generation of a rising republic.

The intellectuals that we analyze for this article wrote or published their memories or narratives at different times. Karaosmanoğlu's novels *Yaban* and *Ankara* were written in 1932 and 1934, respectively, in the early Republican period. Thus, carrying a heavier emotional baggage, they reflect both the enthusiasm and disappointment of the moment. Baltacıoğlu, too, wrote his memories within the early Republican era. He published his memoirs as a series of articles in the *Yeni Adam* magazine between 1938 and 1941. The fact that he wrote his autobiography within the temporal limits of the early Republican era might be the reason why he generally abstains from mentioning politics in his memories. Yücel's book *Geçtiğim Günlerden* is based on the recompilation of his memoirs written in 1952, whereas the memoirs of Yalman and Balkır were written in the late 1960s. Aydemir's *Suyu Arayan Adam* was first published in 1959. The memoirs and biographies of this generation of intellectuals reflect their efforts to not only write their personal histories but also remember the era and events that underlined their personal histories – the second constitutional period, the First World War, the War of Independence, and the era of the early Republic. For these four intellectuals, this act of remembrance and narration happened in the 1950s and 1960s, which was a period of rapid socioeconomic transformation for Turkey.

The appearance of these memoirs contributed to the creation of the generation of the first intellectuals of Turkey because a generation is more the present's creation than a past phenomenon. In an article on the collective memory of Che Guevara, sociologists Jeff A. Larson and Omar Lizardo (2007, p. 432) state that "[b]ecause they must be created and recreated, collective memories of the past are subject to the social forces of the present. Because they empower collective identities and animate action, they themselves are social forces of the present." Given the assertion that memory is a work of the present, moreover that "generational views are… under constant review and discussion in the present" (Bodnar, 1996, p. 636), it is safe to state that a generation is nothing but a retrospective "organization of collective memory" (Eyerman and Turner, 1998, p. 93). Following this point of view, the members of each generation are the organizers of their

own generation. Through the lenses of collective memory, the emergence of a generation happens at the point of the "generation becoming aware of its historicity" (Reulecke, 2010, p. 123). In other words, the members of a generation become their generation's own creators. As Nora (1996, pp. 528-531) asserts, the generational "play goes on, and it is up to each generation to rewrite its generational history." In the meantime, subjective and individual memories turn into a historical narrative, everyone becoming "his or her own historian." Therefore, in the autobiographies of the intellectuals of the early Republic of Turkey, we witness not only a writing of the period's history, but also the self-formation of a generation through the construction of this historicity in the 1930s, 1950s, and 1960s.

Zürcher (2010a, pp. 171-172) has built up a profile for Young Turks by listing their common characteristics. These people were all Muslim men born between 1875 and 1885. They were all born in cities to educated families in the Balkans, Aegean region, or Istanbul. They all had been educated in Westernized schools of higher education. After their education, they all worked in civil service. While our sample is not as neat as Zürcher's, we, too, can detect certain common characteristics. The six intellectuals that we analyzed were born between 1886 and 1902. They all were educated in Westernized public schools. They all worked in public service. They all witnessed and participated in the radical transformations of their age. Last but not least, they all were intellectually influential people who left their traces in the intellectual and educational history of Turkey.

To begin with, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu was born in 1886 in Istanbul. He attended Vefa High School (*Vefa İdadisi*) and then graduated from the science department at Dârülfünûn. After his graduation, he was sent by the state to Europe to conduct research in the area of pedagogy. He was the dean of the Faculty of Literature at Dârülfünûn between 1920 and 1923 and the president between 1923 and 1925. After the university reform of 1933, he was disaffiliated from the university; however, his influence over the intellectual sphere continued through journals, especially the periodical of *Yeni Adam*. He was reinstated as a professor at the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography at Ankara University in 1942 and became the deputy between 1943 and 1950 (Baltacıoğlu, 1998).

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu was born in 1889 in Cairo, but he was originally from a wealthy family in Manisa, a city in the Aegean region. He dropped out of law school in Istanbul to professionally engage in literature. On the one hand, he was a diplomat and deputy. On the other hand, Karaosmanoğlu penned several novels and stories, which have been socially and intellectually influential not only in the early Republic but also even today (Aktaş, 2014, pp. 9-34). Hasan Âli Yücel was born in 1897 in Istanbul. Like Baltacıoğlu, he also attended Vefa High School. After high school, he graduated from the Teachers' Training College of Cağaoğlu (*Cağaloğlu Darülmuallimîn-i Aliyye*) and department of philosophy at the Faculty of Literature at Istanbul University. He worked first as a teacher and then he served as the Minister of Education between 1938 and 1946, which allowed him to actively shape the Turkish educational system. Besides his contributions to education, the translations of world classics that he commissioned during his service as a minister also have contributed to the Turkish intellectual sphere (Bora, 2021).

Şevket Süreyya Aydemir was born in the same year as Yücel, in 1897, in a city approximately 240 kilometers away from Yücel's, in Edirne. He was born to an

impoverished family. He first attended military school, then transitioned to a non-military one. He had his higher education in Russia. He worked as a bureaucrat in public service. He joined a group of intellectuals along with Karaosmanoğlu who published the *Kadro* journal (Aydemir, 2004). Süleyman Edip Balkır was born in 1902 in Bursa. He graduated from teachers' training college in Bursa and then worked as a teacher and an educational inspector. He was the founding president of the Arifiye Village Institute (Balkır, 2022). Lastly, Ahmet Emin Yalman was born in 1888 in Thessaloniki. After being educated in Thessaloniki, he attended the German school in Istanbul. He worked as a translator at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After finishing his undergraduate studies at Columbia University in the area of sociology and history, he also completed his doctoral degree. After 1907, he engaged in journalism and published newspapers, such as *Vakit*, *Vatan*, *Tan*, and *Yeniden Vatan* (Yalman, 1970a).

All six intellectuals worked in the civil service which allowed them to influence public affairs, the intellectual sphere, or the educational system. As civil servants, i.e., teachers, professors, bureaucrats, inspectors, and translators, they left their intellectual and political footprints in the period of the early Republic. Three of them had a greater say in politics: Baltacıoğlu was elected as a member of the parliament for two terms between 1943 and 1950; Karaosmanoğlu worked as a parliamentarian and a diplomat for many years; and Yücel, besides serving as a minister, was elected as a member of the parliament in 1935. Yet, while these six individuals shared certain characteristics, they also had their differences in terms of birth dates, professions, or interest in politics.

If the concept of generation was merely handled as a biological entity determined by a shared geography and birth time, we would not be able to review these six intellectuals as members of the same generation. While Yalman, Baltacıoğlu, and Karaosmanoğlu were born in the second half of the 1880s, Yücel, Aydemir, and Balkır were born either in the second half of the 1890s or at the beginning of the 1900s. Yet, as mentioned, Mannheim states that being born around the same time is not sufficient to form a generation; co-experiencing significant socioeconomic changes, political ruptures, wars, demographic transformations, or industrialization processes assembles a group of people into a generation. In other words, generation is not only a biological but also a socio-political phenomenon. In addition to being born around the same time, also going through the same social traumas, being affected by the same socioeconomic processes, and having similar fears and dreams bring people together under the same roof of generation. Following this discussion, the memoirs and autobiographies that are analyzed for this study reveal a generational pattern, i.e., a convergence of memories of the six intellectuals who were born in different decades. In this regard, similar memories and narrations of significant events by these six intellectuals despite their diverging birth times and experiences show us that these people became a generation through experiencing not only the same events but also similar feelings. One example is the shared enthusiasm for the proclamation of the second constitutional era and a co-experienced change of sentiments from enthusiasm to disappointment afterward.

The constitutional movement, which was specifically effective in the Balkan provinces, under the leadership of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* or CUP) led to the proclamation of the second constitutional period in 1908. Freedom,

equality, fraternity and justice became the slogans of the constitutional regime against the absolute monarchy of the period of Abdülhamit II (Kansu, 2005). New methods of political participation like strikes and boycotts were developed, many newspapers were published, and associations and political parties were established in the first years of constitutional period (Çetinkaya, 2004). However, this liberal political environment did not last long. On one hand, the 31 March rebellion aiming to overthrow the constitutional regime demonstrated the weakness of the social base of the new regime, and on the other, the fierce rivalry between the CUP and the Party of Freedom and Accord (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* or PFA) prioritized the power struggle over social transformations and liberties, a tendency that was symbolized with undemocratic elections and political assassinations. After the loss of lands during the Balkan Wars, the CUP seized power with an armed raid on the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı Âli Baskını*) in January 1913 and formed a single party regime. Both the loss of lands and the single party regime of the Unionists turned the hope of transformation created by the constitutional period into disappointment (Ahmad, 1969).

The proclamation of the second constitutional period has similar connotations, albeit varying weights in the memories of all six intellectuals. In Baltacıoğlu's memories, political developments mostly remain in the background rather than dominating the narrative; yet, Baltacıoğlu (1998, pp. 83-84), born in 1886, remembers joy and celebrations in the streets of Istanbul during the proclamation. Yücel (1990, pp. 139-141), born approximately a decade after Baltacıoğlu in 1897, also remembers the celebrations that brought joy and liveliness to Istanbul. Yücel adds a dimension of equality to his memories because for him constitutionalism would create equality in society: even the children of the Sultan's aides would be equal with other children at schools. Yücel's contemporary, Aydemir (2004, pp. 44-46), too, narrates the joyful celebrations in the streets of Edirne, to which he also joined, at the beginning of the constitutional regime. Yalman (1970a, pp. 62-65), who was born two years after Baltacıoğlu in 1888, uses similar terminology in his narration of constitutionalism bringing joy and liberty to the streets of Istanbul; additionally, his profession as a journalist led him to recount the progressively liberalizing publishing and journalism under the constitutional order.

While they were born in different decades, Aydemir, Yücel, and Yalman's disappointment with the process of constitutionalism, though originating from different reasons, converge in memory. Yücel's father, who had not been a member of the CUP, was demoted from being an inspector to a postal officer after the proclamation and was suspended when he refused the demotion. Although the suspension negatively affected the family's living standards, Yücel continued to support the Unionists. However, he also criticized the Unionists for showing their generation what freedom was and taking back that freedom before everyone could sufficiently enjoy it. Therefore, according to him, the freedom of constitutionalism was not genuine because it could be granted or taken back (Yücel, 1990, pp. 143-151). Aydemir's account is more pessimistic. He narrates that the constitutional period commenced with the slogans of liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice, but in the process first lost fraternity and later equality and justice, thus degrading into the slogan of "either freedom or death" during the Ottoman-Italian War in Tripoli and the Balkan Wars, but then freedom also lost its meaning, and the only thing that remained

was death (Aydemir, 2004, pp. 47-48). Yalman (1970a, p. 77) asserts that the joy of liberty in constitutionalism was damaged by political ambitions. The competition between the CUP and PFA, the unsuccessful armed insurrection of March 31 aiming to overthrow the constitutional regime, and political assassinations ended the hope of freedom in the country. Under these unhopeful circumstances, Yalman decided to go abroad for his graduate education.

The fact that these intellectuals, who were born in different decades and had different experiences, narrate significant fault lines in history such as the proclamation of constitutionalism and the process afterward with similar emotions, interpretations, and sometimes even with similar wording shows that these people belong to the same generation. The joy they felt during the proclamation of constitutionalism, the sorrow they endured during World War I, and the agency they shouldered within the new Republic gathered them together as a generation. To be clear, this convergence in memory and sentiment by no means meant uniformity in life and memoirs. Concerning memoirs, for instance, in Baltacıoğlu's (1998) memories political developments remain in the background. Although he was a member of the parliament in the 1940s, politics was not the main determining factor. Aydemir (2004), too, gives politics and political events a secondary place in his memories, unless they affected society and his life; he rather focuses on his "search of water," which coincided with the demise of an empire, the foundation of a Republic, and building of a nation. On the contrary, Karaosmanoğlu's political memories (1991a) are full of events and the tension of real politics; yet, his novels (1986; 1991b) provide a stage for his sociological observations and analyses.

Mapping a genealogy of a generation based on this heterogeneity in memories is beyond this article's modest area of analysis. Yet, generations open ground for generalizations. This article now proceeds to discuss two common elements – which Zürcher (2010b) has elaborated in his article – that surface in these memoirs and autobiographies: the strangeness towards Anatolia and education as a means to develop and create a homeland from Anatolia.

Territory Unknown: A New Motherland

Zürcher's analysis about birthplaces applies also to our sample of six intellectuals. The birthplaces of six intellectuals – Istanbul (x2), Edirne, Thessaloniki, Bursa, and Manisa (While Karaosmanoğlu was born in Cairo, he was a member of a wealthy family from Manisa and spent his youth between Egypt, Manisa, and Izmir) – were clustered in Western Anatolia and the Balkans and differed from most of Anatolia, which would become the mainland of the republic, geographically and culturally. These six historical figures were born in the Marmara region, Aegean region, and the Balkans, which had weak cultural and economic ties to Anatolia. Considering it as a whole, this was the territory on which the Ottoman State established its economic and cultural relations with European countries; therefore, this region had a consistent socioeconomic and cultural integrity. Thus, the loss of a part of this region, the Balkans, in the Balkan Wars and World War I was both an economic loss for the new Republic and a social trauma for its founders (Zürcher, 2010a). For instance, the loss of the Balkan lands was an agonizing trauma for Aydemir (2004, pp. 53-54), although the city where he was born and raised – Edirne – remained a part of the Turkish territory after a short loss in the First Balkan War.

After the loss of lands in the Balkans and Arab Peninsula in the Balkan Wars and World War I, Anatolia became the mainland of the new Turkish Republic. The generation of the founders of the republic strived to protect, understand, and rebuild Anatolia as the motherland of the new state, even though Anatolia was a strange land to them (Bora and Şen, 2009, pp. 1152-1153). As Aydemir (2004, p. 54) states, high-rank state officials of the period of the early Republic mainly were strangers to Anatolia, which was considered as the new and real base of the Turkish state and people. Moreover, Anatolia could not fulfill the political expectations of this mostly Rumelian generation. While evaluating the *Suyu Arayan Adam*, François Georgeon (2003, p. 36) identifies Aydemir as one of the emigrant intellectuals who took refuge in Anatolia as the new heartland of Turkishness because it was the only homeland that remained in their hands.

As discussed below, this feeling of strangeness towards Anatolia is a common theme in the memoirs and autobiographies that are analyzed in this article. Nevertheless, the founders of the republic, including the six intellectuals analyzed here, strived to transform this strange land into a Turkish homeland. As Zürcher (2010a, p. 120) states, "[t]he feeling that Anatolia was the 'Turk's last stand', the homeland that had to be secured at all cost, underpinned Unionists and, later, Kemalist attempts to homogenize the population of Anatolia and turn it into a land for Turks only." The tools of demographic homogenization such as deportation and population exchange gave the new Republic a Turkish character. The founders of the Republic considered education as one of the most efficient weapons to provide this new character with a national sprit.

Baltacıoğlu's first encounter with Anatolia took place during World War I in 1917. He visited Izmir, Ankara, Afyon, and Konya as the secretary of the National Board of Education and Morality (*Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti*). He gave lectures and collected ethnographical data. A more consistent and comprehensive acquaintance happened during the War of Independence. Accepting the call from Hamdullah Suphi, Ankara government's Minister of Education, Baltacıoğlu went to Ankara in 1921; he was assigned the duty of giving lectures in the cities of Nevşehir, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Sivas, Tokat, Amasya, and Samsun on the subjects of Turkishness and Anatolia. This was one of the earliest attempts of the people, who after fighting the War of Independence would establish the Republic, to get to know Anatolia and introduce themselves to Anatolia. Baltacıoğlu discovered Anatolia while he was giving those lectures. He appreciated the architecture in Niğde and Hacıbektaş, likened Tokat's geographical features to Switzerland, and above all faced Anatolian peasants for the first time. He was very impressed with the fact that they did not comprehend reality through concepts as academics did, but grasped reality through simple experience (Baltacıoğlu, 1998: 240-257). For Baltacıoğlu, Anatolian peasants were the natural teachers of life. This revelation would affect the pedagogical approach of Baltacıoğlu and lead him to adopt the principle of education by practice. This pedagogical approach later would be adopted by the Village Institutes.

Karaosmanoğlu's (1991b) observations of Anatolia in his novel *Yaban* differ from Baltacıoğlu's positive experiences. *Yaban,* which was published first in 1932*,* is based on Karaosmanoğlu's observations during his work as an official inspector in Anatolia in 1921 (Akı, 1960, p.120). Ahmet Celal, the main character of the novel who was born and raised in Istanbul as the child of a pasha, loses one of his arms in World War I. After

the war, he settles in a village by the Porsuk River, where one of his subordinate soldiers lives. This was Ahmet Celal's first encounter with the Anatolian people. Although the village is occupied by Greek forces, the peasants do not show any opposition to the occupation. Here, Ahmet Celal realizes that these people have not had any concept of homeland beyond their fields. These people, who have been enslaved by bigotry and hearsay, live in a distant era from the intellectuals of the country as if they have been frozen at a point in time. Karaosmanoğlu's observations in *Yaban* are the manifestation of an intellectual's disappointment with Anatolia and its people.

Balkır's memories go parallel with Karaosmanoğlu's observations in terms of the Anatolian people's reaction against foreign occupation. Differently from Karaosmanoğlu's, the events that Balkır narrated did not occur at a place strange to him. During the War of Independence, he was working as a teacher in Bursa where he was born and raised. Balkır (2022, pp. 70-78) narrates that the religious officials in the village where he has taught have got wealthy by supporting the Greek occupants and blamed patriots, who have opposed the occupation and strived to lift the morale of the locals, for irreligiosity. Balkır himself had become a target of the local armed groups supporting the occupation and had to leave the village.

Within the context of meeting Anatolia, Aydemir's memories provide vivid narratives. About his first encounter with Anatolia as a soldier afield in World War I, he writes "Our feet now touched the land. This land was bare and harsh. Yet, this was our land." For Aydemir, who fought as a soldier at the Caucasian front, Eastern Anatolia geographically was very different from Thrace. However, meeting the Anatolian people was much more striking than meeting the Anatolian geography. Soldiers, who perceived Turkishness as an insult, could not name their religion as Islam or know their prophet and this empuzzled Aydemir (2004, pp. 102-104).

When he got sentenced as a political prisoner, prison became the second area in which he could get to know the Anatolian people closely. He narrates his observations on Anatolian peasants again very vividly:

> Infertile land, seminomadic peasantry, ceaseless jostles and scuffles caused the border lines of fields, pastures, and farms to constantly change. Then, power relations and conflicts of coercion. Dynasties, sheiks, religious orders and, finally, a government and an order of law which functioned with their cogwheels clashing. Above all, unprecedented backwardness and primitiveness. It was obvious that the clay of blood that is called the Turkish nation was pressed, ruined, and changed shapes in a centuries-old disorder that had been called order. The laws of the land were antiquated and inappropriate. The order of family was complicated. Religious law became a toy in the hands of the mullahs in villages acting as paid servants to village headmen and ignorant muftis in towns. Dervish lodges and religious orders already have been corrupted, fallen. The government and the people remained ununited. This society was destitute and in need of a revolution. Not a demolishing one turning everything upside down, but a clearing and organizing revolution… (Aydemir, 2004, p. 392).

Despite their great disappointment with the Anatolian people, both Karaosmanoğlu in his novel and Aydemir in his memoirs assert that not the Anatolian people but intellectuals are to be blamed for this disappointment. Ahmet Celal's disillusionment with Anatolian peasants who guide occupants, run away from soldiers, and serve religious men is agonizing; however, he abstains from blaming peasants and puts responsibility on

intellectuals who have not been able to reach these peasants socially and intellectually (Karaosmanoğlu, 1991b: 110-111). Similarly, Aydemir (2004: 106-108) apologizes to soldiers on the World War I front who have been unaware of their religious and national identities because it is the state that has not provided them with schools and mosques. According to Aydemir, the state was responsible for the agony of the peasants that he encountered in prison. His solution to this socioeconomic agony was a statist revolution which would be unradical (not socialist) but reconstruct the system. In this regard, in the 1930s, Aydemir and Karaosmanoğlu crossed paths with each other in the foundation of the journal of *Kadro*, which proposed a third way of development that was neither socialist nor capitalist (Tekeli and İlkin, 2003). The name of the journal implied that the country needed a *cadre* that would realize this proposed way of development. This was, in fact, a yearning for a new cadre or a new generation of intellectuals that would enlighten Anatolian people and reconstruct Anatolia as a homeland.

What is intriguing in these memories about Anatolia is that all these intellectuals' encounters with Anatolia occurred at the time of World War I or afterward. This was a time when it became clear that the empire would collapse and the new state that would be established after the War of Independence would accept Anatolia as its center. The intellectuals of the late Ottoman Empire witnessed the disintegration of a state and the homogenization of a population; this historical disruption led them to dream and strive for a new homeland – unknown – with a new people – unmet. A number of intellectuals of the early Turkish Republic, such as Baltacıoğlu, turned this strangeness into a new pedagogical understanding. However, some intellectuals, such as Karaosmanoğlu and Aydemir, not only struggled to build a new republic and turn it into a homeland for all but also suffered from a grievous disillusionment with this new homeland and its people. The Anatolian people they had just met were mostly insensitive to foreign occupation; they were indifferent to the outside world that remained distant from their narrow horizons. They were unaware of the fact that Izmir, Diyarbakır, Samsun, and Sivas were not disconnected lands, but parts of the same homeland. Time and place in Anatolia were frozen. In Karaosmanoğlu's (1991b, pp. 172-174) terms, Anatolia seemed and felt like a cemetery for living people, for the ill and the elderly, for deficient people as if they were hammered and amputated by barbarians. For this reason, it was only the land that could be salvaged. The people living on this land had to be remade (Karaömerlioğlu, 2006, p. 158). The question here was how to create a unified nation out of Anatolia's disunited, battered, and ignorant people. The answer that these six intellectuals gave to this question was education. A new nation would be created through education and the main agents in this mission would be intellectuals of the new Republic. In other words, education would be a weapon in the hands of the intellectuals to build a new people and, thus, turn Anatolia from an unknown territory to a beloved homeland.

A Familiar Front: The Weapon of Education

The intellectuals of the early Republic of Turkey proposed education as a cure for both overcoming their strangeness to Anatolia and turning it into a motherland for the new Republic. Yet, education already had been a familiar tool for a number of these intellectuals before they met Anatolia. The founding generation of the republic built their

lives and careers on the Westernized education they received. Therefore, they believed in the power of education for the development and enlightenment of the country and portrayed themselves as the educators of a backward population (Zürcher, 2010b, p. 113). When he was an exile on the island of Malta, Yalman (1970b, p. 20) witnessed the French authorities' tendency to close down modern Westernized schools in the territories they occupied and he deduced from this tendency that education was theoretically the basis of national spirit. Similarly, for Balkır (2022, p. 217), education was the utmost tool to awaken the peasants and develop their socioeconomic statuses. Correspondingly, the fifth part of Balkır's memoirs is titled "In Order to Awaken the Village" with reference to İsmail Hakkı Tonguç (1939).

Aydemir considered education as a social cure as well. In the years that he followed the ideal of Pan-Turanism, Aydemir dreamt of a utopic university city, where intellectuals would learn not only scientific knowledge but also the spirit of the Turan ideal and establish the land of Turan based on this education (Aydemir, 2004, p. 155). The tool of education which was dreamt to be used to establish a Turan homeland could well be used to build an Anatolian one.

In his biography of Hasan Âli Yücel, Tanıl Bora (2021, pp. 238-239) also analyzes the importance of education and culture in the minds of the Republic's founders. In the early years of the Republic, socioeconomic constraints limiting the possibility of economic reforms or welfare policies led the Kemalists to consider culture as the basis of society. In such a context, culture combined with education became the foremost element of accumulation that would create human resources eligible for modernization. Anatolian human capital would be developed and modernized through education. First as a teacher, then as a Minister of Education, Yücel was one of the significant followers and implementers of this vision of education. In this regard, in the First Congress of Turkish Publishing (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*), Yücel asserted that only an intellectual class could enable the Turkish world to experience a Renaissance; such an intellectual class would appear only after all society read, thought, and was educated.

The common attitudes of Yalman, Balkır, Aydemir, and Yücel asserting the importance of education were not isolated. The early government of the Republic adopted education and cultural reform as a policy to unite, modernize, and secularize the Anatolian people. In the early regime of the Republic, People's Houses, which were directly linked to the single-party government, aimed to propagate the modern and secular values of the newly established Republic to the people and to fill the gap between the intellectuals and the people through educating society. People's Houses attempted to create modern public spaces in Anatolian cities by publishing periodicals, organizing conferences, staging theatre plays, and delivering literacy courses (Yeşilkaya, 2002, pp. 114-115). Academic studies on People's Houses, even though they criticize or support this historical experience, emphasize that these houses aimed to educate people to overcome the alienation between the masses and the new Republic (Şimşek, 2002; Toksoy, 2007; and Çeçen, 2018). Ultimately, People's Houses were incapable of bridging the gap between the masses and intellectuals and solving educational problems. One of the reasons for this failure was that they were not designed to train educators. The experience of Village Institutes between 1940 and 1954 struggled to overcome this problem by educating peasant children as

teachers who would educate their fellow villagers. Like People's Houses, institutes were also planned to revive Anatolian villages through education (Ateş, 2021; Karaömerlioğlu; 2006; Kirby, 2000).

The Village Institutes, which came into effect during the ministry of Yücel, aimed to develop the human capital of Turkey through the principle of education by practice. Correspondingly, Yücel describes institutes as "human factories" (Bora, 2021: 335). Balkır also contributed to the Village Institutes' practice as the founding president of the Arifiye Village Institute. His memories also touch upon educational practices and targets before the establishment of the institutes. The courses, which originally aimed to train corporals and sergeants who returned to their villagers, were transformed into more institutionalized educational courses. These courses were designed to raise students from villages as teachers to be assigned to their own villages. Balkır was the principal of the training courses that raised village teachers first in Mahmudiye / Eskişehir (for children from Eskişehir, Afyon, and Ankara) and then in Kastamonu (for children from Zonguldak, Sinop, and Kastamonu). In these courses, peasants not only learned to read and write and the basic knowledge of history, math, etc., but also modern agricultural techniques. Teachers who graduated from these courses would build schools in their own villages. Education was the most effective tool to create rural development by educating villagers and utilizing rural resources (Balkır, 2022, pp. 294-365).

Balkır's memories make it clear that educational practices in the early era of the Republic were not restricted to lectures in classes. Educational practices had a significant role in the rebuilding of Anatolia. Balkır's wife delivered tailoring courses for women in Mahmudiye. Teachers and students of the Mahmudiye educational course drained marshes that were infested with mosquitos in order to provide a healthier living environment. Similarly, in Kastamonu, the bricks that would be used to construct the school building were made by teachers themselves; this was celebrated as "a great initiative: an epic brick story" (Balkır, 2022, p. 307). Balkır's experiences from the 1930s would turn into the more institutionalized practice of the Village Institutes in the 1940s.

Balkır's memories as an educator indicate that the founders of the Republic considered education as a significant tool to rebuild Anatolia and turn it into a motherland. Education meant learning not only how to read and write, but also to acquire skills in modern agricultural techniques to use the soil more efficiently, to remove unhealthy environmental conditions that lowered living quality, and to carry out production that civilization necessitated. The area where the Arifiye Village Institute would be established was likened to a cemetery due to the existence of mosquitoes and bedbugs; the Arifiye Village Institute had transformed this "cemetery" into an education center by rendering the environment healthy and bringing education to its people (Aydoğan, 2020, p. 45).

The initiative of education that would illuminate Anatolia with a national spirit necessitated the presence of an intellectual class. In his novel *Yaban*, Karaosmanoğlu narrates how Anatolia turned into a land of darkness, barrenness, and despair in the absence of such a class. In another of his novels depicting a utopia, called *Ankara* (Karaosmanoğlu, 1986), he recounts how Anatolia has been transformed in the presence of an intellectual class after the foundation of the Republic. In the first part of the novel, during the War of Independence, Selma and her husband Nazif has moved from Istanbul to Ankara;

however, life in Ankara is hard as compared to the vivid life in Istanbul. Meanwhile, Selma meets Major Hakkı, who has been fighting in the War of Independence. Hakkı symbolizes the national will that carried out the national struggle and Selma's affair with Hakkı is an indication of her union with this national spirit. The second part of the novel is a stage for the relationship of Selma and Hakkı in the first years of the Republic. After the war, Hakkı puts on civilian clothes and the war hero degenerates into a self-seeking bureaucrat. The third part of the novel portrays Ankara of the 1930s and focuses on the marriage of Selma and Neşet Sabit. Neşet Sabit is an ideal prototype of the generation of intellectuals, whose lack has been desperately felt in *Yaban*. Anatolia has been developed by statist reforms and construction operations. The whole of Anatolia has been connected via iron nets of railways. The whole of Anatolia has been developed by implementing particular development plans for different regions. The central Anatolian economy is based on animal husbandry and artisanship, whereas Western Anatolian villages have reached the level of the European ones. Peasants no longer burn turds to get warm, have thrown away the fezes on their heads, and become modernized in human affairs as a consequence of this material and cultural transformation. Ankara has been transformed from a barren town with no electricity and running water to a modernized city abounding with musical, cultural, and sportive activities. Selma is no longer a stranger to Ankara, which symbolizes Anatolia, but a proud and hardworking member of this city, country, and nation. *Ankara* is a utopia of a new Anatolia transformed and modernized through education. (Karaosmanoğlu, 1986).

Karaosmanoğlu wrote *Ankara*, two years after *Yaban*. *Ankara* is an assertion that it was the existence of intellectuals like Neşet Sabit that led to the transformation of Anatolia from its dark and stagnant state in *Yaban* to its modern and civilized form in *Ankara*. Education was the most efficient way for the realization of this fictional transformation and the intellectuals that are analyzed in this article had the necessary means. Yücel was the Minister of Education, Balkır was the principal of the Arifiye Village Institute, Karaosmanoğlu was one of the most famous writers of Turkish literature in the early period of the Republic, and Baltacıoğlu was an academic. The reconstruction of Anatolia through education and their active agency was the most efficient way to develop a familiarity with Anatolia as well. Education was necessary not only for the development of Anatolia but also for the overcoming of the strangeness of Anatolia.

Conclusion

This article aimed to scrutinize the memories of six intellectuals who played important roles in the cultural life of the early history of the Republic. While analyzing their memories, the term generation was employed as a conceptual framework. Generation is a biological concept linked to the time of birth; however, this article used this concept in a broader sense. Concerning Mannheim, it is asserted that actual participation in the shared experience of socio-political change is an important criterion for being a member of a generation. Historical moments of socioeconomic or political transformation, accompanied by shared experiences, feelings, ideas, future projections, or traumas, provide an appropriate ground for the emergence of a generation. In this regard, the founding members of the Turkish Republic who were born between the 1880s and 1900s

formed a generation. These people experienced a revolution that transformed the empire from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, endured wars that lasted for approximately a decade and witnessed the fall of the Ottoman Empire as a result of these wars and the birth of the Turkish Republic. They not only witnessed great demographic and geographical changes but also actively participated in the building of a new state.

The memories and autobiographies of Aydemir, Balkır, Baltacıoğlu, Karaosmanoğlu, Yalman and Yücel indicate some ruptures and continuities. While Aydemir's *Suyu Arayan Adam* excellently reflects the political quests of his generation, Baltacıoğlu's autobiography limitedly dealt with the political developments of the period. Whereas Yalman's memories cover nearly all of his life, Yücel's memories are limited to his childhood and youth. Despite these dissimilarities, two important themes come to the forefront within these memories: these intellectuals' strangeness to Anatolia and the role of education in socio-cultural development.

In parallel with Zürcher's above-mentioned analysis of the geographical origin of the Young Turks and the founding generation of the new republic, these six intellectuals, who were born and grew up in the western part of the empire, were not familiar with Anatolia. Meeting with Anatolia in the second half of the 1910s (during or after World War I) is one of the common themes in all of the memories. Furthermore, this strange geography would be the homeland of the new republic. These intellectuals strived to overcome both their alienation from Anatolia and the socio-economic backwardness of this geography. Due to their cultural capital, these intellectuals underlined the role of education as a cure for the socioeconomic backwardness of Anatolia. Their memories imply that the enlightenment of Anatolia via education was important not only for Anatolia's development but also for the overcoming of their strangeness to this geography. Developing Anatolia socioeconomically, reconstructing it as a modernized and secularized country, and turning it into a motherland for all: the mission shouldered by the founders of the Republic was hard and the solution they came up with was cultural revolution through education.

Endnotes:

1   *"Ayaklarımız artık toprağa basıyordu. Bu toprak çıplak ve haşindi. Fakat ne yapalım ki bizim toprağımız buydu,"* translation ours.

2   *"Kısır toprak, yarı göçebe bir köylülük, birbirleriyle hiç durmadan itişen, kakışan ve böylelikle de sınır çizgileri her gün değişen tarlalar, meralar, çiftlikler üzerindeki kavgalar. Sonra nüfuz ve zorbalık çekişmeleri. Hanedanlar, şeyhler, tarikatlar ve nihayet, çarkları birbirine çarparak işleyen bir hükümet ve kanun düzeni. Hepsinin üstünde de, hepsine damgasını vuran görülmemiş bir gerilik ve iptidailik. Görülüyordu ki, adına Türk milleti denilen soy hamur, yüzyıllardan sürüp gelen ve adına düzen denilen bir düzensizlik içinde eziliyor, bozuluyor, şekilden şekle giriyordu. Toprak kanunları eskimişti ve uygunsuzdu. Aile nizamı karışıktı. Şeriat köyde köy ağasının ücretli uşağı olan mollanın, kasabada cahil müftünün oyuncağı haline gelmişti. Tekkeler, tarikatlar zaten tefessüh etmiş, bitmişti. Hükümetle halk henüz kaynaşmamıştı. Bu cemiyet, bir inkılaba muhtaçtı. Yıkan ve altüst eden değil, fakat temizleyen ve düzenleyen bir inkılaba,"* translation ours.

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İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ YAYINEVİ

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How to Divide the "Indivisible Unity"? Debates on the Division of Turkey into Geographical Regions in the Early Years of the Republic

"Bölünmez Bütün"ü Nasıl Ayırmalı?
Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'nin Coğrafi Bölgelere Ayrılması Tartışmaları

Gözde Orhan [1]

Abstract

Although Turkey was officially divided into seven regions for the first time in the First Turkish Geography Congress (1941), both throughout the Ottoman Empire and following the proclamation of the Republic, many geographers, including Europeans made attempts to regionalize it. The Congress, being the one to settle on the standardization of geography education as well as zoning, gives valuable insight into the interactions between official history, geography, and national education in the modernization process. Nevertheless, the regional division began in the 1920s and discussions continued after the congress. An understanding of regional classification drawn by the natural boundaries of physical elements was preferred to make the spaces historically marked by different ethnic and cultural communities ordinary parts of a homogeneous whole and to comprehend, control, and recognize them entirely. This article problematizes the meaning and function of regional division in the political and ideological climate of the Early Republic. It reveals how modern geography is handled, on which criteria the geographical zoning is made, and the relationship of this initiative with the hegemonic historiography. This research analyzes texts on regional geography written by geographers and cartographers from the Republican era along with the records, negotiations, and decisions of the Congress.

Keywords: First Turkish Geography Congress, Geographical Regions, geographical zoning

Öz

Türkiye resmen ilk kez Birinci Türk Coğrafya Kongresi'nde (1941) yedi bölgeye ayrılmış olsa da hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu süresince hem de Cumhuriyet'in ilanından sonra Avrupalılar da dahil olmak üzere birçok coğrafyacı tarafından bölgelendirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Coğrafya eğitiminin standartlaştırılması ve ülkenin coğrafi bölgelere ayrılması konusunu ele alan kongre, modernleşme sürecinde resmi tarih, coğrafya ve milli eğitim arasındaki ilişkilere dair önemli veriler sunar. Ancak coğrafi bölgelendirme girişimleri 1920'lerde başlamıştır ve tartışmalar kongreden sonra da devam etmiştir. Tarihsel olarak farklı etnik ve kültürel toplulukların damgasını vurduğu mekanları homojen bir bütünün sıradan parçaları haline getirmek, bunları bütünüyle kavramak, kontrol etmek ve tanımak için, fiziksel coğrafi öğelerin doğal sınırlarının çizdiği bir bölgesel sınıflandırma anlayışı tercih edilmiştir. Bu makale, erken Cumhuriyet döneminin siyasi ve ideolojik ikliminde ülkeyi bölgelere ayırmanın anlamını ve işlevini sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Modern coğrafyanın nasıl ele alındığını, coğrafi bölgelendirmenin hangi kriterlere göre yapıldığını ve bu girişimin hegemonik tarihyazımıyla ilişkisini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırmada Cumhuriyet dönemi coğrafyacılarının ve haritacılarının bölgesel coğrafyaya ilişkin yazdıkları metinler ile Kongre kayıtları, müzakereleri ve kararları incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Birinci Türk Coğrafya Kongresi, coğrafi bölgeler, bölgelendirme

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Introduction

While history and geography began to institutionalize almost at the same time after the establishment of the Republic, very little interest in historiography and the discipline of history within the research on the Republican period has turned to the development and instrumentalization of the discipline of geography. However, it is possible to observe the traces of many political and social policies identified with the early years of the Republic in the institutionalization process of geography. Strategies and processes such as constructing and teaching the perception of borders, expanding the policy of Turkification, making the Turkish language an everyday language for all regions, and shaping the frontiers of regions went hand in hand with the evolution of geography as well as the development of official history. This paper aims to scrutinize the meaning and function of geographical zoning in the political and ideological climate of the Early Republican period and reveals the continuity between the Ottoman and Republican periods in their shared interest in geography. It seeks to uncover how modern geography was discussed in the nation-building process, what criteria the geographical zoning was based on, and the relationship of this initiative with the hegemonic history and education approaches.

The study will first focus on the geography texts written before and after the First Turkish Geography Congress. Although the Congress is speculated to be the root of the concept of 'region', this article is not chiefly about it; instead, the Congress serves as an aid which makes it easier for us to comprehend the perspective of the geographers which this piece is centered around. The paper rather problematizes how the notion of the region was perceived and communicated to society during the single-party period. The Congress's reports, negotiations, and decisions unveil how the zoning was designed and structured for each region, how the decisions were justified, and how these decisions were made known to large segments by public education. Nevertheless, to make sense of the attempts to divide the country into geographical regions, I think a critical analysis of the geographers' and cartographers' mentality of the period should be conducted. Hence, by looking at the selected books of three important researchers who attended the congress, I intend to gain insight into the ideological and scientific perspectives of the geographers of the Republican period. While doing this, I aim to demonstrate how the process of institutionalization of geography with the claim of being scientific and the policies of Turkification symbolized by maps and borders were intertwined in this era.

The three geographers whose works I have chosen to examine are Hamit Sadi Selen (1892-1968), Besim Darkot (1903-1990), and Faik Sabri (Duran) (1882-1943). Upon completing his doctoral studies in the Department of Geography at the University of Vienna with his dissertation entitled "Tarihî Belgelere göre Anadolu'da Türklük" (Turkishness in Anatolia According to Historical Documents), Selen authored *İktisadi Coğrafya* (Economic Geography) (1926), *İktisadi Türkiye* (Turkey from an Economic Perspective) (1932), *Türkiye Coğrafyasının Ana Hatları* (Outline of Turkish Geography) (1945), *Dünya Ticareti* (World Trade) (1946) and *Ticaret Tarihi* (History of Commerce) (1938). Secondly, Faik Sabri, who was among the first Ottoman student groups to visit Paris in 1909, had a great enthusiasm for the discipline of geography and furthered his understanding of it by attending classes at the Sorbonne. In addition to encyclopedias, atlases, and textbooks for both children and adults, he released booklets that introduced

the countries that would participate in the Second World War. His most celebrated work, *Türkiye Coğrafyası* (Geography of Turkey) (1929), was widely published and circulated for a considerable number of years. The third geographer I researched is Besim Darkot. Having had French lessons from a young age, Darkot pursued his studies in geography and history at the University of Strasbourg in France. Besides his pedagogical writings on the proper method of teaching geography, he also produced numerous works on physical and historical geography such as *Türkiye Coğrafyası* (Geography of Turkey) (1942), *Kartografya Dersleri* (Cartography Lessons) (1947), Türkiye İktisadi Coğrafyası (Turkey's Economic Geography) (1955).

While Faik Sabri and Besim Darkot adhered to the principles of the French school, Hamit Sadi Selen was under the influence of the German-Austrian school. As a result of this, Selen "is interested in the natural environment only in proportion to its relevance to human activities and attaches particular importance to the historical view" while Faik Sabri "successfully maintains the balance between physical and human geography" (Erinç, 1973, p. 12). Besim Darkot, on the other hand, initially dedicated his professional career to physical geography, however, following 1945 he shifted his focus to human and historical geography.

I aim to elucidate two debates by concentrating on the works of the three geographers I have chosen. First, as many other researchers state, the strategy of dividing the territory into regions presents a continuity from the Ottoman Empire to Turkey. Nonetheless, I maintain that scientific knowledge is adapted to align with the current needs of the states in question. Secondly, by examining the discipline of geography, I assert that 'science' was a key factor in the formation of the new Republic's political landscape. In other words, science did not replace the political; instead, it acted as a catalyst for the political mechanisms.

It can be said that most academic sources on Turkish geography and the geographical division of Turkish territory are mainly theses and other publications originating from the educational sciences departments of universities. These institutions encompass a broad range of topics related to geography. These sources tend to break down the history of geography education in Turkey into distinct periods and recognize the First Turkish Geography Congress as the beginning of a new period (Koçman & Sutgıbı, 2004); (Ertek, 2011); (Karakuş, 2012); (Gümüşçü & Özür, 2016) (Özçağlar, 2020). The most significant reason for this framework is that Hasan Ali Yücel, the minister of education at the time, personally organized the Congress. On the other hand, discussing how geography education should be and determining the curriculum were among the primary objectives of the Congress. Thus, the goal and agenda of the congress, as well as the process of institutionalization of the geography discipline throughout Turkey garnered the most attention from the educational faculties.

Rarely are there any studies that explore the institutionalization of geography in light of the political paradigm of the period. In her book *Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a* Sezgi Durgun touches on the importance of the geography congress in the nation-building process. Durgun draws attention to the fact that the borders of the motherland differed in the process following the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, and therefore the field of cartographic struggle also transformed. The book, which also briefly deals with the

First Turkish Geography Congress, differs from other geography studies by revealing that space is always physically and discursively constructed by the state and reconstructed according to changing political conditions and actors (Durgun, 2011). Another notable study is Behlül Özkan's dissertation published by Yale University Press. He analyzes the development of national spatial consciousness within Turkey by focusing on the concept of *vatan* and demonstrating the role of this concept in not only foreign policy but also in a critical socio-spatial context. In the third part of his work, he compares the geography texts published before and after the proclamation of the Republic and unearths the place of geography education in the construction of Turkish nationalism (Özkan, 2012).

Considering the nationalist and modernist paradigm of the period, which Sezgi Durgun and Behlül Özkan focused on, I aim to understand how and from which needs the territory, whose integrity is an indisputable presupposition, was zoned. I aim to comprehend how geographers and cartographers of the period approached the concept of the region, and what criteria and priorities were taken into account when establishing the regions. I believe that by looking between the lines of the texts of these intellectuals, who were simultaneously loyal to the positivist and scientific thought of the West and strongly connected to Turkish nationalism, we can discover some information that cannot be obtained from the reports.

Geography From an Imperial Fantasy to a National Rationality

For many years, the Ottoman dynasty had a grip on the important commercial zones, yet as a result of geographical discoveries that changed the direction of the trade routes, it suffered a significant loss of customs revenues. With the influx of copious amounts of gold and silver from colonized lands into Europe, the worldwide economic landscape was drastically altered. On the other hand, the costs of maintaining the Ottoman palace and waging war caused taxes, the only source of revenue, to be increased, putting a greater strain on the *reaya*, the primary addressee of the taxes. However, the wealth of land and sea connections caused the Ottomans to focus their full attention on the world they had created and not compete in trade with Europe across the Atlantic or south of Africa (Burbank & Cooper, 2018, p. 140).

By the 17th century, the question of what would be the fate of the Empire in the face of the ever-developing West was one of the crucial issues that preoccupied the minds of Ottoman intellectuals. For example, Katip Celebi, an Ottoman polymath and author of the famous geographical work *Cihânnümâ*, was present in the committee gathered to seek remedies to improve the state's finances and he also prepared a report titled *Düstûrü'l-amel li-ıslâhi'l-halel* on this issue (Gökyay, 1986, p. 9). According to A. Adnan Adıvar, Katip Çelebi complains bitterly about the bigotry of his time and defends the need for positive sciences in his writings (Adıvar, 1982, p. 140). In the introduction to *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr*, he emphasizes the importance of geography and argues that those who govern the state should know closely, if not the whole world, at least the frontier and borders of the Ottoman Empire, and the countries in these regions: "Only then would it be easy to enter enemy countries and protect the borders," he explains. "Thanks to the importance the [European countries] gave to these sciences, the infidels found America, which is called the New World and captured the ports of the Indian lands" (Çelebi, 2018, p. 29).

In addition to Katip Çelebi, geographer and translator Ebu Bekr ed-Diminish (Ebu Bekr ibn Behram el-Dimaşki) was aware that the Ottoman Empire had lost its central position in the universe (Hagen, 2006, p. 233). Ebu Bekr ed-Diminish underscored the significance and necessity of astronomy besides geography and discussed the universe systems of prominent Western astronomers in his writings. Similarly, İbrahim Müteferrika, who made considerable additions to Katip Çelebi's *Cihânnümâ* and published it in 1732, pointed out the importance of scientific methods in general and geography in particular for the survival of the empire in the new world order. What is interesting here is that the colonialism process, enabled by the geography knowledge and techniques of the West, was defined as a success by Müteferrika and it was underlined that this method was also suitable for the Ottoman Empire:

> "Jihad is *fardh* on all Muslims against the enemies of religion and the state and knowing all aspects of the conditions of the enemy countries is the most important phase of jihad. Statesmen are personally responsible for this task. They can fulfill these obligations only by knowing geography well […] If an effort is made to spread the knowledge of geography, it will be ensured that Muslims are aware of each other and thus help each other. By joining hands and hearts of all Muslims, it will be ensured that many of them are freed from the dominion of disbelief. Thus, it is possible for Islamic countries to unite and come together under the auspices of a sultan […] In this way [via geography], the Christian states received a lot of benefits in a short time. They found the strength to travel all over the world. Now it is obvious that geography science helps to expand the borders of the state. We hope that the spread of this science in our country will cause our borders to expand in the East and West." (Müteferrika, 1995, pp. 89-90)

Although the Ottoman Empire did not have the capacity and enthusiasm to compete with European states for colonialism; geographical knowledge was regarded as one of the tools that could make the Ottomans an imperial power. For many geographers who wished the Ottoman Empire to return to its former glory, the administration should embrace rational thinking, map, and "know" first the neighboring regions and then the whole world in detail. In other words, in the context of the 17th century, geographic information was seen as the lifeline of an empire that lost blood and was trying to get back on its feet.

However, the 19th century was a period of tremendous transformation for both the rest of the world and the Ottoman state. While the Ottoman Empire of the 19th century was typically characterized as stagnant and undeveloped, the West was associated with "progress" by mainstream historiography. Selim Deringil challenges this dichotomous perspective: According to him the Ottoman state had conducted considerable reforms in education, military, and infrastructure to stay competitive with Europe (Deringil, 1998, p. 11). The reforms made during the 19th century were not solely in response to Europe's superior military and technological strength, but also a deliberate effort to understand and adopt their achievements through interaction and internalization (Makdisi, 2002, p. 769).

By the 19th century, the discipline of geography would tend to institutionalize under the influence of the modernization paradigm, and by the 20th century, it would assume new functions to meet the needs of the system of nation-states. While the Ottoman Empire was gradually disintegrating with the nationalist uprisings, the concepts of border and homeland gained a new meaning. At the end of the 18th century, the Ottoman statesmen

began to adopt the concept of "*patrie*" as it was used in Europe and put the word "*vatan*" into circulation. It was no longer where you were born and lived that mattered; it was the place where you felt devotion and loyalty (Özkan, 2012, p. 31). Considering that until the beginning of the 20th century, dozens of ethnic and religious communities had been living in the Ottoman lands, it is comprehensible why Ottomanism was defended by Ottoman intellectuals and politicians for a long time as a unifying ideology. This ideology, which refers to an idealized multiethnic and historical territory rather than the existing Ottoman country, quite narrowed by wars and independence struggles, turned into Turkish nationalism over time as mostly Turks lived in the lands left at the end of the First World War. In other words, the loss of some characteristic lands (especially the Balkans) brought with it the birth of a new paradigm based on geography that was not lost. With the establishment of the Republic, fanciful expansionist projects were largely abandoned and a nationalist outlook that was content with the Anatolian people and circumscribed by the borders of the National Pact[1] was adopted.

The historical process that I tried to summarize above raises two issues about the relationship between geography and sovereignty. First, in a time of rapid border alterations, patrie/nation consciousness was also revised and rationalized. Mustafa Kemal, criticized for agreeing to the post-war landscape, described his strategy to protect these borders as a "serious and realistic decision" (Toprak, 2020, p. 23). Second, The Treaty of Sèvres, which legitimized the sharing of the homeland by the Allies, made the idea of "geographical unity" an indisputable acceptance in the history of Turkey. Sèvres is not just an international issue that happened in 1920 and was soon overcome; it is a historical syndrome that affects the political and socio-psychological life of the nation in the following decades (Guida, 2008, p. 44). The possibility that European states might once again divide Turkey among themselves, as in Sèvres, and especially since the late 1980s, the PKK's claim to establish a separate Kurdish nation-state has made the preservation of geographical unity the most important national priority. In other words, in a context where geographical unity is equated with national unity, zoning as well as mapping are highly controversial steps.

Cartographic Discourse: Mapping and Zoning in the Nation-Building Process

As the empire gave way to nation-states, the only authority with the power to create the maps became states. They have availed themselves of cadastral systems to accomplish their two vital objectives, national defense and confirming private property rights. What kind of transformations did the idea of geographical unity go through after the proclamation of the Republic? To answer this question, one must examine the significance of cartographic representation in the nation-building process. Considering that the National Pact, like all other maps, is socially constructed, it is necessary to acknowledge that both the perception of national borders and the development of the discipline of geography are fashioned within the framework of power relations.

Since the late 1980s, it has been asserted by numerous academics that cartography

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1   Misak-ı Milli refer to territories "within the boundaries specified in the Armistice signed on October 30, 1918" and a set of principles aimed to be protected by the national struggle. (Toprak, 2020).

also belongs to the social world in which it is produced, and maps are essentially a product of the culture from which they originate (Harley, 1989) (Pickles, 2004). They pointed out the influence of power relations in this process, demonstrating that maps are not autonomous and objective images, but emphases within a broader theory of representation. Some maintain that the truth has been distorted by maps, with the intent of advancing certain states or propagandizing (Monmonier, 1991). For example, issues such as the assumption of Europe and the USA as the main points of reference on world maps (rule of ethnocentricity) (Harley, 1989), the conflict of cartographers and geographers in trying to satisfy the interests of the elites while under their patronage (Harley, 2009), the manipulation of colonized geographies to favor colonial states (Bittner & Glasze, 2021) are being scrutinized by geographers with an analytical eye.

By emulating Harley's and Pickles' enthusiasm for the works of J. Derrida and R. Barthes, can we conceive of the maps as texts that can be interpreted in multiple ways? By employing this method, one avoids giving precedence to certain forms of maps due to their scientific nature. It facilitates ceasing to fret over map objectivity and to embrace intersubjectivity instead. (Crampton, 2001, p. 242). The map is inherently an expression of an idea. If cartography is a form of discourse that combines graphic and linguistic codes (Pickles, 2006, p. 221), it is logical to decipher the motivations for why a map is created in a particular fashion at a given period in history or why a territory is split into distinct regions in a particular manner. Hence, it is accurate to posit that zoning attempts like mapping are socially constructed and may be regarded as political tools.

Applying the pivotal theoretical approach detailed above, we can conceive of the division of Turkey into regions not as a sudden ruling in 1941, but as both a perpetuation of the Ottoman zoning customs and a challenge to them. First of all, the Ottoman Empire, unlike Europe, did not experience feudalism and largely retained its centralized structure, besides a limited duration when the tax farming system was adopted, and local rulers (*ayan*s) strengthened. Despite this, "localism" was the more powerful presence, not proto-nationalism, with some esteemed figures acting as local authorities in distant provinces such as Damascus and Mosul (Faroqhi, 2002, p. 372). One can postulate that the Ottoman Empire's development of its administrative organization in the provinces and the process of geographical zoning contributed to the enhanced governance of subjects. Notwithstanding the centrality of administrative organization, cartographers and geographers were apt to demarcate the imperial lands into zones.

The thought of zoning the immense Ottoman territories appealed to the interest of not only Ottoman geographers but also Europeans. *La Turquie d'Asie, géographie administrative: statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure* of Vital Cuinet, a French geographer who held a post in the Ottoman Public Debt Administration between 1880-1892, is of particular interest in this context. The voluminous work based on the Ottoman Official Almanac of 1306/1889 (Salname) and a compilation of statistical notes acquired during his twelve-year journey of discovery not only discloses the administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century but additionally classifies the provinces within the country (Cuinet, 1892).[2] Ewald Banse,

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2   L'Anatolie Orientale: Trébizonde, Erzéroum, Bitlis, Van, Diarbékir; Les Provinces Arabes: Alep, Mossoul, Bagdad, Bassorah; Provinces des Îles de l'Archipel et de la Crète; Vilayet de Constantinople et Mutessariflik

the German geographer, divided Turkey into 10 regions such as Mesopotamia, Armenia, Cilicia etc. categorizing them according to ethnic-historical features (Gürsoy, 1957).[3] Besides, as stated by Behlül Özkan, the late Ottoman textbooks of geography, written by Ottoman cartographers such as Sabit Efendi, Ahmed Cemal,[4] Mehmed Hikmet, Ali Tevfik, and İbrahim Hilmi, described the empire in terms of three divisions: Ottoman Europe (Avrupa-yı Osmani), Ottoman Asia (Asya-yı Osmani), and Ottoman Africa (Afrika-yı Osmani). Despite this, no unanimity was achieved among the authors of these textbooks concerning the subdivisions of the three continental parts of the empire (Özkan, 2012, p. 111).

The Ottoman maps in the 19th century frequently depicted regions using their corresponding ethnic designations. The Turkish government's attempt to change place names following the construction of the Republic is connected to the prevalence and continuity of ethnic designations of Ottoman regions. It is conceivable to observe ethnic toponyms on a series of maps of the late 1800s, initially created by European mapmakers and then by the Ottoman Ordnance Command. For example, Austrian and Russian map materials incorporated regional names such as Armenia, Cilicia, Lazistan, and Kurdistan, and outlined the territories of tribes and clans in the Southeast and the Arab provinces. Both Vital Cuinet's and Heinrich Kiepert's maps feature toponymes presented in German and French transliterations, along with their original names and Arabic or Roman equivalents (Öktem, 2008).

Following the Sheikh Said rebellion (1925), the Reform Plan for the East (Şark Islahat Planı) was implemented, resulting in an acceleration of the Turkification program. The Ministry of Education released a statement known as "Currents Trying to Disintegrate the Turkish Unity" on 8 December 1925, where they underlined that the designations Kurd, Laz, Circassian, Kurdistan, and Lazistan should not be utilized and a fight should be waged against these issues (Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, 2011). Thus, the name 'Kurdistan', which has been used in the ordinary language since the end of the 16th century and was formally an Ottoman province between 1846-1868, or the name 'Lazistan' corresponding to a certain region/sanjak since the 17th century was forbidden, like other ethnic region names.

Following the Republic of Turkey's establishment, the term Kurdistan was successively removed from textbooks, and Upper Cezire (*Yukarı Cezire*) was briefly employed; thereafter, Anatolia was adopted for present-day Turkey for a while. Anatolia was split into geographical divisions, and the area depicted as Kurdistan by certain authors during the Ottoman era was referred to as Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia (Biçer, 2020, p. 74). Since the late 1920s, it is clear that the names originating from the areas where an ethnic group is the predominant population have been absent from maps. For a better grasp of how this process was constructed, it could be helpful to scrutinize the texts that reveal the mentality of geographers and cartographers of the Republican era.

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d'Ismidt; Vilayet de Smyrne et le Mutessariflik de Bigha; L'Anatolie centrale Angora, Koniah, Adana, Mamouret-ul-Aziz, Sivas; L'Anatolie occidentale: Brousse et Castamouni.

3 He named the sub-regions as follows: Thrace, Bithynia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia etc.

4 Anatolia; Aegean Islands; Kurdistan; Al- Jazeera, Iraq, and Al- Hasa; Syria and Palestine; Hedjaz and Yemen.

Between Science and Ideology: The Geographers and Cartographers of the Republic

Considering the progress of the discipline of geography since 1923, two important developments become evident. First, in 1935, the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography was established, and the Institute for Geography was formed within the Faculty under Herbert Louis's leadership (Louis & Bediz, 1941). Prominent geographers including Cemal Arif Alagöz, Niyazi Çıtakoğlu, and Danyal Bediz conducted research in this institute (Özçağlar, 2020, p. 216). Second, on 6-21 June 1941, the First Geography Congress was convened in Ankara under the leadership of Hasan Ali Yücel, the Minister of National Education. The congress not only intended to devise the curriculum of geography lessons and textbooks, as well as to define geographical terms; it also approved the division of Turkey into seven geographical regions.

The issue of division into geographical regions was handled by the "Turkish Geography Commission" of the First Geography Congress. Some of the geographers and cartographers on the commission are as follows: Herbert Louis, Cemal Arif Alagöz, Niyazi Çıtakoğlu, Danyal Bediz, Besim Darkot, Hamit Sadi Selen, Hamit Nafiz Pamir, Ahmet Ardel, Ali Tanoğlu (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekilliği, 1941). As per the Commission's report, the term "Anatolia" was employed to represent expansive regions, and when the region had a coastline, the name of the sea was determined by reference. In other words, both in defining the borders of the regions and in naming them, elements of physical geography were considered.

In 1939, the Ministry of Education asked Herbert Louis to prepare a work on the geography of Turkey. This work named *Türkiye'nin Büyüklüğü ve Cihandaki Yeri* (Turkey's Magnitude and Place in the World), which was in German was translated into Turkish by Sırrı Erinç, and then a committee of faculty members examined it and issued a report. At the opening of the First Geography Congress, both Louis' work and the report were distributed to members. In the congress book published after the event, Louis's work, the report, and finally Selen's memorandum "on the division of Turkey into geographical regions" took place.

Louis commences his work with a meticulous and thoroughly comprehensive account of the geography of Turkey. Turkey's morphological structure is mentioned under 12 *tabiî ve hayatî mıntıka* (natural and social regions) such as Doğu Toros *mıntıkası* (Eastern Taurus region), Ege *mıntıkası* (Aegean region), İç Anadolu *havzası* (Central Anatolia basin), Hakâri *mıntıkası* (Hakâri region), Ağrı *yüceyeri* (Ağrı region), etc. One could not be incorrect in suggesting that the classifications he formulated are largely congruent with the natural boundaries produced by high mountains.

A detailed examination of Louis' work was undertaken, with critiques offered, in the report prepared by İ. H. Akyol, B. Darkot, A. Tanoğlu, and A. Ardel. These four eminent geographers studied Louis' text line by line and revealed its deficiencies. A point of contention was Louis' region division. According to them, Louis's morphological classification was unclear and pedagogically inadequate. Some regions are named according to a certain direction, some according to mountains and seas, and some according to provinces. Second, they argue that aspects like climate, lifestyle, and crops cultivated

were disregarded by Louis and a classification was established solely on morphological qualities. From their viewpoint, further clarification, and investigation were needed for the regional divisions (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekilliği, 1941, p. 235).

The above discussion provides insight into the Congress environment. The engagement of leading geographers and cartographers reveals how important the establishment of regions was. This leads us to analyze their works to gain a better understanding of the connection between geography as a field of study and the governmentality of the period.

In this part of the article, I will examine the selected works of two of the above-mentioned researchers who participated in the Turkish Geography Commission: Hamit Sadi Selen and Besim Darkot. Additionally, despite being a part of a different commission in Congress, Faik Sabri's (Duran) significant works on zoning deserve to be mentioned in this paper. These three geographers had a strong affinity for the notion of "region" before the First Geography Congress and were among the first to create regional maps. They were pioneering intellectuals who had benefited from Western training. Besides, they embraced a nationalist and modernizing perspective, dedicated to the ideals of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Republic. While examining these regional geographers in detail, my purpose is to illustrate that reconstructing geography as a science began even in the 1920s and that the division of the country into geographical regions essentially aimed to provide a standardization that was in harmony with the modernization paradigm of the early Republican period. I seek to reveal that the regulation of geographical scales was invented as an alternative to ethnocultural/historical zoning. Influenced by Turkish nationalism, these researchers of the period employed geography to reproduce the hegemonic discourse.

Hamit Sadi Selen is one of the most distinguished geographers among those mentioned. After completing his doctorate in Austria, Selen worked as a teacher and lecturer in Istanbul and Ankara. As one of the leading geographers of his time, he also had the opportunity to encounter Mustafa Kemal Atatürk during his tenure at the (Turkish) Historical Society (Belleten Türk Tarih Kurumu, n.d.). He contends that the notion of "Anatolia", indicating Turkey's geographical unity, saves us from being restricted by political frontiers. The region referred to as Anatolia was once very small, but during the Republican period, the area was extended eastward, resulting from the requirement to denote geographical unity (Selen, 1945, p. 2). To put it, by broadening the region, the necessary territorial harmony is achieved.

Selen conducted a noteworthy study within the hegemonic ideology of the era regarding a cartographer from the 16th century, Nasuh Silahî. Claiming that the works created by the Turks in the domain of cartography in the 16th century are of a higher caliber and worth than foreign works of the same time, Selen spotlights Silahi's atlas, Menazil (Selen, 1937). He brings to light a section in the atlas called "climates" while explaining the relevance of Menazil, which provides in-depth plans and depictions of Anatolia, Iran, and Iraq. According to Selen, Nasuh Silahî determined seven climates, classified the climate of each locality, and indexed a catalog of towns for each climate. Selen apprises us that the latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates of each location are listed in the meticulously organized atlases. Notwithstanding his skepticism about Nasuh Silahî's classification mirroring the classical classifications, he applauds the cartographer's scientific method in

dividing the country into climates (Selen, 1937, pp. 4-5).

In his book *İktisadî Coğrafya* (Economic Geography), released in the early 1920s, Selen had already addressed the issue of dividing Turkey into regions (Gürsoy, 1957, p. 223).[5] Scrutinizing Selen's geography books reveals that he conducted detailed studies into the "racial characteristics" of the regions. Selen claims that Turkey has a notable "racial unity" compared to other nations and through investigations conducted in 1937-1938, a more scientific comprehension of the racial characteristics of the people of Turkey can be attained (Selen, 1945, p. 87). Following the presentation of some information about the average height, head size, and skin color for men and women, Selen reveals the percentage of the brachycephalic type by region: "75% of the population is of this type [brachycephalic]. However, it differs by region. Although it constitutes 93% of the population in Central Anatolia, it does not exceed 65% in the east and south" (Selen, 1945, p. 87). As he depicts the racial characteristics of the people residing in the regions in such a manner, he considers the administrative divisions when delineating the regions.

The memorandum Selen gave to the First Geography Congress presents his most succinct views on the division of Turkey into geographical areas. He points out that the regional division in translations from the West is done by administrative and historical norms, however, an examination according to geographical methods is needed:

> "The region is composed of secondary parts that are distinguished by common geographical features. These features are formed by the joint and reciprocal effects of elements such as land, water, air, plants, animals, and humans. […] While dividing Turkey into geographical regions, the first thing that draws our attention is the morphological characteristics. Differences in terms of climate and vegetation are added to this morphological feature" (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekilliği, 1941, pp. 251-253).

As comprehended from Selen's statement, segregating the country into regions consists of grouping settlements with similar physical characteristics. For example, to take Selen's perspective, erasing the Roman-era regional designations both uphold the autonomy of the sovereign state and acknowledges the scientific credibility of the field of geography. To be more precise, the institutionalization of geography as a scientific discipline and the policy of Turkification that is part of the contemporary nation-state paradigm intersect.

Faik Sabri, a key figure in the establishment of the Institute of Geography at Istanbul University with Erich Obst, and himself an author of numerous geography books and atlases should also be mentioned when discussing the division of Turkey into geographical regions. Like Hamit Sadi Selen, Faik Sabri came back home after receiving education in Europe (but he was a proponent of the French school) and served as a lecturer and teacher in various institutions. Even before the First Geography Congress, Sabri sought to create distinct regions within the frontiers of the Republic of Turkey in his works, following the partition of the Ottoman territory into zones in the 1910s: "Turkey is made up of six sections whose climates, natural features and living conditions are distinct" (Sabri, 1929, p. 197).[6] A closer look at his book *Türkiye Coğrafyası* (Turkish Geography) may be of aid in understanding Sabri's ideology and scientific method together.

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5   Selen's regions: North Anatolia (Karadeniz mailesi), Marmara region, West Anatolia, South Anatolia, Middle Anatolia, East Anatolia, Southeast Anatolia (Cezire- i Ulya) (Selen, 1926).

6   Marmara and Pashaeli region, Black Sea Region, Central plateau region, Islands Sea region, Mediterranean region, Eastern highland region. (Sabri, 1929, p. 197).

Sabri suggests that after the World War, Turkey was populated exclusively by Turks, and had a political and racial unity. On the other hand, certain nomadic groups like the Yuruks, Turkmens, and Kurds also exist. Sabri furnishes a full account of the various districts these groups inhabit in each geographical region, what kind of economic activities they are engaged in, and what kind of cultural habits they have. Discussing Turkey's human geography, he also refers to the government's resettlement policy: "In the past, Turkey was home to a considerable number of nomadic tribes. The government made efforts to resettle them to appropriate locations and was partially successful" (Sabri, 1929, p. 209).

Noting the east-west dichotomy is something Sabri often does when discussing the social and cultural aspects of geographical regions. The book incorporates a variety of visuals, such as "Dressing Styles in Eastern Provinces", "Dressing Styles Around İzmir", and "Kızılbaş women's dressing styles" (Sabri, 1929, pp. 216-217). As communities other than the Turks are generally viewed as nomadic and without any fixed spatial ties, their clothing and eating habits are categorized by region. Sabri attempts to structure his book by geographical terms, yet he also relies on ethnic/historical place names.[7]

If we compare the 1929 and 1938 editions of *Türkiye Coğrafyası*, we can see that the earlier one acknowledges the Kurds as the inhabitants of the Eastern regions of Turkey.

> "There are some Kurds among the Turks in eastern Anatolia. Moreover, there are breeds such as Circassians and Georgians who migrated from the Caucasus, and Albanians and Bosniaks who passed through the Balkan peninsula to Turkey; but they do not constitute the majority in any part of the country, and they are becoming more and more Turkish […] Other minorities in Turkey are Greeks, Armenians, and Jews" (Sabri, 1929, p. 177).

However, the 1930s saw the term "Kurd" be avoided due to the influence of racial analyses of Turkish nationalism. This pattern is also observed in Faik Sabri's 1938 edition, where he opts to use terms like "nomads" or "*aşiret*s" (tribes) in place of Kurds when referring to those residing in the eastern regions.[8] Sabri's attitude entails observing or exhibiting the inhabitants of a specific region as a homogeneous whole. Faik Sabri seems to be revising his books by the political atmosphere while articulating his desire to make geography an "analytical science".

Besim Darkot is another researcher who looks at geography through an ideological lens of the period. Darkot, like his two other colleagues, was educated in Europe. Following his return from France to Turkey, he carried on in his academic pursuits and eventually became a professor. He was particularly intrigued by economic and regional geography.

It is reported that Besim Darkot's early research had a major impact on the zoning resolution adopted at the First Geography Congress (Tuncel, 1992, p. 4). He frequently broached the topic of Turkey's division into particular geographic areas in his books. In *Türkiye İktisadî Coğrafyası* (Economic Geography of Turkey), written years after the First Geography Congress, he states that "a full consensus on how the country will be partitioned into regions has yet to be achieved" (Darkot, 1963, p. 69). However, he explicitly affirms that the seven-zone classification agreed upon in the Congress is the most accurate and that he adheres to this system (Darkot, 1963, p. 71).

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7   Mountain Ararat can be cited as an example.

8   Sezgi Durgun also points out the differences between the two editions (Durgun, 2011, p. 269).

Examining the lesser-known books and articles of Besim Darkot, one can observe that his normative claims regarding the Turkification policy of the early Republican period were quite vital in his approach to the discipline of geography. Darkot, who associates the inhabitants of a particular region with its geographical features, explored many provinces including the Upper Euphrates Region and specifically the city of Tunceli, which is quite extraordinary for its ethnic-cultural structure and historical background. In an article on the geography of Tunceli, he considers the extreme geographic conditions the reason for both the local people's brutishness and their political confrontations with state control: "Mountain character seems to rule overall, even in life on the plain. Water floods from the mountains. Sometimes raiding crowd of people is more destructive than this water…" (Darkot, 1943, p. 116). Darkot adduces the provincial topography to justify the government's regulations in Dersim and highlights the "state of nature" that is valid not merely in the landscape but also among the "uncivilized" people of the region.

> "People wishing to enter in this hilly terrain first encounter hardly passable rivers easily guarded by castles positioned in hills next to passageways, and then mountains rising step by step. Canyons which divide these mountains and resist armies with little effort… Plains that people use as fields and winter quarters among mountains, summer pastures in higher zones… In brief, it is the kind of country that gives refugees the opportunity to survive and doesn't easily give way to foreigners […] Cotton in small quantities has been cultivated since of old. Mulberry tree are grown in many places… There is no doubt that fruit growing is open to improvement. In a geography book it is written that the fruit types decrease in this part of the Eastern Anatolia. Must we unthinkingly attribute that to climate? May fruit trees, like civilization, be late to enter these places?" (Darkot, 1943, pp. 117-122).

It could be reasonably argued that Darkot employs colonial rhetoric when he pens his thoughts about the Eastern regions. From his point of view, the East was the region that the state sought to penetrate but could not subdue. Those who are yet to experience the benefits of civilization live in a different spatiotemporal dimension in comparison to the west of the country. This outlook reveals that hierarchies are established not only between regions but also among the inhabitants of those regions.[9]

Conclusion

For a thorough review of the different perspectives and debates about dividing Turkey into geographical regions, it is essential to reflect on the ideological climate of the single-party period and the evolution of the geography discipline in Turkey. Dividing the country into distinct geographical parts is not an original policy nor is it exclusive to Turkey. For centuries, it has been common knowledge that dissecting the whole into fragments grants more efficient control. In this paper, I sought to display that what is distinctive in Republican Turkey are the criteria employed in ascertaining the regions. Since the late 1920s, a regional division that is linked to physical geography has been favored over one that is based on the historical/traditional habitat of an ethnic group or a civilization before the Turks. This tendency, which can be seen in other countries as well, was advantageous for young Turkey, which was attempting to break free from its multi-ethnic Ottoman background and was often at risk of being sundered by secessionist rebellions.

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9   After the transition to the multi-party period, Darkot continued his studies of eastern Anatolia. He was part of the delegation that had the task of investigating the region for the establishment of the university in the east and wrote the "report on the eastern university" (Tuncel, 1991, p. 8).

Nevertheless, a matter of equal worth to the political and ideological environment of the early Republican period is the institutionalization of geography and its attempt to distinguish itself as a "science" separate from history. Physical geography elements could be the ideal point of reference for Western-educated geographers and cartographers who wish to establish objective criteria for dividing the country into regions. The idea of dividing regions according to cardinal directions (east, west, south, north, etc.) seems to be not only scientific-based but also secure. It can obscure the fact that a distinct group of people have been living in a certain region "from time immemorial" (*kadimden beri*) and may impede this knowledge from being handed down to future generations. Geography books began to portray the east-west dichotomy, sometimes with a colonial style. Thus, I suggest rethinking the assumption that geographic regions were objectively categorized, keeping in mind that cartography, like so many other things, is a form of discourse.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

Local Negotiation of Change: Historiography of Modern Turkey and the Study of Provincial Anatolian Towns

Modern Türkiye'nin Tarih Yazımında Anadolu Taşra Şehirleri

Alexandros Lamprou [1]

Abstract

The article reviews the scholarly bibliography on provincial Turkish towns during the Early Republican Period with a specific emphasis on the study of the negotiation of social change at the provincial level. The article discusses the strengths and limitations of a body of work published since the 1960s and evaluates their position and contribution in the historiography of modern Turkey. Up to the late 1990s and the opening of the State Archives of the Republican Period, a tendency occurred to overlook the study of provincial towns in favor of major cities and villages. Post-2000 historiography that addresses sociopolitical change increasingly produces works that consider provincial towns; nevertheless, space is mostly regarded as a necessary spatial container of the process under study and, as such, rarely receives critical engagement. The article considers the dominant periodization of the literature, which truncates the history of modern Turkey before and after 1923, as extremely limiting in scope. Thus, it suggests that the narrowing of the spatial– geographical perspective (*going local*) and the widening of the time frame beyond the 1923–1950 period are promising directions for the research on sociopolitical changes during the late Ottoman Empire and republican Turkey.

Keywords: Early Republican Period, Provincial towns, Historiography, Negotiation

Öz

Bu makale, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye taşrasına ilişkin akademik literatürü gözden geçirmektedir. Makale, 1960'lardan bu yana yayımlanan çalışmaların sunduğu katkıları ve sınırlılıklarını tartışmakta ve modern Türkiye tarih yazımındaki yerini değerlendirmektedir. Bu makalede, 1990'ların sonlarına ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Arşivi'nin açılmasına kadar, büyük şehirler ve köy çalışmalarına kıyasla taşra kasabalarının incelenmesinin göz ardı edildiği ileri sürülmektedir. Sosyo-politik değişimle ilgilenen 2000 sonrası tarih yazımında ise taşra kentlerini ele alan çalışmalar giderek artmakta, ancak bu çalışmalar sosyal mekanı nadiren eleştirel bir şekilde ele almaktadır. Makale, modern Türkiye tarihinin 1923 öncesi ve sonrası olmak üzere literatürde iki ayrı dönem olarak kabul görmesinin oldukça sınırlı olduğunu ileri sürerek, mekânsal-coğrafi perspektifin daraltılmasını ('yerele inmek') ve ele alınan zaman diliminin 1923-1950 döneminin ötesine genişletilmesini önermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi, Taşra, Tarih yazımı, Anadolu

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This article offers a number of thoughts on the state and prospect of the historiography of modern Turkey with special reference to the study of provincial towns in the first half of the 20th century. They are inevitably partial and incomplete, based on personal reading and research preferences, and merely aim to offer a discussion in relation to the spatial choices made by the historical literature on Turkey. I begin with the argument that the study of provincial towns is inevitable if we are to examine stasis and change, the continuities that persist and transformations that occur in every field (e.g., economy and infrastructure, society, culture, and politics) in the Republic of Turkey and from a perspective that favors negotiation and a society-up instead of a state-down approach. For greater emphasis, the provincial town was the primary space next to a few big cities up until the 1950s on which the social engineering project of the state was implemented. The rest of a vast countryside and its thousands of small settlements lay practically outside the infrastructural grip of the state, perhaps even its eventual interest. My argument is that the study of the reception and negotiation of reform projects of state elites (Kemalist/Unionist) necessitates spatial contextualization, especially around the (unit of the) provincial town. With reference to recent pioneering literature, I argue that a conscious spatial contextualization renders the study of state–society relations during the period more insightful and promising compared with work/research in which space is more or less taken as a given and is less critically engaged with. In this spatialization, the provincial town emerges as the focal point of research for a number of evident reasons. Available sources rarely enable in depth –if any– research beyond the provincial town, which renders the rural countryside largely beyond legibility. A less self-evident reason is the status of the provincial town as a meeting ground, -following the conceptualization of Migdal- of *facts and fiction*, that is, as the ground upon which state projects reach their targets in society.[1]

In what follows, I firstly draw a sketch of the previous literature that explicitly focuses on provincial towns or on various aspects of continuity/change related to (actors and processes in) provincial towns. The basic inquiry is related to the manner in which provincial towns have been treated in the historiography of the late Ottoman Empire and the early republican Turkey. I then present a discussion of the strengths and blind spots of the literature and conclude with a number of suggestions regarding the trajectories of prospective research. Specifically, this article advocates the narrowing of the spatial (going-local) and the widening of the chronological frame (beyond the 1923–1950 period) as promising directions for the research on sociopolitical changes during the late Ottoman Empire and republican Turkey, such that micro can be productively linked to macro.

Early Literature

During the first decades of the Republic, local scholars produced several works on local history. This genre commenced during the interwar period and, in the majority of cases in the space under study, provincial towns. Within the context of Turkish nationalism and

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1   J. Migdal, *State in Society: Studying how States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

the movement *Halka Doğru*,[2] institutions, such as the Turkish Hearths[3] and the People's Houses,[4] promoted, through their activities and publications, works on local history and folklore. As a result, local scholars, who were predominately teachers, compiled several amateur works of local history. Nevertheless, as these works were compiled in the 1930s and 1940s, the space allocated to the post-WWI and Republican periods (post-1923) was minimal, which typically consisted of a few pages at the most.

During the post-WWII period, however, an increase in scholarly interest in rural areas was observed. Political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists examined rural areas under the influence of modernization theory. The majority of researchers explored villages, although a few works focused on small provincial towns and sub-district (ilçe) centers. These researchers investigated contemporary politics and economic and social development in an explicit attempt to gauge changes at the local level without much reference to the past or archival research. Kıray (Ereğli), Mansur (Bodrum), Magnarella (Susurluk), Szyliowicz (Erdemli), Benedict (Ula), Ayata (Develi), Leder (Saruhanlı), and Ubenhaun (Datça) explored socioeconomic and political change (i.e., political integration and clientelism) in a number of small provincial towns in Turkey. Their population in the 1960s–1970s ranged from a few thousands to 15.000. For their brief account of the pre-WWII period, these scholars were restricted to oral sources.[5] In the majority of cases, the choice of small localities of no more than a few thousand residents aimed to facilitate micro research that could encapsulate as many segments of the local society as possible. Researchers were consciously selecting the smallest possible residential unit/community in which the state and local society were to meet. The areas scholars studied were mostly in the sub-province level (ilçe) and, depending on the focus, could be a small town or a big village.

Under the influence of modernization theory, sociologists and anthropologists initially attempted to study socioeconomic change. Meanwhile political scientists (Ayata and Ubenhaun) during the 1970s turned their attention to the study of political integration of the rural periphery through political networks and clientelism.[6] The literature on patronage and clientelism examined the relationship between local and state elites in provincial towns. Provincial notables were traditionally operating as intermediaries between the state and local population, with which they retained multiple ties. By the beginning of the 20th century and the establishment of parliamentary politics, provincial urban elites, such

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2   İlhan Tekeli and Gencay Şaiyan, "Türkiye'de Halkçılık İdeolojisinin Evrimi," *Toplum ve Bilim* 6–7 (1978), 44–110; Zafer Toprak, "Osmanlı Narodnikleri: 'Halka Doğru' Gidenler," *Toplum ve Bilim* 24 (1984), 69–79.

3   Füsun Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları 1912–1931* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1997).

4   Alexandros Lamprou, *Nation-Building in Modern Turkey: The "People's Houses," the State and the Citizen* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

5   Mübeccel Kıray, *Ereğli Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası* (Ankara, 1964); Fatma Mansur, *Bodrum: A Town in the Aegean* (Leiden: Brill, 1972); Paul Magnarella, *Tradition and change in a Turkish town* (Halsted Press, 1974); Güneş Ayata, *CHP Örgüt ve İdeoloji* (Ankara, 1992). Szyliowicz and Benedict's research was on smaller provincial towns that can also be described as big villages. J. Szyliowicz, *Political Change in Rural Turkey, Erdemli* (The Hague and Paris, 1966); P. Benedict, *Ula, an Anatolian Town* (Leiden, 1974). A. Leder, "Kemalist Rule and Party Competition in Rural Turkey: Politics and Change in an Anatolian Community," unpublished PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1974. H. Unbehaun, *Türkiye kırsalında kliyentalizm ve siyasal katılım. Datça örneği* (Ankara, 2006) [translated from German, 1994].

6   Sayari, Sabri, "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Political Clientelism and Patronage in Turkey," *Turkish Studies*, 15/4 (2014).

as merchants, landowners, and professionals, became members and local representatives of emerging political parties.[7] In their study of local politics, political patrons, brokers, and networks and their role in the local negotiation of change and state–society relations in general, Meeker and Ubenhaun also favored very small provincial towns (e.g., Of in the Black Sea and Datça in southwestern Turkey). However, they both differed from previous scholars in that, although they are not historians by training, they consider the study of a locality's past as indispensable and thoroughly explore it.[8] It is very unfortunate that, in contrast to research conducted after 2000, they could not have used archival sources for their account of the republican period.[9] Since the late 1990s the availability of new archival sources has contributed to new research that places emphasis on local societies, state-society relations, local history, and bottom-up perspectives. This new research complements the work by political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists since the early 1950s on rural areas, especially villages and small provincial towns, but also studies of politics in the post-WWII period of multi-party politics.

Archival Stimulus: State–Society Relations, Minorities, and Demographic Engineering

Since the late 1990s, the opening of several archival collections at the state archives in Ankara[10] as well as the employment of new theoretical perspectives significantly influenced the research on state–society relations during the Early Republican Period. Currently, we have a host of works, especially in the field of social history, that exceed the previous literature in many ways. In a sense, historians have been liberated from being obligated to primarily use published state documents and memoirs of state officials. For the last 20 years, secret state and party reports, ego-documents, petitions, complaints, and denunciations are accessible by the thousands.

First, there is an expanding body of research on *local* history in Turkey, which has benefited from the recent opening of several archival collections. Based on easily accessible archival documents and typically originating from previous MA or PhD theses in Turkish universities, many articles and books on the People's Houses or the political and social life of Anatolian towns draw a descriptive and frequently superficial image of the province/town under study.[11] They do so, because they tend to simply reproduce official sources and more often than not offer little or no analysis. Based as they are on sources written by and for the state (elites), most works tend to reproduce the classificatory perspective of the state archive, which creates as it is an image of provincial societies and towns as viewed through the narrow lens of Ankara and state elites. Perhaps

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7   Balistreri, Alexander, "Turkey's Forgotten Political Opposition: The Demise of Kadirbeyoğlu Zeki Bey, 1919–1927," *Die Welt des Islams*, 55/2 (2015), pp. 141–85.

8   M. Meeker, *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2002).

9   Another example of a collaborative, this time, work on a provincial town is the book on Mardin by Suavi Aydın, Kudret Emiroğlu, Oktay Özel and Süha Ünsal, *Mardin. Aşiret-Cemaat-Devlet* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000).

10 To give the example of only one archival collection, the archive of the ruling Republican Peoples Party contains an unmatched, in extent and diversity, corpus of documents (thousands of petitions, reports, investigations, and statistical data) from across Turkey up until the early 1950s.

11 A simple search at the National Theses Archive of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) suffices to show the extent: https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/.

with a slight exaggeration, several of these works should more accurately be entitled "Ankara's perspective of the People's House of x" or "of political and social life of y."[12] Notwithstanding the *documentarist* and typically superficial nature of this literature, it continues to constitute an expanding body of work in Turkish that needs to be considered and critically engaged with.

However, a more innovating strand of recent literature has been making more original use of the new archival material. The archive offers perspectives that exceed the programmatic nature of the majority of official sources from the period, because it hosts many documents produced by local social actors, that is, primarily middle and upper-class urban strata from provincial towns. The illiterate countryside-peasantry is not really there, perhaps maybe even the urban lower classes. Thus, the focus of recent innovative work on provincial local elites and middle classes, state officials, and institutions in the provinces; their voices and experiences of (novel forms of) socialization and local politics; and their incorporation into local and trans-local/state economic, political, and cultural networks is, therefore, not a coincidence. The major contributions of recent scholarship then are primarily observed in social history with pioneering works on sociocultural changes, gender identities, cultural and political capital formation, and labor history, among others.[13] Local actors in provincial urban societies produced the bulk of the sources used. The same stands for many recent works on local politics that explore the social bases of politics, political networks, and the dynamics of state–society relations in the provinces in general.[14]

Lastly, works on the acts and experiences of violence, ethnic cleansing, and

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12 Evidently, not all works of local history share a shallow perspective. See for instance Ercan Çağlayan, *Cumhuriyet'in Diyarbakır'da Kimlik İnşası 1923–1950* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2014); Serap Taşdemir, *Tek Parti Döneminde Sivas'ta Siyasal Hayat 1923–1946* (Ankara: Siyasal, 2014); as well as the series of collective volumes and monographs on the recent history of provincial towns published by İletişim: M. Güntekin (ed.), *"Ta Ezelden Taşkındır ..." Antep* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2011); Ercan Çağlayan (ed), *"Dünyada Van": Nüfus, Etnisite, Tarih ve Toplum* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2019); Ali Karatay, *Demir Çelik Karabük: Bir işçi kentinin Hikâyesi* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2018); A. Nevin Yıldız (ed), *Bir Ahir Zaman Babil'I: Urfa* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2021).

13 A few examples that were roughly published in the last decade: Nurşen Gürboğa, *Mine Workers, the Single Party Rule, and War: The Zonguldak Coal Basin as the Site of Contest 1920–1947* (İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2009); Meltem Karadağ, "Taşra kentinde yaşam tarzları alanı: Kültür ve ayrım," *Toplum ve Bilim* 118 (2010): 6–91; Hale Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey 1923–1945* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2013); Meltem Türköz, *Naming and Nation-Building in Turkey. The 1934 Surname Law* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Alexandros Lamprou, "Political Petitioning, Denunciation and State–Society Relations during the Single-Party Period in Turkey," *Turkish Studies* 18:3 (2017): 514–541; Deniz Parlak, *Laikleşme Sürecinde Camiler: Geç Osmanlı'dan Erken Cumhuriyet'e* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2020); Murat Metinsoy, *The Power of the People: Everyday Resistance and Dissent in the Making of Modern Turkey, 1923–1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Sevgi Adak, *Anti-Veiling Campaigns in Turkey: State, Society and Gender in the Early Republic* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2022); Mehmet Kendirci, *Eğlencesiz Eğlence: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Eğlence ve Siyasal İktidar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2022).

14 Indicatively, Yiğit Akın, "Reconsidering State, Party, and Society in early Republican Turkey: Politics of Petitioning," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39:3 (2007): 435–457; Ayşe Durakbaşa, "Taşra burjuvazisinin tarihsel kökenleri" and Gül Özsan, "Eşraf ailelerinin statü kazanma mücadelelerinde kadınların rölü," *Toplum ve Bilim* 118 (2010); Belge Ceren "State Building and the Limits of Legibility? Kinship Networks and Kurdish Resistance in Turkey," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43:1 (2011): 95–114; Senem Aslan, "Everyday Forms of State Power and the Kurds in the Early Turkish Republic," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43:1 (2011): 75–93; Alexandros Lamprou, "Local Politics and state–society relations: State officials, local elites, and political networks in provincial urban centers in the 1930s and 1940s in Turkey," *Turkish Historical Review* 10:2–3 (2019): 252–273; Eyup Öz, *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası ve Ege* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2019).

demographic engineering form a significant part of the recent literature on the Unionist period (1908–1950). In this strand of literature, the provincial town is examined as the site of nation-building through population politics. In this respect, it has been the towns and border areas where ethnic difference was more pronounced and ethnic cleansing more absolute that have mostly drawn the interest of researchers. For instance, the majority of the presentations in the conferences organized and proceedings published by the Hrant Dink Foundation on the history of a number of provincial towns[15] address the presence and destruction of minorities up until the end of WWI. The pioneering work of Ümit Kurt is another case in point in which a provincial town provides the necessary context for an in-depth study of ethnic cleansing and its perpetrators at a specific period.[16]

In addition, a strand of *minority literature* exists that investigates Jewish communities in several towns in the 20th century. Anti-minority policies targeting Turkish Jews, such as the Property Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) or the violence against the Jews of Thrace in the infamous Thrace Events of 1934 (*Trakya Olayları*), occasionally form the center or part of the narrative.[17] The recent accumulated research on Dersim is another example in which ethnic difference and state violence become more or less the *causa causans* that underlies the research focus on the specific place, which consequently defines the manner in which the region is historically contextualized.[18] A number of studies that explicitly relate demographic engineering, dispossession, and anti-minority politics with the emergence and/or enrichment of local Muslim middle classes and elites form another particular strand in this trajectory. The recent book of İlkay Öz on Edirne is exceptional in that the author consulted local land registry records (*Tapu Kadasto*), access to which has been consistently denied to researchers elsewhere.[19] Masterfully combining archival/state with local sources, the book by Levent Duman is another example of pioneering research on nation-building in a border town/region (i.e., Antakya, which officially became part of Turkey in 1939).[20] In this literature trajectory, the provincial town forms the background of research on victims and, recently, perpetrators, site of destruction, ethnic cleansing, and dispossession, and through these processes, the foundational ground of nation-building and the concomitant emergence of Muslim middle classes and economic and political elites.

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15 *Diyarbakır Tebliğleri: Diyarbakır ve Çevresi Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarihi Konferansı* (İstanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfı, 2013); *Mardin Tebliğleri: Mardin ve Çevresi Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarihi Konferansı* (İstanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfı, 2013); https://hrantdink.org/en/activities/projects/history-program/2066-the-social-cultural-and-economic-history-of-kayseri-and-the-region.

16 Ümit Kurt, *Antep 1915: Soykırım ve Failleri* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2018). See also Uğur Ümit Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey. Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

17 Indicatively, Rıfat Bali, *1934 Trakya Olayları* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2008); Erol Haker, *Edirne Yahudi Cemaati ve Alyans Okulları 1867–1937*, translated by Lizet Deatado (İstanbul: Gözlem, 2007); Mehmet Pınar, *Tek Parti Döneminde Trakya'da Siyasi Hayat ve Yahudiler* (Ankara: Grafiker, 2016).

18 Indicatively, İlhami Algör (ed), *Ma Sekerdo Kardaş? "Dersim 38" Tanıklıkları* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2018); Şükrü Aslan, Songül Aydın, Zeliha Hepkon (eds), *Dersim'i Parantezden Çıkarmak* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013); Gürdal Aksoy, *Dersim: Alevilik, Ermenilik, Kürtlük* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2012).

19 İlkay Öz, *Mülksüzleştirme ve Türkleştirme: Edirne Örneği* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2020). There are other similar works, but few with a specific local focus: Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011). Nevzat Onaran, *Osmanlı'da Ermeni ve Rum Mallarının Türkleştirilmesi (1920–1930): Emval-i Metrukenin Tasfiyesi-I*; and idem., *Cumhuriyet'te Ermeni ve Rum Mallarının Türkleştirilmesi (1920–1930): Emval-i Metrukenin Tasfiyesi-II* (İstanbul: Evrensel, 2013).

20 Levent Duman, *"Vatan" ın Son Parçası Hatay'daki Uluslaştırma Politikaları* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2016).

In summary, the literature of the last 20 years has augmented previous knowledge by emphasizing the negotiation and collusion of state with local agents on the one hand and by elucidating collision and conflict between state and local agents/societies taken. All its strands together, the recent literature on the Early Republican Period displays a remarkable multitude in which both scales of gray and black-and-white contrasts have been considered. Instead of uniform representations, recent literature lays out regional variations of nation-building, political integration, and state–society relations. Sites of conflict, negotiation, and multiplicity were observed in the provinces. The themes of the recent scholarship on the Early Republican Period (e.g., local politics, local and center–local dynamics, resistance and negotiation, gender, flexibility of state, continuities in many fields, such as minorities and Turkification, among others) have been studied within provincial urban contexts, primarily on the bedrock of provincial towns. In this sense, these strands of recent literature portray the provincial town as the site not only of state–society relations and social changes, local politics, and sociopolitical integration but also of dispossession and ethnic cleansing and its aftermath.

Common traits of recent literature on provincial towns during the early republican period
In their exploration of sociopolitical change in the first half of the 20th century, recent studies share a set of common traits pertinent to the study on provincial towns. First, in their attempt to enrich their studies and contextualize archival sources produced by the state regarding each locality, scholars share a novel sensitivity toward local sources, such as local publications, newspapers and periodicals, memoirs of local social actors, and oral history sources, which were previously considered the domain of local scholars instead of academic historians. In this sense, Brockett's observation 12 years ago, that is, "scholars have almost entirely privileged metropolitan print media over those produced in provincial centers"[21], is no longer entirely valid. This tendency to *go local* is directly related to the conscious endeavor to challenge state and statist biases and critically read the narratives and perspectives from/of agents of the center. This aspect is evident in the preference of the literature for *history from below*, bottom-up approaches, and the study of negotiation, resistance, and compliance. Equally and in contrast to previous scholarship on state and elite politics, I observe a preference toward the study of local politics, of the local articulations of state and local forces, and the *social basis* of Muslim/ Turkish nationalism.[22] Concomitant is the employment of theoretical insights that aid in this endeavor, such as the history of everyday life, *weapons of the weak* by James C. Scott, *state-in-society* by Migdal, as well as the *politics of informal people* and *quite encroachment* by Bayat,[23] among others.

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21 Gavin D. Brockett, *How happy to call oneself a Turk: Provincial newspapers and the negotiation of a Muslim national identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 1.

22 Doğan Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and the Boycott Movement: Nationalism, Protest and the Working Classes in the Formation of Modern Turkey* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 38.

23 James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1985); Idem, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance. Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1990); Idem, *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1998); J. Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Asef Bayat, "Politics of Informal People," *Third World Quarterly* 18/1 (1997); idem, "Activism and Social Development in the Middle East," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34 (2002).

Limitations

With regard to the temporal framing of the majority of studies within this recent literature, there seems to be a clear tendency to practically follow a periodization that truncates the history of modern Turkey before and after 1923. Interestingly enough, there is a strong recognition among scholars that a periodization going back to 1908 or even earlier is more suitable in the analysis of continuities and ruptures in the transition from empire to nation state. Yet we still have very few works that consider WWI (and/or the period before) together with the Early Republican Period.[24] To put it more emphatically, given the fascinating recent works on WWI, we finally know more about the destruction that preceded the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, but the literature on how these destructive transformations shaped the country since the early 1910s remains scarce. Works that challenge this temporal framing in practice are nearly exclusively related to the fate of Anatolian Armenians and the consequences of their removal.[25] Meanwhile, the research on the local repercussions of the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, for example, has yet to incite similar attraction among scholars. Thus, the research required is one that places the periods before and after 1923 into the same frame of analysis and examines continuities and ruptures beyond the *dark side* of nation-building.[26]

In terms of spatial imagination, the literature prior to the opening of the state archives in the late 1990s, especially works composed within the modernization paradigm, overlooked the study of the provincial town, which is seemingly lost between the city and the village, which were the privileged sites of research since the 1940s. With the primary objective to explore change, the modernization literature has, since the 1950s, favored the study of the village, in which the *pure* and *authentic* yet *backward* and *traditional* essence of the Turkish society was supposed to reside. Cities, such as Istanbul and Izmir, were considered not only *modern* and *western* but also *degenerate* and *international*. This contrast and ambivalence between *the international but modern* city and the *national but backward* village (and the tension therein) were explicit in many ways, particularly in well-studied examples of discourses on gender and public morals.[27] What was not explicit at all though was the exile of the provincial town from the spatial imagination of

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24 E.J. Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905–1926* (Leiden: Brill, 1984). To think of two recent exemplary local monographs, Erol's work about Foça and Hatziiossif's work on Mustafapaşa both end in 1922. Emre Erol, *The Ottoman Crisis in Western Anatolia: Turkey's Belle Époque and the Transition to a Modern Nation State* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016); Χρήστος Χατζηιωσήφ, *Συνασός: Ιστορία ενός Τόπου χωρίς Ιστορία* [Hristos Haciiossif, *Sinasos: History of a place without History*] (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2005).

25 Üngör and Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction*; Oya Gözel Durmaz, "City transformed: War, demographic change and profiteering in Kayseri (1915–1920)," PhD thesis (Ankara, 2014); Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey*; Ayça Akarçay, Nurhan Davutyan and Sezgin Polat, "Economic Consequences of Demographic Engineering: Turkey and World War I," (2021), https://ssrn.com/abstract=3828518.

26 Philipp Ther, *The Dark Side of Nation-States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe*, translated by Charlotte Kreutzmüller (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2014). In the recent debate on "post–post-Kemalizm," İlker Aytürk argued that the emphasis of "postkemalizm" on the *original sin* of ethnic cleansing and the insistence on a *lachrymose narrative* about the recent past ends up functioning as a distorting lens that exiles from our vision whatever lies beyond this dark side of nation building. İlker Aytürk, "Post-post-Kemalizm: Yeni bir paradigmayı beklerken," *Birikim* 319 (2015), 43–44.

27 Levent Cantek, *Cumhuriyetin Bülüğ Çağı. Gündelik Yaşama Dair Tartışmalar 1945–1950* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), 83–8; Deniz Kandiyoti, "Slave Girls, Temptresses, and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish Novel," *Feminist Issues* 8:1 (1988): 38.

the research, as the provincial town remained obscure in the academic literature on the *modernization* of Turkey.[28]

Conversely, the post-2000 historiography that addresses sociopolitical change circa 1900–1950 includes works with an explicit focus on provincial societies and towns. However, one continues to feel that the local monograph or the history of a provincial town has been, until very recently, implicitly and perhaps unconsciously considered passé, that is, something scholars used to do 50 years ago under theoretical schemes considered obsolete today or, perhaps, something to be left to the proverbial local schoolteacher. The recent literature is mostly interested in various themes and processes (e.g., gender and socioeconomic change), while the geographical context is of secondary nature, a necessary spatial container within which a more significant process is occurring. In a sense, the spatial unit(s) of research are not very clearly critically engaged with, but rather form a necessity of research.

This typical lack of critical engagement with the spatial aspect of the research is reflected in the frequent geographical delimitation of the subject under study, explicitly or by implication, by state borders. In other words, although excellent recent works on the relation of architecture to nationalism, gender, and the introduction of state policies to the provinces typically use data from or in relation to specific localities (e.g., provincial towns), their findings are, more frequently than not, presented as if they were inclusive or representative of the entirety of Turkey. Regional difference is only highlighted either as the register of folklore/culture or in the context of nation-building and its dark side (e.g., ethnic cleansing and dispossession). One may even suggest that the reproduction of a spatial imagination that corresponds to the nation state unconsciously offers a homogenizing viewpoint that obfuscates difference and limits vision. For instance, studies on the reception of state policies can lose their analytical and explanatory value once removed from local contexts, that is, provincial towns, and placed under one undifferentiated national context. Nevertheless, this evident truism is frequently glossed over. Compared with the extremely limited and limiting corpus of sources (e.g., published memoirs and the local press) scholars had to work with 25 years ago, the recent abundance of documents from the state archives has rather ironically nurtured a perspective that creates a unifying picture of provincial towns. This is very much the perspective of Ankara- or Istanbul-based bureaucrats posted to provinces, a viewpoint that closely resembles the *taşra bunalımı* in modern Turkish fiction, that is, the proverbial view of the Anatolian provincial town as a cultural wasteland.[29]

The provincial town and its hinterland, *kasaba* and *taşra*, are ubiquitous in modern Turkish literature more often than not as the object of scorn. The writing of novels and short stories on Anatolian villages and small towns (e.g., R. N. Güntekin, Sabahettin Ali, Tarık Buğra, Cevdet Kudret, Karaosmanoğlu, Kemal Tahir, and Orhan Kemal) coincided

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28 Sezai Ozan Zeybek, "Small Towns in Turkey: Footnotes in Somebody Else's History," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 24:1 (2011).

29 This image of the provincial town is extremely widespread to be even reflected in ground-breaking scholarly work. For Keyder, for instance, the loss of their non-Muslim inhabitants made post-1923 Anatolian towns revert "to their sleepy incarnation as administrative centres," because the remaining Muslim bourgeoisie was disinterested in continuing "with the cultural traditions of enlightenment" that the non-Muslim middle classes were supposedly linked with. Çağlar Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey*, pp. 80, 82.

with the *discovery* of Anatolia by intellectuals.[30] In this respect and even today –consider the novels of Hasan Ali Toptaş or the films of Nuri Bilge Ceylan– this one-sided portrayal of Anatolia and its inhabitants from the perspective of big-city intellectuals creates and sustains the topos of the *taşra bunalımı*. This 'countryside depression' depicts provinces and small towns as the backwaters of change, as small, dirty, and deficient places full of boring people triggering a continued longing for Istanbul and big-city lights. A déjà vu sensation of a single undifferentiated provincial town instead of different provincial towns is invoked in common jokes such as the one in the *Black Book* by Pamuk. The context pertains to the ubiquitous Atatürk statue in any given Anatolian town: where does Atatürk point to? The response is: to the bus station, which recommends an immediate getaway from that place.[31] Perhaps this literature says as much about the provinces as it says about their authors' despair for being there. Ahmet Alkan argues that *taşra* is an invention of the Tanzimat intellectual, at a time when Istanbul-based bureaucrats began to be posted to the provinces. For Ömer Türkeş, the Turkish novel defines *taşra* as the *other* of modernization always from the outside.[32]

However, we can consider this literature on Anatolia as a form of a literary *juncture of state and society*.[33] These literary works are sources produced upon the meeting between city and province and between the bureaucrat with the small town clerk or artisan. Scholars endeavor to decipher this meeting in their studies of the introduction and negotiation of state-led reforms in the provinces. Moreover, the provincial town is the essential space in which the social engineering project of the state essentially occurred before 1950. It is foremost for this reason that the scholarly literature needs to struggle with this ubiquitous understanding of the provinces and the provincial town simply as an unmoving wasteland.

There is a recent attempt to relate different spatial contexts with specific historical trajectories in the Ottoman case of the transition from empire to nation state. In the explicit spatial imagination about three distinct trajectories of modernity during the late Ottoman Empire by Emrence,[34] Anatolian provincial towns seemingly correspond to the *interior trajectory*. In this scheme, the interior trajectory depicts the experience of inland towns in which a firm state presence was unchallenged by foreign intervention, and the strong presence of coalitions of Muslim middle classes fostered non-contentious consensual politics. However, compared with the two other trajectories in the analysis by Emrence (e.g., port cities and the frontiers), this inland trajectory and provincial towns are seriously understudied. I believe two large groups can be formed out of the literature that considers provincial towns. On the one hand, an extensive list of fascinating works on the

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30 A. Y. Yakın, "Proust Redux: 'There is a village somewhere out there': Representations of Anatolia as Terra Incognita," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20 (2007): 182–199; Gözütok, Türkan Kodal, "Refik Halit'ten Cumhuriyet Dönemi Hikayecilerine (1919–1940) Kasaba Olgusu," *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4/2 (2007): 73–93.

31 Orhan Pamuk, *Kara Kitap* (Istanbul: Can, 1991), 335.

32 Ahmet Turan Alkan, "Memleketin Taşra Hali"; Ömer Türkeş, "Orda Bir Taşra Var Uzakta," in Tanıl Bora (ed), *Taşraya Bakmak* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2005).

33 Joel Migdal, "The state in society: an approach to struggles for domination," in J. Migdal, Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue (eds), *State Power and Social Forces. Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1–30.

34 Cem Emrence, *Remapping the Ottoman Middle East Modernity, Imperial Bureaucracy and Islam* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011).

Mediterranean littoral and port cities is available.[35] On the other hand, pioneering works on ethnic cleansing and demographic engineering during the late Ottoman Empire and the early Republic recently increased. The geographical background of these works is the sites of ethnic cleansing, which mainly occurred in the fringes of the east and south. Therefore, we have fascinating works on the economic, demographic, and political dynamics in the transition from empire to nation state that works essentially correspond to the coastal and frontier trajectories, that is, the port city, and the border zones of ethnic cleansing. The in-between *interior trajectory* is not that auspicious in terms of the preference of scholars. We somehow return to the timeworn boring, dusty, and ugly Anatolian *kasaba* where nothing happens. One may even argue that the inland trajectory seems to be hastily crafted out of the *remains* of the geographies between port cities and frontiers.

Conclusion: Prospective Avenues of Research

The narrowing of the spatial–geographical perspective (going local to examine change and continuity related to procedures beyond the local) and the widening of the timeframe are promising directions for the research on the formative years of Turkey. The choice of period can vary according to the research questions and geography under study, but perhaps the first half of the 20th century can serve as a conventional time block. These two directions enable the examination of the impact of changes that had been in the process in many local societies even before 1923 or 1914 (e.g., redrawing of borders, roads, communication networks, and demographic change).[36] The works moving in this direction are mainly limited to the study of ethnic cleansing. In situating the demographic engineering of the last years of the Empire and the first ones of the Republic on the geography of specific provincial centers, this literature has been able to relate provincial spaces with something that transcends the image of boredom, provinciality, and repetition, which were habitually projected upon provincial spaces in both fiction and scholarly work.

The recent literature focused on the social bases of politics, the reproduction of urban elites through property allocation, preferential treatment, chances for upward mobility and political empowerment, and the processes through which local power blocks were consolidated and cultivated relations with the state.[37] Thus, provincial towns can serve as case studies and the basis of the necessary context for the exploration of the (re)shaping of linguistic, religious, cultural, and regional identities. Locally-consolidated work with a mixture of ethnographic detail would be welcome. The prospective areas to be examined may include youth groups and cultures, the local negotiation of gender,[38] crime, urban poor and job migration, as well as the spaces they occupy.

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35 Indicatively, Erol, *The Ottoman Crisis in Western Anatolia*; Meltem Toksöz, *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Making of the Adana-Mersin Region, 1850–1908* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

36 For a number of recent works that move to the direction of bridging the *gap* between pre- and post-1923 periods with research thoroughly grounded on local contexts and provincial elites, see Yaşar Tolga Cora, "A Muslim Great Merchant [Tüccar] Family in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Case Study of the Nemlizades, 1860–1930," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 19/1–2 (2013), 1–29; Alexander, Balistreri, "Turkey's forgotten political opposition: The demise of Kadirbeyoğlu Zeki Bey, 1919–1927," *Die Welt des Islams* 55 (2015), 141–85; Evren Dayar, "Nihayetsiz Bir Cidal": Antalya Gazetesinin Kurucusu Mehmet Emin ve Muarızları (1878–1928)', *Erdem* 75 (2018), pp. 67–98.

37 Balistreri, "Turkey's Forgotten Political Opposition"; Meeker, *A Nation of Empire*.

38 An interesting work in this regard is Gül Özsan, "Eşraf ailelerinin statü kazanma mücadelelerinde kadınların rolü," *Toplum ve Bilim* 118 (2010).

Furthermore, the ability to move beyond the entrenched *taşra* syndrome, which depicts provinces and provincial towns as a uniform monotonous space, and link *small places to larger issues* (from micro to macro) can be gained through the promotion of comparative research not only among regions/towns within but also beyond state borders. In the case of the late Ottoman Empire and Turkey, this geography of comparison would refer to ex-Ottoman spaces occupied by the new nation-states after WWI, especially geographical and political units that passed through similar processes. This could be, for example, a study on the pre- and post-1923 trajectories of previously related provincial towns in different sides of the post-WWI border. In general, prospective research can follow a transnational angle and move beyond the frame of the nation state, its source-producing bureaucracy and homogenizing policies. Such an endeavor necessitates collaborative research and the ability to reach sources in several languages and institutional environments.

Another research agenda in which the study of provincial towns can link small places to larger issues is related to the large area of population displacement and settlement that occurred at the end of the empire and the first decades of the republic and, without much exaggeration, shaped post-WWI Anatolia. This cannot but include the study of provincial towns and their hinterland as sites of population movement and demographic engineering (e.g., migration, deportation, and settlement), changes in property relations, and sociopolitical transformations. For instance, several towns were spatially and culturally divided in terms of ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences among locals, *muhacir* and *mübadil* populations, and sedentarized (semi)nomads as a result of demographic change and population politics.[39] How did this ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity influence local politics and state–society relations? What is the extent to which and how did displacement contribute to the emergence of new identities that hovered between the old and new hometowns? How did a Muslim from the town of Candia in Crete become a *Cretan* Turk in Mersin or Ayvalık, or how were local communities and individuals incorporated in (or excluded from) the nation-building process?[40] Here, the possibility of and the appeal for comparison are evident: how did displacement transform outgoing Anatolian Christians into Greeks?

Another promising area of research that can link small places to larger issues is the intersection between religious/confessional identities and politics. The formation of new faith-based identities and groups, and the evolution, in general, of Islam in the local level (e.g., folk, official, syncretic, and unorthodox), such as collective and personal trajectories from Alevi and other local and/or syncretic practices and identities to official Sunni Islam,[41] has rather stayed under the research radar. For example, consider the groundbreaking work of Taşkın on the emergence of conservative nationalist elites since the interwar period. The author recognizes the provincial origin of many postwar

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39 The literature that does not overlook this post-WWI ethnic, linguistic, and cultural richness is relatively limited. Indicatively, see recent works on Cretan Muslim refugees to Anatolia: Evren Dayar, "Antalya'da Girit Göçmenleri: Göç, İskân ve Siyaset," *Toplumsal Tarih*, 279 (2017), pp. 64–73; Elif Yılmaz, "Demirden Leblebi: Girit Ayvalık'a yerleşen Girit Mübadilleri," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, 22 (2011), pp. 157–189; Fahriye Emgili, "Tarsus'ta Girit Göçmenleri," *Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, XXV (2006), pp. 35–45.

40 For a fresh perspective on the subject, see Barış Ünlü, *Türklük Sözleşmesi* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2017).

41 Suavi Aydın, "Baraklar: Antep'in İskân Halkı" in M. Güntekin (ed.), *"Ta Ezelden Taşkındır' Antep"* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2011).

conservative intellectual elites[42] but is uninterested in investigating their formation in the provincial town. Instead, the author only examines them from the point they become legible in Istanbul or Ankara as university students, intellectuals, or politicians. In this manner, their unstudied *provincial background* reproduces an image of taşra that is less analytically beneficial, as a space of *stasis* or a site of *tradition*. Perhaps, this notion is an indication of a greater unwillingness to explore the past in the provinces and its people, which is indicative of the frequent equation of the *provincial* with the parochial.

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42 Yüksek Taşkın, *Milliyetçi Muhafazakâr Entelijansiya: Anti-Komünizmden Küreselleşme Karşıtlığına* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2007), 60.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

The *Afrodit* Case: The Popular Perception of Literature and Obscenity in Turkey at the Beginning of the Second World War

Afrodit Davası: İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın Başında Türkiye'de Edebiyat ve Müstehcenliğin Toplumsal Algısı

Sinan Yıldırmaz [1]

Abstract

In 1939, Nasuhi Baydar, a Turkish Grand National Assembly member, translated Pierre Louys' *Afrodit.* The novel was banned for obscenity, sparking widespread protests as well as public interest. The trials resulting from the novel's banning were sometimes held in the presence of as many as 5,000 protestors. As the debates over the value of an obscene novel continued to rage, the scope for discussions widened, with the case becoming part of the ongoing struggle between "revolutionary modernists" and opposing "reactionaries." Ultimately, the debate over the novel's alleged obscenity transformed into "nothing but fuel for constructing communities."

Even amidst significant events like the 1939 Erzincan earthquake and the Soviet annexation of Finland, the *Afrodit* case dominated media headlines and completely captured public attention. After the acquittal of the book's publisher, more than four different translations of the novel appeared on the market, significantly increasing its sales volume. Even before the acquittal, some pirated editions or other books using the same title were sold by street peddlers until midnight.

This paper aims to demonstrate how Turkey's intellectuals engaged in their political and ideological struggle during the Second World War by mobilizing the public over a trial regarding a piece of supposedly obscene literature.

Keywords: *Afrodit*, Banned books, Intellectual history, Obscenity, Pierre Louys, Public sphere, Turkey

Öz

1939 yılının sonunda, milletvekili ve edebiyatçı Nasuhi Baydar, Pierre Louys'un *Afrodit* adlı romanını çevirir. Roman kısa zaman içerisinde müstehcen olduğu gerekçe gösterilerek yasaklanır ve bu durum büyük bir toplumsal ilgiyle karşılanır. Bu ilginin sonucunda müstehcen bir kitap davası bazen beş bin kadar protestocunun katılımına sahne olur. Müstehcen bir romanın değeri üzerine süren tartışmalar genişledikçe, bu dava "devrimci modernistler" ile karşıt "gericiler" arasındaki süregelen mücadelelerin bir parçası haline gelir. Sonuç olarak, romanın iddia edilen müstehcenliği üzerine yapılan tartışmalar, birbirine karşıt "cemaatlerin" oluşumuna yol açar.

1939 Erzincan Depremi, Sovyetler Birliği'nin Finlandiya'yı işgali ve karaborsa gündemin en önemli konuları olması gerekirken, Afrodit Davası toplumda ilgiyi daha fazla üzerine çekmekteydi. Kitabın ve yayıncısının beraat etmesinin ardından, piyasada dört farklı çeviri daha ortaya çıkar ve büyük ilgi görür. Davanın beraat ile sonuçlanmasından önce, bazı korsan baskılar veya aynı başlığı kullanan diğer kitaplar, sokak satıcıları tarafından bile satılır.

Bu makale, Türkiye'deki ideolojik ve entelektüel bir müstehcen tartışmaya dönüşen müstehcen olma iddiasıyla yargılanan bir edebiyat eseri üzerinden gelişen bir dava etrafında yaşanan toplumsal mobilizasyonun, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında nasıl siyasi ve ideolojik bir ayrıma karşılık geldiğini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Düşünce Tarihi, Kamusal alan, Müstehcenlik, Pierre Louys, Türkiye, Yasak kitaplar

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Today, in Turkey, not many people know about the book *Afrodit* or its writer Pierre Louys.[1] If you search for the book in a bookstore, you will not find it because it is out of print.[2] However, during the first years of the Second World War, everyone had something to say about the book and its writer, and by April 1940, you could find four different translations of the book in bookstores or even on the streets sold by peddlers.[3] During the first years of the Second World War, the book became popular due to its prohibition for being deemed obscene by Istanbul's attorney general. The *Afrodit* case first attracted the attention of the foremost writers of the period and then the public. From December 1939 to April 1940, the *Afrodit* case was one of the most popular events in the media.

What made these writers and the people become deeply concerned about this case and the problem of literature and obscenity in general? What prompted such sensitivity toward prohibiting a piece of literary material that was defined as "obscene"? This article seeks to answer these questions. The popular perception of literature and obscenity, in general, is examined by scrutinizing one of the most popular cases of the period. By considering the reactions to the *Afrodit* case, this study further investigates the importance of literature as a public sphere for intellectual resistance during the single-party period in Turkey.

The Case

In November 1939, Istanbul's attorney general prohibited the publication of Pierre Louys' *Afrodit*, which was translated into Turkish by Nasuhi Baydar. The translator was a member of parliament from Malatya, who had previously been Minister of Sports and was also the editor-in-chief of the state-sponsored newspaper *Ulus*. The first news of the case appeared in December 1939 in almost all newspapers. In the *Afrodit* case, the court based its ruling on the expertise of İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, who was an art historian rather than a litterateur. He was also known as the discoverer of the map of Piri Reis from the archives of Topkapı Palace (Korok, 1940: 4).[4] During the first trial, Semih Lütfi Erciyaş,

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1   Hailing from an aristocratic family, Pierre Louys (1870–1925) was a French novelist and lyric poet. Although he had a specific education, he did not choose a profession for himself. Instead, influenced by Leconte de Lisle in particular, he became interested in literature. He became active alongside symbolists, such as Heredia, Mallarme, and Verlaine; founded *Le Comque*, the newspaper of this movement, in 1890; and befriended the young Andre Gide. In his art, he primarily dealt with the Ancient Hellenic world. His most well-known work is *Chanson de Bilitis* (Songs of Bilitis, 1894), which consists of songs of a gentle prostitute from Mytilene. The main subject of *Aphrodite* (1896) is similar to the Songs of Bilitis.

2   The latest translation of *Aphrodite: moueurs antiques (1896)*, *Afrodit-Aşk Tanrıçası'nın Entrikaları*, is by Çağdaş Dedeoğlu (2014). However, this was re-translated from the English translation of Louys' book, not from its original French version.

3   These four versions are as follows: *Afrodit-Eski Adetler* (1940), trans. Nasuhi Baydar; *Afrodit* (1940), trans. Kâ-Gü; *Hakiykî Afrodit-Eski ahlak ve adetler* (1940), trans. Dâniş Remzi Korok; *Afrodit-Eski Örf ve Adetler* (1939), trans. Avni İnsel. Although the last version is dated as 1939, it can be understood from the back cover that it was published after the case ended. However, the publisher and the translator wanted to distance themselves from this prohibited translation. According to the back cover, they were the first to translate the book into Turkish but postponed publication due to various difficulties. This translation was finished in 1937, long before the prohibition of Nasuhi Baydar's version. To stress their precedence, they dated the book as 1939. The first translation was prohibited and became the subject of the case. The others were published after the book's acquittal. Kâ-Gü's translation was also prohibited, although on a different pretext. It was prohibited because it was published before the trial's result. The publisher tried to gain advantage from the book's popularity before the translation was republished that the case dealt with (*Akşam*, March 12, 1940; *Tan*, March 9, 1940).

4   For the study of Konyalı in which the maps of Piri Reis are mentioned, see Konyalı (1936). İbrahim Hakkı

the book's publisher, rejected the attestation of Konyalı due to his not being an expert on literature. After deciding to call another group of experts to evaluate the novel, the court asked İstanbul University to provide five relevant names (*Cumhuriyet*, December 20, 1939). The university suggested three people: Mustafa Şekip Tunç, a professor of psychology; Ali Nihat Tarlan, a Ph.D. in textual analysis; and Sadrettin Celal Antel, a professor of pedagogy.[5] In their short expert report, which contradicted the previous one, the professors concluded that the novel could not be considered obscene and, therefore, could not be prohibited on that basis.

The two reports did not differ because of the change in experts but because they evaluated the text from completely different contexts. In his report, Konyalı viewed the book as a "historical document," whereby he took the world and lives of the people described in *Afrodit* as historical fact. That is, rather than evaluating the novel as art in its free form, he considered it as a "distortion of reality" presented in the form of art. When the second approach—evaluating the novel as art—is the basis of evaluation, there is no legal reason to prohibit the novel's publication. In the criminal code of the period, Articles 426 and 427 define when something should be considered obscene. Any artistic or scientific material that does not conflict with the two Articles is excluded from prohibition. Such artistic or scientific material could be legally published (Safa, January 15, 1940). Article 31 of the press law provides the same definition (*Cumhuriyet*, December 20, 1939). While Konyalı viewed the novel as a historical document, the second expert group evaluated the book as art.

The prosecutor agreed with Konyalı, claiming that "our case is not a case of literature" (*Cumhuriyet*, December 20, 1939). After the second report was read in court, the prosecutor argued that if this book was an example of literature, it had to be readable by all citizens, including children. To prove his point, he asked the education board (*Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu*) of the Ministry of Education if this novel could be prescribed to students as reading material in literature lessons. The board reported to the court that, although the novel was not obscene, it could not be given as reading material to the students (Korok, 1940: 6). In asking the board about the book's level of obscenity, the prosecutor's aim was to prove that not every piece of art could be deemed innocent regarding obscenity. The board's report enabled him to argue that the book was not just an ordinary piece of literature that should be made freely available to the public. That is, he attempted to broaden the control of literature, and the arts in general, through public law. Thus, this case was an attempt to give power to the courts rather than litterateurs or artists to decide whether to label any public material as obscene (Korok, 1940: 7). As discussed later, this approach was vehemently opposed.

In subsequent trials, the attorney general sued several newspapers and writers over their opposition to the *Afrodit* case, with more than 20 cases opened against newspapers

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Konyalı (1896–1984) continued his studies on the subject after the case ended. His urban history studies are especially accepted as important. For a detailed explanation of Konyalı's intervention as the expert on the case and *Cumhuriyet* newspaper's political accusations against him, see Semiz (2015). In another defamation case between Konyalı and *Cumhuriyet,* Konyalı sued the newspaper editors for publishing documents about his political attitudes before the foundation of the Republic. *Cumhuriyet* accused Konyalı of being one of the enemies of the Republic.

5   These three people, all from the Literature Faculty of Istanbul University, were known as right-wing conservative intellectuals of the period. Although none were litterateur, they were significant intellectual figures.

by the end of February 1940 (*Yeni Sabah*, February 28–29, 1940). Except for some extreme-right ones, all the country's newspapers were accused of making interpretations that could influence the outcome of an ongoing case. Despite great pressure on them, the press continued to report news about the *Afrodit* case, even placing it on their front pages. When the book's publisher was acquitted on March 1, 1940, the news became the day's headline, regardless of each newspaper's political leanings. People present in the court applauded the decision, while the prosecutor appealed against it. Speaking after the court's decision, the publisher said, "This is the greatest reward that I have had during my 32 years of life as a publisher. I thank you for this. I wish to donate all of the book's income to the victims of the earthquake in Erzincan" (Korok, 1940: 15).[6] On April 2, 1940, the court of appeal also accepted the decision, enabling *Afrodit* to be freely published.

This short description of the trial shows little difference from any other obscenity trials in Turkish history or elsewhere. However, strange things happened during the *Afrodit* trials, which had not been witnessed before. Newspapers, intellectuals, and the general reading public became caught up in the court events and allegations. They paid great attention to this particularly riveting case. Crowds of people wished to attend the trials to support the publisher, the translator, or *Afrodit* in general. When the attorney general began suing the newspapers, they continued to enthusiastically report about the case and the crowds, with the writers attempting to interpret the crowd's enthusiasm. It would be appropriate to say that they tried to give meaning and assign significance to the crowds' fascination for the case. In other words, a kind of mass mobilization occurred between the writers-litterateurs and the crowds, who were curious about the outcome of the case, the book, and particularly the obscenity of the book's subject. However, before describing the reactions to the case, it is necessary to deliberate on how writers and ordinary people understood obscenity during the 1939–1940 period.

The Perception of Obscenity

In general, there are various reasons for the general public's desire to gain knowledge of the obscene or private affairs. A general deductive explanation would be their interest in the forbidden or secret affairs. Obscenity in literature can be traced back nearly to the origination of written culture. While also a subject of oral literary traditions, obscenity has long existed in both Eastern and Western classical literature. Historical texts of the East, such as *Kama Sutra*, *The Perfumed Garden,* and *One Thousand and One Nights*, and Western classics, such as *Decameron* and *Canterbury Tales*, are generally accepted as early examples. Initially, all these texts faced defamation, repudiation, contempt, and trials. Yet, such literature also attracted a large number of audience and generated its own readership. However, most of these texts have not been classified since as "obscene literature." In modern times, obscenity or pornography in literature chiefly refers to a kind of low-culture text written to attract plebeian readers.

With the advent of "modernity" in European history, the "novel" as a new individualistic

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6   In December 1939, a disastrous earthquake struck Erzincan in Eastern Turkey, killing many people. Everyone tried to help the people of the region, with newspapers and all kinds of organizations conducting aid campaigns for the victims. The publisher Semih Lütfi Erciyaş followed the same route, trying to gain the people's sympathy and show that the trial was not held only for gaining material advantage as he was being accused of by some writers.

written genre targeted a new audience, with obscenity/pornography in literature becoming a sub-genre that was labeled "obscene plebeian literature." Instead of the themes, fictionality, and perceptions of high-brow literature, plebeian literature used language that appealed to the general masses. It also employed basic plots with themes and characters taken from everyday life. Contrary to "classical" works, this literature resorted to themes that increasingly appealed to the masses to consume such books. During the European Enlightenment, this obscene literature—or pornography in its excessive form—was viewed as a new genre that could negatively affect the general public. Even in those times, it was defined in relation to "libertarianism" (Hunt, 1993: 36).

Interestingly, this obscene plebeian literature was employed as a tool for social critiques of the religious and political authorities during the European Enlightenment (Hunt, 1993: 10). Especially in pre-Revolutionary France, this genre became a useful tool in the struggle for the "dethronement" of monarchical power. As popular culture gained a heightened interest in this kind of literature, the obscene "best-sellers" became an instrument for disgracing the rulers, enabling a critique of their effects and power over society. During this period, most best-sellers in France were obscene literature and, because of their effect on society, were subject to intense scrutiny and prohibition (Darnton, 1995).

During Ottoman–Turkish modernization, obscene literature began to appear with the arrival of the novel as a new form of written literature. Although there was already a strong tradition of obscene literature in both classical *Divan* and folk literature, Western obscene literature only appeared with the widespread use of the printing press. Irvin Cemil Schick believes that this development is a consequence of "print capitalism" in the late Ottoman period (2011: 196–216). According to Zafer Toprak, the spread and popularity of obscene plebeian literature in Ottoman society can be viewed as a means of "escape" from the adverse effects of Ottoman military defeats and the commoditization of women due to social crisis and poverty (1987: 25).[7]

Obscene literature was prohibited or subjected to trials for both its "problematic" definition in socially constructed moral codes and its political effects. Two cases preceding the *Afrodit* case exemplify the reception of obscene literature by the Ottoman-Turkish authorities. The first case concerned the novel *Bir Zânbâğın Hikâyesi* (The Story of a Lily, 1910), written by Mehmed Rauf (1875–1931). This case destroyed the author's literary reputation and led to his eight-month long imprisonment for acts against social morality. Furthermore, he lost his position as captain in the Ottoman military by court-martial (Karakışla, 2001: 15). The second obscenity case concerned a popular science book rather than a literature text. The book is titled *Gebe Kalmamak İçin Ne Yapmalı* (What to Do to Avoid Getting Pregnant) and is published by the monthly magazine *Sevimli Ay* in 1927. This book was accused of encouraging "disorderly moral behavior," and a general press campaign was also launched against it. Following the trial, the publisher was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and imposed a heavy fine of 15 Turkish lira (Bardakçı, 1986: 17).

The distinctive feature in these obscenity trials is the deliberations on the characteristics of the literary subjects in dispute, which was also an important factor in the *Afrodit* case.

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7 Toprak's article also summarizes the development of obscene plebeian literature during Ottoman-Turkish modernization.

Books classified as obscene plebeian literature, which were viewed as having lesser artistic value, could be prohibited more readily than other texts considered as having scientific or refined literary value. This situation developed as a result of the conflict between the literary perceptions of the era's intellectuals and the state authorities' attempts to define the limits of obscenity. Low-culture literature, such as obscene plebeian literature, could be more readily sacrificed by the period's dominant writer/literature milieu; however, they adopted a more defensive stance when the discussion revolved around a high-culture product. This high-culture/low-culture dichotomy also became the key element in discussions surrounding the *Afrodit* case. The defendants of *Afrodit* asserted that Pierre Louys was a member of the high-culture literary circle, so his work could not be judged by its effect on public morality. Conversely, the authorities supporting the book's prohibition attempted to prove that the book had no artistic or literary value. For İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, an important conservative philosopher of the period, this general perception of the intellectuals was easily perceived:

> If then our problem concerns a work of art, let us think: Which works of art neglect the modesty and pudicity of the people? Here is an all-out answer to you: None!... The work of art is not obscene, whether it mentions morality or immorality. Because a work of art – if it really is a work of art – cannot bear an existence that will neglect public modesty and pudicity. … So, for the man of law, both the theoretical and practical principle should be this: when investigating whether something is obscene or not, the experts or jury needs to be formed not from men of ethics or men of law but from artists and aesthetes. (January 4, 1940: 14)

Two different views exist regarding the question of obscenity. Although "pure" obscenity was unwelcome to either views, the discussion revolved around whether obscenity was acceptable or not in the arts. Those supporting the prohibition of *Afrodit* argued that obscenity should not be accepted even in the form of art. They discussed the problem around the terms "national morality" and "societal order." The social utility of the artistic subject played the primary role in this view. Rakım Ziyaoğlu provides a clear example of this perspective:

> If the work of art is appropriate for the morality and the traditions of the society, useful to the life of society, it should be printed in millions and permitted to spread; the book should be read everywhere. If the book is not appropriate for the morality of society, harmful to the life of society, and contrary to the politics of the state, it should be prohibited. Earning money from such works and the desire to spoil the morality of society in this way should be blocked. (1940: 14)

While the supporters of this view defined a work of art in terms of its utility, they did not clarify which authorized institution would decide whether a work of art was harmful or not. Instead, they argued that all kinds of obscene material should be prohibited due to the challenge of discerning between what was considered "harmful" and "useful." They also attempted to broaden the meaning of the term obscenity by speculating about nudity. Ziyaoğlu, for example, considered nudity as follows: "It is not nudity that frightens society. It is not the aesthetic view. Not the statue of *Kirizis*. But the evil that nudity will do by disguising itself in such masks" (Ziyaoğlu, 1940: 12).

The other viewpoint evaluated obscenity according to its form, arguing that obscenity in arts should not be prohibited. Cafer Seno offered the following reasons:

Since there are morality and virtue in life, immorality and lack of virtue exist too. All of them are the realities of life. Art, in avoiding hypocrisy, without exception, has to show us life, by including every side of it. Otherwise, it would not be art. (December 7, 1939)

Similarly, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, a well-known conservative poet, described the limits of obscenity in Islamic thought as follows:

It is an academic reality throughout the world that a masterpiece of art from an aesthetic perspective is not obscene but brutish work is obscene. Also, from the Islamic viewpoint, within the limits of religion, lustful value is good and widely accepted; brutish nature is bad and rejected. To perceive the difference, which we could never understand and know, between lustfulness and brutishness must not be that hard. Just listen to the marvelous words of the Prophet, who owns the religion: Islam is nothing but bashfulness. The real work of art never offends our feeling of bashfulness! I don't see any difference between considering as obscene and confiscating *Aphrodite* and arresting any beautiful woman that passes along the street as being obscene. (December 19, 1939)

For the followers of this view, the form in which obscenity is presented comes first. After the acquittal of *Afrodit*'s publisher, the book was sold to everyone, even by peddlers, regardless of age and profession. The main motivation of those adhering to this perspective was to support the publication of *Afrodit* and prevent the control of literary works by state institutions. However, they did not want the book to be made accessible to every individual. Instead, they tried to impose new limits as they were unsure about the book's utility. Their real intent was to protect the "sphere of literature" from state control. The supporters of this view also agreed with the others regarding the problem of obscenity, as indicated by Va-Nü:

The court has acquitted *Afrodit* due to its being a work of literature. But the book of Pierre Louys is only a gain for Turkish when it is printed in a limited quantity and kept concealed in a library exclusively for intellectuals and litterateurs. Otherwise, when it is printed and presented to children in the streets, the nature of the problem becomes different. (March 10, 1940)

These discussions on obscenity and art also occurred during the foundational years of the Republic. The dichotomy between the cultural heritage of the late Ottoman period and the new cultural base that Republicans wished to create in the new Republic was an important issue that needed to be addressed for the new elites. A survey conducted by Refik Ahmet Sevengil in *Vakit,* a Turkish newspaper, in 1929 enquired about obscenity in art. The interviewees gave similar responses, with 14 out of 18 agreeing that works of art could not be labeled as obscene, although on differing grounds (Arslan, 2016: 67).

The people, however, viewed obscenity differently than the litterateur-writer milieu. Obscene materials have always captured the attention of the public in general. Richard Sennett argues that "intimate vision is induced in proportion as the public domain is abandoned as empty" (2002: 12). During the 1939–1940 period, the public sphere was not free from the control and dominance of the state. In a society characterized by stringent social control, people tend to have a greater desire and curiosity to acquire knowledge of intimate relations. This phenomenon can be witnessed both under oppressive governments, where various forms of participation in the political sphere are constrained, and in depoliticized societies, where politics unfolds in a corrupted public sphere. As discussed in the following section, the Turkish people paid remarkable attention to the

Afrodit case. Thus, in the minds of the people, it was not only the issue of prohibiting an artistic work of literature but also the curiosity to learn about the obscenity hidden in the book. Considering the people's habits as described in the newspapers of the period, their desire to gain access to obscene materials becomes obvious. When Konyalı published *Tarihi Afrodit* (Historical Aphrodite, 1940), people hurried to buy the book from the peddlers, believing that they were indeed buying Pierre Louys' novel. This suggests that the people were not buying the book due to their support for it but due to their eagerness to acquire the obscene information from the book. This desire was clearly expressed in the peddlers' calls while selling Konyalı's book: "Do not go to *yüksek kaldırım* (high street) to buy pictures of women! Give me 50 piasters and buy an *Afrodit*" (Küçük, February 20, 1940).[8]

The Popular Perception and Discussions

The *Afrodit* trials attracted the people's attention more than any previous obscenity case, with as many as 5,000 people attending the trials in the courthouse, according to newspaper reports (*Tan*, February 25, 1940). However, estimates differed from newspaper to newspaper, with some, like *Yeni Sabah,* which supported the prohibition of *Afrodit,* not reporting the behaviors and the number of people in detail. However, the people displayed immense enthusiasm for going to the court and supporting *Afrodit*. The crowd became so intense that the prosecutor wanted to postpone the trial due to the inappropriate atmosphere in the courthouse (Güngör, February 25, 1940). Despite the use of police and even the gendarmerie to control the crowd, it sometimes overcame the barricades and filled the courthouse. When the officers refused to admit the people, they protested outside, singing the national anthem and the Republic's tenth-anniversary march to show their support for the accused.

The whole society became intensely occupied with the case to an unprecedented degree. In a caricature printed in the cartoon magazine *Karikatür,* the case was depicted as more important than the black market, which had been the most important issue in wartime Turkey (Ramiz, January 18, 1940). The people appeared less preoccupied with the war, to the extent that the newspapers gave the case equal space with the Soviet annexation of Finland.

In the media, there were two different perceptions about the *Afrodit* case. The first pertained to the material benefits the case would provide for specific individuals, while the second was intricately linked to mobilizing the people, considering the *Afrodit* case as a "national problem."

The first perception took a humorous view of the case and concentrated mainly on the material benefits that specific individuals would gain due to the *Afrodit* case.[9] Burhan Belge was a prominent proponent of this view and wrote humorous articles about each

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8   *Yüksek Kaldırım* (High Street) was originally a long stairway starting at the intersection of Karaköy and Bankalar Streets and ending in Galata. Due to its proximity to Karaköy harbor, the district also had many brothels visited mostly by sailors.

9   A humorous writer of the period, Naci Sadullah (1907/10–1975), wrote a satirical poem criticizing the publisher's material benefit: *O beauty, o beautiful fairy/In the end of the day, someone is very lucky/When the trial ends, our friend Semih Lütfi/Thanks to us will have thousands of clients*. The poem is translated by Arslan (2016: 79).

day's important events. In his articles about the *Afrodit* case, he humorously claimed that if the publisher is acquitted in the case, then many people would use the name of the book for marketing different goods to increase their sales (January 17, 1940; February 26, 1940). Such perceptions increased after Konyalı published *Tarihi Afrodit,* with advertising posters declaring "The *Afrodit* you waited for is out now!" (*Akşam*, February 26, 1940). Due to public enthusiasm, this book sold in great numbers, although they mistakenly believed they were buying the original *Afrodit* by Pierre Louys.

As the initial expert consulted in the case, Konyalı faced accusations of exploiting the people's interest to benefit himself. The media directed their anger at him as he was instrumental in banning the book. Thus, when he published his own book, the newspaper writers, especially Peyami Safa, accused him of trading in the name of *Afrodit* (*Cumhuriyet*, February 17, 1940; Safa, February 19, 1940). The case became more about the trial of Konyalı than the book's obscenity, with writers like Safa exposing Konyalı's character and previous political practices. Consequently, the material benefit perspective coalesced with the second perspective so that Konyalı's character and political views became part of the "national problem" arising from the *Afrodit* case.

Two days after Konyalı's book was published, *Cumhuriyet,* a Turkish newspaper, published documents about Konyalı, written in his own handwriting that indicated he had not been a supporter of the Anatolian movement during the National Struggle years. On the contrary, he had supported the British forces and swore at Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and the entire Kemalist struggle (February 20, 1940; February 23, 1940).

The second perception arose at the very beginning of the case when Cafer Seno's article criticized the prosecutor and the expert as "reactionary" for prohibiting the book. He claimed that the book had already been published 26 years before in Süleyman Tevfik's translation. Seno's article stated:

> How could this happen? A work of art, which has not been found obscene by the dark bigotry twenty-six years ago, could be considered a disgrace and sinful and prohibited on the eve of nineteen forty, and could be taken to court! ... There must be a misunderstanding in this! ... Could the Prosecutor of the Republic of our secular and revolutionary era act with an understanding that is much more backward than the period that was twenty-four years ago? This should not be considered. (December 7, 1939)

From the beginning, the case was considered as part of the "reactionary-progressive" struggle. As the trials progressed, the views and interpretations of most of the writers-litterateurs remained unchanged. İrem Üstünsöz defines this perspective in a similar manner, asserting that "the case per se was evaluated as an attack on the modernization ideals of the Republic" (2015: 223).

During the trials held in the presence of thousands of spectators, the crowds began rallying behind the case as a national problem: a struggle between reactionary and progressive forces. The articles and interpretations of the prominent writers of the time gave meaning and significance to the people's interest in the case. The crowds went to the courthouse as if at war, struggling with the police to get in and trying to hinder the trial by singing the national anthem and tenth-anniversary march when they could not enter. Conversely, writers consistently acknowledged the youth's sensitivity to this national issue and urged them to actively combat dark bigotry (Sertel [Z], February 22, 1940;

Sertel [S], February 25, 1940). Upon the disclosure of Konyalı's documents, it became evident to these groups that this was simply a battle against reactionary threats attempting to impede the progress of revolutionary Turkey. Mekki Said Esen summarized this threat as follows:

> Let Konyalı İbrahim continue his affirmation on the obscenity with conviction, the *Afrodit* of *Piyer Luiz* exposed a mentality, that sprouted in mildew. Apparently, to choke the hatred and wrath of national conscience, the appearance of this *Afrodit* against them was predestined in 1940. (29 February 1940)

Nevertheless, while the issue in question was described as a struggle against reactionary forces, another perspective—the reactionary view—labeled it as a national problem. They opposed the publication of the novel and supported its prohibition; however, the supporters of this view did not show themselves in court. According to the supporters of the second perspective, publishing this novel would poison the Turkish nation's national morality. For example, M. Rasim Özgen states, "This tiny novel is produced with the skill of proficiency and art in such a very good way that it poisons the morality like the poison of coal brings death in a lovely languor" (1940: 8). Yet, the two perspectives were not significantly different in terms of their final solution. The difference in their approach was in their evaluation of "literature as a public sphere."

As discussions continued in the newspapers, the nature of the case evolved from being one centered on obscenity to becoming a national problem in the war against reactionary movements. After the trials, few people remained concerned with the original reason for the case.

Two articles by Safa are valuable for accurately understanding the meaning given to this case by the writer-litterateur milieu. The first, *Davacı Biziz* (We Are the Plaintiff), was written at the outset of the case (January 12, 1940). In this article, Safa formulated a kind of "front" against those trying to prohibit the book. He gathered all prominent figures of the period on one side and accused the rest of being the enemy of the regime. As he put it, "We are the main plaintiff, and our trial is the trial of revolution, trial of beauty, trial of culture" (January 12, 1940). Richard Sennett describes another similar case, the Dreyfus Affair, in his book, *The Fall of Public Man*. He interprets the process as follows:

> As each stage in this spy-story detection unfolds, a conflict unfolds about what the evidence means. The longer the Affair goes on, however, the less the parties involved are concerned with what the evidence tells about an act of espionage, and the more they are concerned with using the evidence to define two communities in conflict. At a certain moment the line is crossed where the spy-story loses any interest other than as fuel for the community via confrontation. (2002: 240)

This view can be adapted to this case. Thus, Safa engages in a practice akin to what Emile Zola did when he wrote his well-known article *J'Accuse* (I Accuse). Safa formulates a community against an opposition, which he himself has formulated. The trial of a piece of literature material was turned into another issue, which was not a piece of literature and which was not accused of being obscene. The people, who were initially not motivated to protect the regime, went to the court to protect the regime from omnipotent and omnipresent enemies. Thus, conflicting communities were constructed through the process of mass mobilization in the name of a national crisis. By the end of the trials,

the debates no longer focused on whether the novel was obscene or not as its alleged obscenity had transformed into mere fuel for constructing communities via confrontation.

Safa's second article, *Her Dava Millidir* (Every Trial Is National), written after the book's publisher was acquitted, explained how the writer-litterateur milieu needed such a construction. He discussed popular support during the *Afrodit* case and asserted that every trial must be open to the public as this would increase the societal awareness of the people. Regarding the importance of individual rights, he argued:

> From now on, except for some people who grin inanely and pretend to be intellectual and a group of immature spirits who are unaware of what is going on in the world, all of us know that to act unjustly even to a single member of Turkish community would not be directed against only that man; it would be against all the nation and, above that, against the concept of justice. Protection of this concept is national; above that, human protection, protection that is essential to be solid against the aggression… (March 3, 1940)

Here, Safa clearly discusses the new language formed during the *Afrodit* case. He highlights the priority of individual rights as a collective right. Hence, the protection of individual rights should be regarded as an integral aspect of a collective struggle. In doing so, he addressed and enlightened the community formed during the *Afrodit* case, which was initially only interested in the book's obscenity. Subsequent discussions in the case drew the community's attention to the rhetoric of progressive-reactionary conflict. Here, Sennett's emphasis on the creation of a new language in the Dreyfus Affair should be recalled. Sennett says that "Zola offered them … a language of belonging to a collective struggle, rather than a set of logical reasons why Dreyfus should be free" (2002: 249). Alike Zola, Safa attempted to establish a new community language related to the *Afrodit* case, aiming to foster a new community united by an integrative identity for collective struggle.

Concluding Remarks

In the first half of the twentieth century, both in Turkey and around the world, the primary focus was on addressing the unresolved issues of the previous century. The two World Wars, the resulting economic crises, and the rise of fascism, as well as the formation of new nation-states and national identities, played a crucial role in shaping the twentieth century. It is important to recognize that literature and mass arts did not exist outside of this establishment process, instead playing a fundamental role in shaping the social fabric of the time. In Turkey, intense discussions surrounding the institutionalization and establishment of a new national identity marked the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such discussions took place at all levels of society. The modernization process in Turkey was inextricably linked to the emergence of a new state and political order, with debates on literature playing a crucial role in shaping this formative process. Literature and literary writers became the torchbearers of the new national and state identity, disseminating and institutionalizing it in social terms. From the outset of the modernization process, writers were able to successfully establish an autonomous domain for themselves, which was closely tied to the adoption of a foundational ideological mission. The significance of this autonomy cannot be overstated, as it was often perceived as an essential component in acquiring hegemonic social ideals. Any political intervention against this autonomy was considered as deviating from modernization and new ideals.

The *Afrodit* case, and the ensuing debate over it, was a clear example of how the issue of literature was not just about obscenity or sexuality. Rather, the central issue at hand was the extent of intervention that the state and the established order could exert in the field of literature. This issue has been a recurrent theme in the literary history of Turkey, where writers and artists have often struggled for autonomy. This struggle has at times been directed more toward challenging political intervention rather than determining content, whether in portraying village realities or defining the subject matter of paintings and sculptures. In those years, the prevailing belief among the intellectuals was that literature and the arts play a vital role in shaping the social fabric of any society, and it is the responsibility of the state and established order to respect and protect the autonomy of these domains.

Thus, intellectuals and artists of those days ardently criticized any interference in literature as a public sphere of intellectual resistance. During Republican Turkey's single-party period, literature was the most important tool for resisting state policies. As Ahmet Oktay notes, the intellectuals of this period were constrained by the regime's strict ideological control:

> The regime was avoiding as much from violent oppression to survive. In this way, it was trying to unify the newborn intelligentsia under a specific state ideology. Similarly, this situation, due to the intellectuals' lack of open political opportunity, paved the way for the intellectuals' inclination to the sphere of culture. (1986: 338, 348)

During the single-party period, literature was employed by the intellectuals as one of the important domains to develop their resistance to the system. Therefore, they vehemently criticized any interference in it. In the *Afrodit* case, they perceived a similar threat to their sphere and felt compelled to resist. They took advantage of the people's interest in obscene materials to formulate an arena of struggle within the framework of progressive-reactionary rhetoric. In the early years of the Republic when the people needed to be mobilized, this rhetoric was used intensely. During those years, all kinds of groups were kept alive to the threat of the "enemies of the revolution" (*inkılap düşmanları*), which was occasionally authenticated by civil uprisings. During the 1939–1940 period, the *Afrodit* case served this purpose.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE / ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

Licco Amar's (1891-1959) Universe and Times Intersecting With *Alla Turca* Life: Writing About Music in Turkey*
Licco Amar'ın (1891-1959) Evreni ve *Alla Turca* Yaşamla Kesişen Zamanlar: Türkiye'de Müzik Yazarlığı Yapmak

Barış Çatal [1]

Abstract
There are several reasons for selecting Licco Amar for this study. Firstly, despite the independent contributions regarding the scientists who came to Turkey due to the Second World War, none of them reserves a special place for Licco Amar's life in Turkey or his writings about music in Turkey. However, this article attempts to provide a perspective through what Licco Amar produced rather than directly dwelling on his life or his days in Turkey.

This article focuses on nine articles of Licco Amar, which were published in three different periodicals in Turkey [*Kültür Haftası* (1936), *Yurt ve Dünya* (1943-1944), and *Müzik Görüşleri* (1949-1950)]. One of these articles was published in *Kültür Haftası*, four of them in *Yurt ve Dünya*, and four of them in *Müzik Görüşleri*.

Licco Amar is aware that he is writing for the Turkish reader. As early as 1936, when he wrote his earliest article, it is observed that Amar's writings have the aspect of introducing Turkish readers/music lovers to a musical culture with which they are not familiar. Secondly, his *Yurt ve Dünya* (1943-1944) and *Müzik Görüşleri* (1949-1950) articles can be distinguished in terms of the period they were written in. Amar's *Yurt ve Dünya* writings addresses more 'popular' figures (such as Beethoven and Bach) in classical music genre. Of course, the traditional commemoration of these composers coinciding with the period in which these articles were penned was also influential.

Keywords: Licco Amar, Kültür Haftası, Yurt ve Dünya, Müzik Görüşleri, Filiz Ali

Öz
Bu çalışma için Licco Amar'ın seçilmesinin birkaç nedeni bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki II. Dünya Savaşı nedeniyle Türkiye'ye gelen bilim insanları için müstakil çalışmalar bulunsa da bunların hiçbirinde Licco Amar'ın, Türkiye yaşantısının ya da Türkiye'de kaleme aldığı müzik yazılarının özel bir yer tutmamasıdır. Ancak bu yazı doğrudan Licco Amar'ın yaşantısına ya da Türkiye günlerine eğilmek yerine, onun ürettikleri üzerinden bir perspektif denemesi gerçekleştirecektir.

Bu makale için Licco Amar'ın Türkiye'de üç farklı süreli yayında [*Kültür Haftası* (1936), *Yurt ve Dünya* (1943-1944) ve *Müzik Görüşleri* (1949-1950)] yayımlanan dokuz yazısına yoğunlaşılmıştır. Bunlardan biri *Kültür Haftası*'nda, dördü *Yurt ve Dünya*'da, dördü de *Müzik Görüşleri* sayfalarında kendisine yer bulmuştur.

Licco Amar bu yazıları Türkiyeli okuyucu için yazdığının farkındadır. Daha en erken yazısını kaleme aldığı 1936'dan itibaren yazılarının Türkiyeli okuyucuya/müzikseverlere pek de aşınası olmadıkları bir müzik kültürünü tanıtmak gibi bir yönü olduğu görülmektedir. *Yurt ve Dünya* (1943-1944) yazıları ile *Müzik Görüşleri* (1949-1950) yazıları dönemsel olarak birbirinden ayrılabilir. Amar'ın *Yurt ve Dünya* yazıları klasik müzik janrında daha "popüler" figürleri (Beethoven ve Bach gibi) ele alır. Elbette bunda bu bestecilerin, yazıların kaleme alındığı döneme denk gelen geleneksel anmaları da etkili olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Licco Amar, Kültür Haftası, Yurt ve Dünya, Müzik Görüşleri, Filiz Ali

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To Filiz Ali…

To that precious person who wrote the first
noteworthy article about Licco Amar
in Turkey with a sense of gratitude…

Although the transition from empire to nation-state in Turkey takes place through political reforms at the macro level, the capacity of these reforms to comprehend social and daily life is limited. The nation-state's consolidation of this field brings with it new practices in the fields of language, history, and culture. Within this framework, the Republic put "Music Reform" on its agenda, turned to Western polyphonic music as a break from tradition, and contacted the West to realize this. Licco Amar's "compulsory residence" is related to this.

There are several reasons for selecting Licco Amar for this study. Firstly, despite the independent contributions of scientists who came to Turkey because of the Second World War, none of them reserves a special place for Licco Amar's life in Turkey or his writing about music in Turkey. Licco Amar is mostly known in Turkey with the very short profile presented in *Devlet Konservatuvarı Tarihçesi* written by Orhan Şaik Gökyay in 1941. This profile suggests that Amar was the first person to give a report on musical revolution in Turkey. (Gökyay 1941: 13-15). This article attempts to provide a perspective through what Licco Amar produced[1] rather than directly dwelling on his life (Rieber, 2009)[2] or his days in Turkey.[3] There has been no study on the intellectual material produced by Licco Amar in Turkey so far.

Licco Amar was born in Budapest on December 4, 1891. However, he was an Ottoman citizen. A Macedonian businessman, Licco Amar's father Michael Amar' roots went back to a Jewish family who settled in Istanbul, escaping the Spanish Inquisition (Ali Laslo, 1983). His father went to Budapest in his youth and married a young Austrian Jewish woman named Regina Strakosch there.

Amar began his musical career by first studying with Emil Baré. In 1911, he went to Berlin to concentrate on his studies and to work with Henri Marteau. As a student of Marteau, he found a place as a second violinist there and met Hugo Becker, who performed as a cellist in the *String Quartet*.

With hard work in Berlin and his talent, Licco Amar quickly distinguished himself and won the prestigious Mendelson Award in 1912. Following this achievement, he worked as a concertmaster in the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra between 1916-1922. In the Berlin Philharmonic entrance exam in 1915, Furtwängler, who worked as an assistant there, accompanied him with piano. This acquaintance later led to other relations (Ali Laslo, 1983). In his thirties, he crossed paths with Paul Hindemith with whom he would also work in Turkey.

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1 This article focuses on nine articles of Licco Amar, which were published in three different periodicals in Türkiye [*Kültür Haftası* (1936), *Yurt ve Dünya* (1943-1944), and *Müzik Görüşleri* (1949-1950)]. One of these articles was published in *Kültür Haftası*, four of them in *Yurt ve Dünya*, and four of them in *Müzik Görüşleri*.

2 This study provides a biografhical study on Licco Amar in the framework of an article.

3 The author plans to address this subject in another article.

The 1920s were difficult for the entire German population, including the artists. The Weimar Republic tried to honor the Treaty of Versailles (e.g., the war compensation and what happened when it could not be paid). In the end, the economic crisis and political conditions affected artists as well. These difficult conditions also allowed the rise of the Nazi Party.

Although the Great Depression of 1929 (Hobsbawm 1996: 105-124) emerged in the U.S.A., its effects were quickly felt across Europe. Having been battered in the First World War, Germany also suffered from this crisis. Both the banking crisis of 1931 and the regime change were a few of the results of this crisis (Temin 1991: 67-73, 100-103, 106-107, 113, 114-118).

There is no doubt that during these difficult days in German society that artists were affected by the unfavorable living conditions. Indeed, both Hindemith and Amar's lives became more difficult. Even the *Amar Quartet*, where they played together, only survived until December 1931 (Kater, 2000, p. 32). The Nazis began to take significant steps to make their political views more visible by organizing the disillusionment of the economic crisis on people through various 'illusions.' At this point, the idea of ethnic cleansing was introduced by the Nazis. The primary target of ethnic cleansing emerged with the identification of 'non-German origin individuals' as internal enemies. Consequently, Jews became the open target of the pogrom that began and later genocide.

What to Do: Attempting to Build a New Life
While Nazis Left No Space for Life

Adolf Hitler was appointed as chancellor on January 30, 1933, and the hegemony of national socialism in Germany that would last for twelve years began (Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 135). National Socialism first targeted its political opponents, starting with the communists. Leon Trotsky predicted the rise of the National Socialist Party at an early date. He began to write articles warning about the Nazi danger as early as the 1930s after the Party increased its votes from 800,000 to 6.4 million in the 1928 election (Troçki, 1977, p. 64). However, inherent antisemitism (Arendt, 2014) was one of the fundamental components of the national socialist policy from the very beginning. Hundreds of laws, decrees, and regulations directly targeted Jews. Individuals classified as Jews pursuant to the Race Laws by the Nazi bureaucrats had their rights systematically stripped away and were isolated from society (Guttstadt, 2012, p. 225).

On April 1, 1933, the Nazi regime organized a 'boycott day' targeting artisans and the self-employed. This day also included fascist attacks, which were aimed at Jews and all dissenting intellectuals. On May 10, 1933, the works of authors who were labeled as 'non-German' were burned in public squares, especially in university cities. Passed on April 7, 1933, the 'Civil Service Restoration Act' paved the way for the removal of Jews and political dissidents from public institutions (Reisman, 2011, p.10). In response to these developments, Jews sought ways to leave the lands where they lived or had their roots. The Jewish intellectuals search for a new life during this period intersected with the Turkish government's ideas for building a new university and 'university reform' (Öncü 2002: 521-526; Lök & Erten 2002: 537-544). The way for their arrival was opened by the pragmatist approach adopted by the Turkish government at the time. We learn from

Guttstadt's comprehensive and competent work that Turkey was not a preferred country for Jews to migrate. The neighboring European countries were preferred followed by Palestine and the United States of America since the number of Jewish migrants were few compared to other countries, Turkey was not mentioned in any statistics about the countries to which Jews escaped. The Turkish government implemented a kind of 'reserve' for Jewish migrants. The government at the time did not open the doors for all incoming migrants, only for academic staff who could be beneficial for the 'university reform' in 1933 and it could 'substitute' for the problems encountered during the transition from *Darülfünun* to Istanbul University (Guttstadt 2012: 165-172).

The Door Opened to Hindemith and Amar
Before the Second World War: Turkey

It was in 1933 that Turkey became an option for Jewish migrant scholars. In fact, two distinct developments began synchronistically in different regions. In Germany, laws issued by the Nazi government prevented Jewish people from performing public duties so the majority of Jewish intellectuals and scholars became unemployed. It is precisely at this time that 'university reform' was put on the agenda in Turkey. The new republic did not want to continue with the remnants of *Darülfünun*, especially in academia. The Kemalist regime undertook a purification movement to establish its authority. The reconfiguration of Istanbul University and the subsequent establishment of the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (DTCF) in the new republic's capital can be viewed within this framework.

Before the University Reform of 1933, the Turkish government sought options for a university model. Albert Malche was one of the individuals consulted (Lök & Erten 2002: 538-539; Cremer & Przytulla 1991: 90-91).

Where were Hindemith and Amar, and what were they doing while all of these took place? In 1929, before these developments, Hindemith met Kurt Weill, a friend of Bertolt Brecht, and had the chance to work with names such as Carl Orff and Otto Klemperer until 1932 (Kater, 2000, p. 32). However, having exerted their full authority following the 1933 election, the Nazi Party looked at the field of art and the gap between the avantgarde artistic understanding of Hindemith and the 'modern art' it promoted by the National Socialists grew larger (Kater, 2000; Richards, 1995; Clinefelter, 2005; Yavuz, 2013). Hindemith was not the only one who went through this. 'Non-German' art was banned on the grounds that it 'degenerated' the understanding of art that the Nazis attempted to put forth. Artists who engaged in this form of art could not perform their art and were not able to live in Germany anymore (Richards 1995: 74-81). It became difficult for Hindemith to stay in Germany under Nazi rule. The first contact was established with Turkey during this period. The Turkish bureaucrats who attempted to establish contact with the musicians abroad during the second period of the music policies of the Early Republican era contacted German composer Wilhelm Furtwäengler, who suggested Paul Hindemith (Yavuz 2013: 27-33; Balkılıç, 2009, p. 92). Hindemith, not having an informed opinion about Turkey yet, wrote to his old musician friend Licco Amar, who was in Istanbul at the time (Zimmerman-Kalyoncu 1985), and received information about the country (Yavuz, 2013). With the contract signed, he came to Ankara on April 6, 1935 (Yavuz, 2013). In her

article in *Hindemith Raporları 1935/1936/1937*, Elif Damla Yavuz states that in his letter dated January 28, 1935, Amar gave information to Hindemith on Turkey and the music life there (Yavuz 2013: 30-31).

Attempting to Build a New Life in Turkey

The Turkish adventures of both Paul Hindemith and Licco Amar were closely related to the music policies of the Early Republican era. The first attempt at reform policies was the abolition of the Musical Committee in Istanbul in 1923. In the same year, *Dar-ul-elhan* (Conservatory) left the Ministry of Education and was attached to Istanbul Governorate (Aksoy, 1985, p. 1235). In 1925, its name was changed into Istanbul Municipal Conservatory. Giving Turkish music education was banned in the conservatory. The second period of these music policies was initiated in 1934 with the establishment of a committee for music reform. This committee took action to get the opinions of foreign musicians. It was Licco Amar who gave the first report on the subject. In his report, Amar referred to the significance of the radio and conservatories in modern music education in general terms (Balkılıç 2009: 79-92). With this report, Amar's connection with Turkey was firmly established.

Licco Amar worked as a soloist at Frankfurt Radio in 1929. He was adversely affected by the 'Civil Service Restoration Act' issued by the Nazi Party in 1933. When he became unable to work in Germany, he initially went to France (Widmann, 2000, p. 359). But, he could not stay there and returned to Germany. In the end, Amar came to Turkey in 1934. He worked at the Istanbul Conservatory until 1938. It is known that Licco Amar first resided in Istanbul and gave concerts in Saray Cinema in Beyoglu on December 17-18, 1935, with Nimet Vahid, Mesud Cemil, and Ferdi Von Statzer.[4] Amar gave a concert in a German High School during the same dates (December 1935). In the concert, a quarrel broke out over a hand-shaking issue.[5] In 1938, he was called to Ankara to work as a professor of violin and the conductor of string instruments, and he began to work in Ankara State Conservatory (Widmann, 2000).

Amar's activities in Istanbul were not limited to giving concerts. He also began to write in Turkey at an early date. In the fifth issue of *Kültür Haftası* (Göze 1987: 22-23; Ayvazoğlu, 2003, p. 222) published by Peyami Safa as 21 issues between January-June 1936, Amar's article 'Lights from the History of Music' stands out (Amar, 1936). In this article, Amar takes the reader on a musical journey based on the development of 'new music in Turkey.' He starts this journey from the 'oriental basin of the Mediterranean.' (Amar, 1936, p. 83).

Subsequently, Amar notes in his article that very little is known about the Byzantine musical culture (referring to 1936, when he wrote his article). He highlights the fact that the music that was in high demand until the year 1000 was 'completely (monophonic) as we see today in the Gregorian chorale' (Amar, 1936, p. 83). Amar explores this monophonicity in the historical process and discusses the theme in the context of the

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4   See "Konservatuarın ikinci konseri," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 December 1935, and "Konservatuarın 2nci konseri", *Cumhuriyet*, 18 December 1935, p. 4.

5   For the details of this quarrel, see (Konuk 2013: 164-168). Amar also gave concerts after these dates. See "Konservatuarın bu kış programı," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 November 1936, p. 5.

encounter between monophony and polyphony across regions and cultures (Amar, 1936, p. 83).

Amar discusses polyphonic music (polyphonie) and homophonic music (homophonie) in the context of European music history and gives definitions in his article. Then, through an exemplary composer [Adrian Willaert (1490-1562)] (Kidger, 2005)[6], he conveys the alternating struggle of these musical genres to his readers as follows:

'The Dutch School, in which the great masters of 15th and 16th centuries produced highly artistic and expressive works with a profound and strict polyphonic style, dominated all of Europe. One of the most remarkable composers from this school, Adrian Willart was called to Venice in 1529, garnered great admiration and worked for 30 years until his death. With the guidance of him, many of his friends and disciples, the highly advanced artistic techniques of the Dutch school were introduced to Italy.' (Amar, 1936, p. 83).[7]

The author states that at the time of Willaert's arrival in Italy, the Madrigal (Hodeir 1992: 55-57) did not hold much artistic value; it was primarily known and popularized in the form of polyphonic folk song. However, following his arrival, the combination of the maturing art of the Dutch School (Mimaroğlu 1995: 26-27)[8] and the music genre close to people led to new musical events. In fact, the universal status of Italian music in the two centuries following these developments is a direct outcome of this coexistence (Amar, 1936, pp. 83, 100).

In this section of his article, Amar focuses on the 18th century. For him, the most advanced realm of Italian musical culture during this period was opera. He also considered Germany and Austria at that time as having 'a unique and distinct musical culture.' However, he states that describing this topic with its characteristics lies beyond the framework of his article. He nevertheless shares with the reader that there are individual impressions, which are shown in the following words:

'However, even here, we encounter individual cases of composers who produced new works deeply influenced by foreign cultures. For instance, during his travels in Italy, Haendel's style was profoundly and distinctly influenced. Otherwise, none of his famous operas would have been born.' (Amar, 1936, p. 100)[9]

In his study dealing with musical tradition in Hungary, the author returns to his own roots. At this point, it is understood that he follows the musical tradition of Hungary. He describes the development of music there as the result of 'musical migration.' In the second quarter of the 20th century when he wrote his article, he states that 80 years ago, the artistic side of music was almost not recognized in Hungary, so when the German, Italian, and Czech musicians settled there they brought their artistic viewpoints of music (Amar, 1936, p. 100).

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6   In Licco Amar's article, the name of the composer was mentioned as 'Adrian Willart.' See (Amar, 1936, p. 83).

7   It stated in the article that the composer was called to Venice in 1529, but Kidger relates in his review that he was hired as *maestro di cappela* in Venice in December 1927. See (Kidger, 2005, p. 5).

8   In his book, Mimaroğlu mentions the Willaert referred to by Amar. See (Mimaroğlu 1995: 27, 29).

9   For the Italian theme in Handel that Amar drew attention to and its traces in his career, see (Vitali 2004: 24-44; Best 2004: 227-237).

In the final section of his article, Amar emphasizes that one needs to be cautious while making future inferences. He affirms the past encounters and amalgamations of foreign cultures. However, he argues that this cannot be extended to the future, and it can be 'dangerous' in addition to its difficulties. In the rationale behind this, Amar emphasizes that the path of human intellect and the talent of the artist cannot be foreseen beforehand. The task that he deduces from here is the necessity of creating a musical culture and atmosphere where the valuable elements of artistic value can be fostered and developed.

Yurt ve Dünya Articles as a Way of Self-Expression for Licco Amar

Starting from the early 1940s, Licco Amar developed closer relations with the academics and intellectuals around *Yurt ve Dünya*. The clearest examples of this are seen in the pages of *Yurt ve Dünya* because Amar began to write for *Yurt ve Dünya* in April 1943.

His first article was written for the 28th issue of the periodical, for which he chose Beethoven as his subject (Amar 1943a: 112-117). In this article, Amar provides clues about his own worldview and understanding of art, as shown below:

'The question of how to explain the fame an artist leaves behind and the reasons concerning the survival of his works after his passing has always been asked and is still asked. The most common answer given to this question is that the artist has a God-given genius and his works have an eternal life thanks to their hidden particularities. In many cases, this explanation, more or less mystical, is complemented by critiques such as on aesthetic or music techniques. (…) Art (in our case music) was created by people for people. (…) If we need to explain this differently, we could say that music is a social activity influence of which is conditioned by society.' (Amar, 1943a, p. 112).

Amar's position on art is not from an idealist point of view, but from a socialist one.

When he evaluates the artist and artist's work of art, it feels like he shares a slice of his own life with the reader. It is as if we witness someone who had to leave his homeland, where he lived his life, and the people he loved, reckoning with himself, and unburdening his heart:

'There are quite particular periods in this literary change over human history when new grouping of society takes place. And this grouping gives a new direction to human existence and all the conceptions of it for a long period of time. Before this new grouping, everything seems to go on serenely on its own way, and everything appears to follow an immutable and orderly progress for all time. (…) When moving to a new house, one takes with oneself the old belongings, which one loves and thought that s/he could never leave behind. But despite everything, most of them do not fit the new building. One continues to think of his old house with sorrow.' (Amar, 1943a, p. 113).

From this point on, Amar specifically dwells on Beethoven, as befitting to the title of his article. He regards Beethoven as the musician who laid the cornerstone of German romantic music (Amar, 1943a, p. 115). In his opinion, Beethoven understood art that corresponded to the nascent development of the bourgeoisie (Amar, 1943a, p. 115).

Amar draws on Beethoven and emphasizes his understanding of art and the social conditions that created the artist. He expresses this concisely as follows: '*It is not the composer creating the realm of new ideas and emotions, but rather the active and*

forward-moving community to which he belongs' (Amar, 1943a, p. 116). Amar contends that Beethoven's popularity while he was alive and after his death was related to what society perceived as being best represented in the artist's work (Amar, 1943a, p. 116).

In Amar's approach, one of the distinctive aspects of Beethoven and his period is the first appearance of the type of artist who devotes himself to composition and makes his living in this way (Amar, 1943a, p. 117). Amar also emphasizes another point: While music was mostly performed in churches and palaces until the Beethoven era, the popularization of music through 'public concerts' took center stage after this period (Amar, 1943a, p. 117). Furthermore, this period also corresponds to a time when the bourgeoisie, especially in Germany, founded large music societies. In the end, these associations supported by the bourgeoisie and the increasing revenues engendered an artistic production on a larger scale (Amar, 1943a, p. 117).

Amar's second article published in *Yurt ve Dünya* appears in issue 32 of August 1943 (Amar 1943b: 286-291).[10] In this article, Amar maintains that the distinction that now seems natural between the composer and the performer didn't exist in the past and tries to analyze the historical process of this distinction (Amar, 1943b, p. 286). He emphasizes this as follows: '*Today, it seems natural for a conductor or an instrumentalist to play the works of different composers from diffent eras, but if such a thing had been done 200 years ago, the audience would have found it odd*' (Amar, 1943b, p. 286).

In the same article, Amar states that music didn't exist as a profession during the 13th and 14th centuries, and it was theoretically and practically at the hands of churchmen and scholars (Amar, 1943b, p. 286). Another point highlighted by Amar is the fact that the relationship of the lower classes, peasants, and land slaves with music is often not mentioned. The 'itinerant musicians' fulfilled this need and Amar informs the reader what they did (Amar, 1943b, p. 286). He states that these musicians served as carriers of folk music, noting that this does not mean there was no interaction between folk music and high music. The itinerant musicians often benefited from a 'degraded form of high art' (emphasis Amar's) (Amar 1943b: 286-287). In the courts and cities ruled by the bourgeoisie, a new category of musicians that are referred to as 'paid musicians' emerged (Amar, 1943b, p. 287).

Amar states that in history, it was a group of musicians called the 'Dutch school' who earned money and recognition only through their musical activities, and their fame soon spread to Europe (Amar, 1943b, p. 287). A fully professional musician emerged in the early 16th century with the appearance of pure instrumental music, which Amar attributes to the violin and compositions made specifically for this instrument (Amar, 1943b, p. 287). After this point, he provides detailed information regarding the place of the violin in the history of music.

Amar talks about the opera that emerged in Italy and its characteristics, and its differences in terms of representation. Developments that date to the 18th century and

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10 Although this article and the following two articles by Licco Amar include 'Trans. Unknown' note, Amar might have written these articles in Turkish. This is possible considering Mediha Esenel's emphasis on Licco Amar's impeccable Turkish. See (Esenel, 1999, p. 74). Another statement that strengthens this opinion can be found in Filiz Ali's article. In her article addressing Amar's life, Ali states that Amar learned Turkish after the age of 45. See (Ali Laslo, 1983, p. 29). All of these suggest that it is possible that Amar wrote the other three articles in Turkish after entrusting the translation of his first article to Hayrünnisa Boratav.

considered as a breaking point emerge. In this section of his article, Amar upholds that the development that created a break was the transition from feudalism to capitalism. In his opinion, the individual stands out and strives for self-expression thanks to this transition. This, in turn, leads to a transformation in the 'music market,' and paves the way for universal music performance. From Amar's perspective, the birth of itinerant virtuosity and the opening of public concert halls can be considered in this context (Amar, 1943b, p. 288). Amar connects the prominence of virtuosity and the 'gradual decline of the quality of musical composition and the gradual increase in the perfection of instrumental technique' with the popularization of the performance of itinerant virtuosity (Amar, 1943b, p. 288). Furthermore, he dates the complete break between the composer and performer to the Mozart and Beethoven periods. In his opinion, the act of playing an instrument during this period takes a back seat (Amar, 1943b, p. 289).

As he concludes his article, Amar touches upon the orchestra and orchestra conductor asserting themselves. He compares the orchestra, especially the symphonic orchestra, to a 'modern machine.' Interestingly, he associates the prominence of the orchestra conductor with the 'cult of heroes' of his own period. He puts it as follows: '*The small instrumental ensembles of the 18th century, which could be said to get along well with each other, were replaced by symphonic orchestras, immense and precise modern machines operated under the direction of a single individual, as is required for the works of composers such as Berlioz, Wagner, and Mahler. In the appreciation of the orchestra conductor's personality, the contemporary tendency towards the "cult of heroes" also plays a large part*' (Amar, 1943b, p. 290).

Amar concludes this article with the idea that a musician as someone performing music should be cultured and regarded as a representative of his own age, expressing this opinion with the following words: '*This leaves only one path forward for the future: to leave music to the expression of cultured and forward-thinking performer, who, as a human being, is the child of his own time rather than a fantasized past.*' (Amar, 1943b, p. 291).

The title of Amar's third article published in *Yurt ve Dünya* is 'Historism and Music: Bach' (Amar 1944a: 63-70). As in his previous two articles, Amar begins with a historical perspective. At this point, Amar provides information about the method he has followed until then and explains what historism is (Iggers 2007: 23-36).

In the rest of the article, Amar directly discusses Bach. The reason for this is that the 'revitalization' and 'appropriation' acts are applied to Bach's life and his reintroduction during the Romantic period (Amar, 1944a, p. 65). In Amar's view, Bach appeared as an 'outsider' even in his own age since he actually emerged as the representative of 'the music of the medieval bourgeoisie' as a tradition. While Bach was alive, the Age of Enlightenment distanced him and his music from contemporaneity (Amar, 1944a, p. 65). As an example, Amar cites the fact that Bach wrote 'The Art of Fugue' in the midst of the galant world under the influence of Italy (Amar, 1944a, p. 66).

Amar uses a distinguishing literary style in his writing on music. We can see this in his commemoration of Bach's memory: '*So the memory of Bach, like a small stream flowing underground, thin and silent, unnoticed by the eye and ear, went on and on*' (Amar, 1944a, p. 68).

In the rest of the article, Amar touches on classicism-romanticism but he does not continue this discussion so as not to take the article out of context. He associates the appearance and popularity of Romanticism with the worldview and artistic principle of modern bourgeoisie (Amar, 1944a, p. 68). Within this framework, he discusses Bach in the axis of historicism, evaluating the re-popularization of Bach in the 19th century (which he terms the 'Bach Renaissance') (Amar, 1944a, p. 69).

As Amar concludes his article, he first discusses romanticism. He argues that Bach can be understood within the dynamics of his own time when he is reintroduced, and that reinterpretation might also contain some incomprehensibility (Amar, 1944a, p. 69). He says that Bach regards music or art as 'a ladder to reach God' (Amar, 1944a, p. 70). At the end of the article, he draws attention to where romanticism has come from, especially in the context of Germany. Considering that he had to leave Germany under difficult conditions, his critical emphasis on this issue is worth noting. Amar concludes his article as follows:

> 'The end of German romanticism reached the tendency of our time to adhere to the ominous pseudomysticism and irrationalism. This tendency, on the other hand, has been able to act quite egotistically and with cynical methods.' (Amar, 1944a, p. 70).

Amar's last article published in *Yurt ve Dünya* is a continuation of the article in the previous issue and is titled 'Historicism and Music: J.S. Bach (II)' (Amar 1944b: 124-131). Amar begins by describing the era in which 'historicism appeared in the field of music.' In his view, it was the performance of Bach's 'Matthaeus-Passion' by Mendelssohn and Zelter in Berlin in 1829, a century after its performance in Leipzig (Amar, 1944b, p. 124). Amar contends that from this point onwards, musical culture follows two paths. The first is the path that takes the art of music forward. The artists on this path sustained their repertoires that began with the Viennese classics until the First World War and the addition of new works. 'Viennese Classics' refer to classical period composers such as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven who lived in Vienna (Aktüze, 2003, p. 648; Say, 2005, p. 590). However, this musical tradition was disrupted with the outbreak of the War. The other path endeavors to restore the past with the onset of romanticism and is constantly looking backwards (Amar, 1944b, p. 124).

Here, Amar mentions that the Palestrina music experiment before Bach was misunderstood, and this misunderstanding led to prejudices against Bach's music (Amar 1944b: 124-125). Palestrina music is the name given to the musical genre after G.P. da Palestrina, one of the leading composers of his time during the Renaissance in the 16th century, for the music he composed for the Italian Catholic church (Aktüze, 2003, p. 409; Say 2005: 10-12; Mimaroğlu, 1995, p. 47). Amar experienced a major shift when Mendelssohn performed Bach's music, which shattered the prejudices. It was after this concert that all Bach's works became popular (Amar, 1944b, p. 125). However, Amar notes a difference between the Bach who performed his own pieces in Leipzig and the Bach performed by Mendelssohn.

Amar continues his article by observing the following: '*In the 18th century, the violinist and singer dominated the concert hall while in the 19th century it was the pianist*' (Amar, 1944b, p. 125). Drawing on this idea, he accentuates the ways in which an artist adds his own interpretation to a work of art and how important it is now (Amar, 1944b, p. 126). He

interprets the way Bach's pieces are played. Amar categorizes these as being for 'practical purposes,' 'exclusive for salon concerts,' and 'for teaching.' He finds it meaningful to trace the evolution of Bach's compositions over time within these categorizations (Amar, 1944b, p. 126).

Amar discusses whether Bach will become 'popular' again. He does not think it is likely to happen. He quotes Beethoven to express this and puts it as follows: '*The coming age will demand a music that, in Beethoven's words, "draws sparks from the soul of man." If there is one thing that Bach could not do, it is this*' (Amar, 1944b, p. 130). Here, in discussing why Bach, for example, will never regain significance in Germany, he also provides an analysis on the German cultural landscape of the 1930s. Amar expresses his views on this matter as follows: '*For a decade, people, the nation has been divided into two parts: The small part holds the monopoly of culture. The majority has been deprived of everything demanding money, time, or in other words, 'finances,' and therefore of the possibility of accessing and enjoying the blessings of high culture*' (Amar, 1944b, p. 130).

Towards the end of his article, Amar touches upon the problematic aspects of romanticism's 'revival of old works.' Building upon this, he makes a critique of romanticism. He ends the article by demonstrating his approach to art. These expressions are almost like the articulation of a soul shattered by war and adversities. Amar expresses himself as follows: '*Art is not a neutral soil on which elevated spirits meet. Like everything else, art also walks with life and its occasionally painful necessities*' (Amar, 1944b, p. 131).

Licco Amar Expressing Himself Again with His Writings After the Second World War: *Müzik Görüşleri* Articles

In the late 1940s, Licco Amar wrote a series of articles in the *Müzik Görüşleri* periodical. The translator of the articles is not shared in the journal and this strengthens the idea that Amar wrote these articles in Turkish. The translator's name is included in the introduction of other copyrighted articles in *Müzik Görüşleri*.

The first of these articles is on Hector Berlioz, which would continue in the following issue (Amar 1949a: 13-14). In the introduction, Amar mentions that Berlioz is not well known (except for *Symphonie fantastique*). He maintains that although Berlioz was extensively debated in his own time, he remained unknown, which he cites as one of the reasons why he chose him as the subject of his article. He gives clues regarding the approach he will adopt in the article. He aims to look at Berlioz's personality and works. In this regard, the fact that Berlioz provided a detailed framework both about his own period and himself with his own writing made Amar's work easier (Amar, 1949a, p. 13).

Subsequently, Amar elaborates on the subject by giving examples from Berlioz's life. He is a young medical student, but he decides to take up the art of music as his profession and dominate France and the world with his art, and goes to Paris from Southern France where he lived (Amar, 1949a, p. 13). On Berlioz's father's decision to send Berlioz to Paris so that he could continue his medical education (Kolb, 2015, p. 102; Bloom 1998: 13-15). Berlioz also states that his father is a physician in his memoirs (Newman, 1966, p. 5). Amar tells Berlioz's Paris episode as follows:

'(…) However, right from the beginning, he encountered unexpected obstacles. The Paris Conservatory, at the time the most important institution in the world, seemed dreary and overly conservative to our ardent young man. Rather than his own teachers, he studied the scores of Beethoven, Bach, and other masters.' (Amar, 1949a, p. 13).

From 1826 to 1830, Berlioz competed every year to win the 'Prix de Rome.' He won the competition only in 1830 (Gilbert, 1998, p. viii). However, Amar described the period during which Berlioz stayed in Rome to win the prize as 'torment to him.'

In this section of the article, Amar focuses directly on Berlioz's works and the conditions under which they were produced. Although he talks about other works of Berlioz, he highlights three of them that were in symphonic style. These are *Symphonie fantastique*, *Lelio,* and the *Harold-Symphonie* (Langford 2000: 53-68; Newman, 1966).[11] In addition to these, he considers *Requiem* as worth mentioning. He touches upon the 'Benvenuto Cellini' opera in this section (Haar 2000: 84-88; L'Écuyer 2003: 59-75), and mentions contact between Paganini and Berlioz. He says that the accuracy of this remains unverified. On the other hand, Berlioz talks about this meeting in his memoirs (Newman, 1966, p. 201). Amar recounts that Paganini gave 20 thousand francs to poverty-stricken Berlioz as a gift (Kolb, 2003, p. 82). The author concludes this section by addressing 'Romeo and Julia', which he describes as 'semi-dramatic, semi-symphonic' and 'Symphonie funébre et triomphale', dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the July Revolution of 1830 (Langford 2000: 61-68; Kemp 1992: 37-79; Macdonald 2008: 125-137).

In the second section (Amar 1949b: 11-13), Amar dwells on the composer's travels and the outcomes of these travels. The author states that Berlioz' travels took him to Prague, Vienna, Budapest, London, Germany (Leipzig, Dresden), and Russia. For Amar, Berlioz was welcomed with goodwill and warmth in Germany. However, he could not find a good orchestra and female vocalists in Germany as he had in Paris (Amar, 1949b, p. 11). The only exception for this was the Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig. For the history of the orchestra *Gewandhausorchester,* originally written like this and whose roots dates back to 1743 and which was fully established in 1781 (Kevorkian 2016: 221-222). During his travels in Germany, Berlioz encountered Mendelssohn (Newman 1966: 278-279) in Leipzig and Wagner (Newman 1966: 288-289) in Dresden. What Amar says regarding Berlioz's encounter with Wagner is especially ironic, which goes as follows: 'Berlioz met Wagner, who was then a second-rate *kapellmeister* (Galkin 1988: 216-219), in Dresden. I wonder if Berlioz had ever sensed that this big-headed little man would overshadow him fifteen years later?' (Amar, 1949b, p. 11) Amar then goes on to say that Berlioz travelled to Russia in different years and he was both very well received there and financially satisfied. In comparison, his residence in London was not very productive.

Amar states that during all these journeys, Berlioz continued to work, and even completed his substantial work 'La Damnation de Faust,' which he started in 1826 (Reeve 1992: 148-188). In the rest of this section, he addresses this work of Berlioz, which follows Goethe's work in general. He then directs his attention to 'Les Troyens' (Holoman 1989: 498-540) and shares his views on this work with the reader. Amar describes the final

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11 In this section where Langford discusses Berlioz's symphonies, nothing named *Harold-Symphonie*, as referred by Amar, is included. This opera is called *Harold en Italie*. See (Lanford 2000: 57-61). Moreover, Langford does not include *Lélio* among Berlioz's symphonies whereas Berlioz describes *Lélio* in his memoirs as lyrical drama. See (Newman, 1966, p. 95).

work of Berlioz as a 'work resembling a most valuable treasure (…).' He considers it as an opera inspired by Shakespeare's 'Der Widerspenstigen Zaehmung' and 'Beatrice et Benedict.' The author describes the last decade of the composer 'as a slow death steeped in solitude.' He also says the following: 'He died in Paris in 1869, a year before his beloved Germany dominated the entire world to the detriment of his homeland (Amar, 1949b, p. 12)'. In these lines, it is as if Amar's life story is recounted.

The next section focuses on the following issue: 'It now remains to examine the reasons why Berlioz's works were not comprehended.' (Amar, 1949b, p. 12). Here Amar seems to be giving a music history lesson through Berlioz while also looking out for him. He first portrays the pre-Berlioz period and Berlioz's own period both politically and musically. He then contextualizes Berlioz and his work.

In his article, Amar makes the reader feel that Berlioz followed a different style while 'examining the reasons for the lack of comprehension for Berlioz's works in his homeland.' The key statement in this part of Amar's article is that Berlioz did not conform to public expectations while creating his work. From this perspective, he adopted a distanced approach to Liszt and criticized Wagner for his attitude towards the King of Bavaria. Of course, Amar's criticism of Wagner is obviously not only related to this attitude. In a way, Amar expresses his reaction to Wagner's political stance and the consequences of this stance including the first half of the 20th century (Amar, 1949b, p. 12; McClatchie, 2008; Grey, 2008; Potter, 2008).[12]

As Amar concludes, he returns to the fundamental question on which he has built this section, 'the reasons for the lack of comprehension for Berlioz's works in his homeland.' In this last section, he makes comparisons to clarify the subject he addresses. In the end, however, he advises the reader to get used to this music.

Another musician that Amar discussed in *Müzik Görüşleri* is Schoenberg (Amar 1950a: 11-12). He wrote this article on the occasion of Schoenberg's 75th birthday. Arnold Schönberg (he later uses Schoenberg as his last name). He was born in Vienna on September 13, 1874 (Berry, 2019, p. 17). Amar says that none of the composer's works had been played in Turkey until then, but he was still very well known among music lovers and musicians. While saying that none of Schoenberg's works had been played in Turkey, Amar uses the expression 'our homeland' (Amar, 1950a, p. 11). This is why Amar chooses to address Schoenberg in his piece. It is understood from the following sentence that Schoenberg was important for him: 'Therefore, we found it useful to write a few lines about the personality of this man who undeniably had a great influence on contemporary music.' (Amar, 1950a, p. 11).

When Amar talks about Schoenberg, who was born in Vienna in 1874, he recounts that he was influenced by the musical circle in Vienna, particularly during his youth. Moreover, he tells the reader that Schoenberg never received any lessons in composition. During this time, his only mentor was his cousin and friend Alexander Zemlinsky. For Amar, it is not surprising that the first works of Schoenberg, who initially drew inspiration

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12 This discussion is undoubtedly important and can be addressed within a larger framework. Moreover, the author of this article knows that there is extensive literature on this issue. However, without exceeding the limits of a peer refereed journal article, and for articles on the political life of Wagner see (McClatchie 2008: 134-150; Grey 2008: 203-218; Potter 2008: 235-245).

from the musical circle in Vienna and its representatives during that time such as Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler, were written in the grand orchestral styles of these masters (such as *Verklärte Nacht* (Auner 2003: 38-40) and *Gurre-Lieder*) (Auner 2003: 77-78, 198-200; Amar, 1950a, p. 11).

In the subsequent sections, Amar discusses the technical aspects of Schoenberg's musical approaches to which he includes the 12-sound system. However, he states that explaining the system is not possible within the confines of his short article. He nevertheless relates to the reader that the system introduced by Schoenberg is a subject of debate. He also writes that the composer had fifty compositions, which were performed a few times, and they were 'rejected and ridiculed by a great mass of listeners.'

Towards the end, Amar would like to discuss with his readers the following important question: 'There is no doubt that Schoenberg is a composer who had a great influence on the music of our time. Why?' He answers this question in relation to Schoenberg's teaching:

'It is necessary to mention his teaching here. Many of his students are world-renowned composers. Let's name some of his students from the last generation: Alban Berg, Anton Webern, and Egon Wellesz. Today we can find Schoenberg's disciples and students all over the world. The influence of this famous figure is also evident in his adversaries, whether they like it or not.' (Amar, 1950a, p. 12).

Amar informs the reader that Schoenberg lived in the U.S. after 1934. In his view, the effects of his personality manifested themselves in America. Sebine Feisst thinks that Schoenberg's most substantial effect in American music was his teaching (Feisst, 2011, p. 201). However, Amar expresses that the works Schoenberg wrote in the United States were not very well known across Europe.

Amar's last article for *Müzik Görüşleri* is titled *Monteverdi* (Amar 1950b: 9-10). The author states why he wrote this article just under the title as follows: 'On the occasion of a new book by H.F. Redlich' (Redlich, 1949). In the introduction, Amar compiles and shares with the reader his knowledge of the literature on Monteverdi up until the time of his writing (March 1950). However, he relates his motivation for writing the article right at the beginning as follows: 'Everyone who deals with music history knows this composer. But Monteverdi's role in the music of his time remains obscure.' (Amar, 1950b, p. 9). According to Amar, much has been written and published about the composer. Malipiero complements these publications with a book he published (Amar, 1950b; Malipiero, 1930). The book Amar refers to could be the following book published by the composer and musicologist Gian Francesco Malipiero on Monteverdi: Malipiero (1930), Waterhouse (1999).

Amar features Redlich's book on Monteverdi. In his opinion, the book gathers all the scattered ideas about Monteverdi. The book is the product of 25 years of work and is not limited to the resources of its own period. It also makes use of other resources in English and German about Monteverdi (Amar, 1950b, p. 9).

Amar continues the article by giving biographical information about Monteverdi's life. Monteverdi was born in Cremona in 1567. He became a student of Antonio Ingegneri (Amar, 1950b, p. 9; Fabbri 1994: 6-7). He entered the orchestra as a violist in the palace of

Gonzaga prince in Mantua in 1590. With hard work, he rose to the rank of *kapellmeister*. He then travelled to Holland in the Prince's entourage. He got to know French music there (Amar, 1950b, p. 9). In 1595, while accompanying the Prince on his journey to Hungary, he witnessed the loss of the Battle of Visegrad against the Turks (Amar, 1950b, p. 9). Roger Bowers does not talk about the Battle of Visegrad but addresses the journey to Budapest in 1595 (Bowers, 2007, p. 58). Disappointed by this event, Monteverdi left the Prince. In 1613, he accepted the post of music conductor of Saint Mark's Church in Venice (Amar, 1950b, p. 9; Bokina, 1997, p. 14).

Amar attaches importance to the role that Saint Mark's Church played in the history of music, and he is of the opinion that everyone recognizes this role. He expresses this opinion as follows: 'Only Monteverdi could be the successor of Adrian Willaert, who worked here almost for half a century' (Amar, 1950b, p. 9). Amar addresses Monteverdi's Venice works in the following manner:

> 'During his time in Venice (until his death in 1643), the composer wrote numerous church music and many operas for the principalities of Mantua, Padua and Florence. In Venice he was in great demand as a composer. On the other hand, the plague of 1630 and especially his son's imprisonment by the Inquisition caused him great distress.' (Amar 1950b: 9-10).

After this section, Licco Amar mentions Monteverdi's works, the important aspects of these works, his contributions to the history of music, and the difficulties in performing his compositions and the efforts made to overcome these difficulties. He explains that only a small number of Monteverdi's operas and religious works survived because most were lost through wars and fires. He singles out the madrigals and expresses that almost all of them survived and were published during Madrigal's lifetime and were also frequently printed afterwards. In the case of madrigals, Amar raises the following point: 'In these works there is a movement extending from Renaissance to the Baroque period. Monteverdi was aware of this stylistic development. He explained the difference between '**Prima Prattica**' (polyphony of voices) and '**Seconda Prattica**' (new monophony) in the prefaces of the fifth and sixth notebooks of his madrigals' (Amar, 1950b p. 10; Roche 1985: 159-182; Fortune 1985: 183-215). Amar shares with the reader that Redlich wrote a separate book on Monteverdi's madrigal art (Amar, 1950b, p. 10; Redlich, 1932).

Amar then reveals Monteverdi's contribution to the Baroque period as follows: '**Concitato** style of Baroque period was born out of what Monteverdi called "**Seconda Prattica**," a renowned compositional style. Even though the inventor of this style was not himself, the first great master of dramatic music was Monteverdi. In this regard, he could be regarded as the predecessor of Gluck and Wagner' (Amar, 1950b, p. 10; Bukofzer, 1947, p. 38).

Amar also informs the reader about Monteverdi's aim and his influences to the reader as follows:

> 'The master's aim was to bring to life the persons in the opera, to create dramatic excitement by fully expressing the *livres* in music. He didn't only rely on the vocal part as a means of expression, but also assigned new tasks to the orchestra. With the various colors he obtained from the orchestra, Monteverdi can undoubtedly be considered as the founder of our modern orchestra. In this respect, he also had an influence outside his homeland.' (Amar, 1950b, p. 10).

In his article, Amar shares that in Redlich's book it explains Monteverdi's influence on the German composer Schütz (Amar, 1950b, p. 10; Redlich 1970: 40-42). However, Amar does not limit Monteverdi's influence on Schütz. He states the following: 'Monteverdi's expressive style and compositional means were brought to Germany by Schütz and a century later yielded fruits in this country in the form of J. S. Bach's cantata style.' (Amar, 1950b, p. 10).

Despite the difficulties encountered in performing Monteverdi's works as Amar mentions, he explains that this has been overcome in the last fifty years (Amar refers to the fifty years between the early 1900s and 1950 when he wrote the article). He addresses this as follows:

'Despite all these difficulties, in the last fifty years Monteverdi's works have been performed quite a lot. Malipiero, Respighi, D'Indy, C. Orff, Dallapiccola and some other musicians brought to life **Orfeo**, Lamento scene of the lost opera **Arianna**, the ballet opera **Il Ballo dell' Ingrate** and many such works. Apart from these two books, Dr. Redlich's merit is his systematic treatment of Monteverdi's works in terms of performance.' (Amar, 1950b, p. 10).[13]

In concluding his article, Amar returns to his starting point and ends by emphasizing the originality of Redlich's book. He states the following:

'Other than the dramatic works of the composer, Redlich completed the vocals of **Vesper**, one of the leading figures of religious music, and prepared them to be performed. Thanks to these works of Redlich, Monteverdi's works are performed at every chance in many European and American cities. In this regard, a valuable work is added to the books and original texts of Malipiero regarding the works of the composer.' (Amar, 1950b, p. 10).[14]

Conclusion

As mentioned in the beginning, this article focuses on Licco Amar's writings in Turkey rather than presenting a biographical study of Licco Amar. So, when we look at the entirety of these writings, what do they tell us?

First, Licco Amar is aware that he is writing for the Turkish reader. As early as 1936, when he wrote his earliest article, it is observed that Amar's writings have the aspect of introducing Turkish readers/music lovers to a musical culture with which they are not familiar. Secondly, his *Yurt ve Dünya* (1943-1944) and *Müzik Görüşleri* (1949-1950) articles can be distinguished by the period they were written in. Amar's *Yurt ve Dünya* writings address more 'popular' figures (such as Beethoven and Bach) in classical music genre. Of course, the traditional commemoration of these composers coinciding with the period in which these articles were penned was also influential. Moreover, in Amar's *Kültür Haftası* and *Yurt ve Dünya* articles, we can find more traces from his life and the difficulties he endured. His *Müzik Görüşleri* articles (focusing on Berlioz, Schoenberg, Monteverdi) do not address as prominent figures as Beethoven and Bach (at least not for the readers and followers) in terms of the classical history of music. Amar's main concern through these figures and his writings can be considered as acknowledging these musicians who were not understood during their own time, whose talent was not entirely recognized, and who were in some ways 'wronged.'

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13 For Monteverdi's *Arianna* that is mentioned here, see (Lewis & Acuña 2018: 125-127).

14 For Monteverdi's *Vesper* that Amar refers to at the end of his article, see (Monteverdi, 1997).

Amar's *Yurt ve Dünya* articles (also when viewed separately) form a more integrated whole comprised of more historical and societal analysis. This can be considered as a reflection of the workings of a mind that tries to understand and make sense of his own deterritorialization. However, we do not see such a pattern in his *Müzik Görüşleri* writings. His *Müzik Görüşleri* writings are a struggle for the existence of individuals who experienced 'adaptation problems' while the world was being reconstructed (also for the musicians he addressed in these writings). This applies to Licco Amar as well, who thought about returning to his own country but continued to live in Turkey after the Second World War.

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- İnsan öğesi bulunan çalışmalarda, "yöntem" bölümünde katılımcılardan "bilgilendirilmiş onam" alındığının ve çalışmanın yapıldığı kurumdan etik kurul onayı alındığı belirtilmesi gerekir.

Yazarların Sorumluluğu

Makalelerin bilimsel ve etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığı konusunda teminat sağlamalıdır. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telife bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir. Gönderilen makalede tüm yazarların akademik ve bilimsel olarak doğrudan katkısı olmalıdır, bu bağlamda "yazar" yayınlanan bir araştırmanın kavramsallaştırılmasına ve dizaynına, verilerin elde edilmesine, analizine ya da yorumlanmasına belirgin katkı yapan, yazının yazılması ya da bunun içerik açısından eleştirel biçimde gözden geçirilmesinde görev yapan birisi olarak görülür. Yazar

olabilmenin diğer koşulları ise, makaledeki çalışmayı planlamak veya icra etmek ve / veya revize etmektir. Fon sağlanması, veri toplanması ya da araştırma grubunun genel süpervizyonu tek başına yazarlık hakkı kazandırmaz. Yazar olarak gösterilen tüm bireyler sayılan tüm ölçütleri karşılamalıdır ve yukarıdaki ölçütleri karşılayan her birey yazar olarak gösterilebilir. Yazarların isim sıralaması ortak verilen bir karar olmalıdır. Tüm yazarlar yazar sıralamasını Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formu'nda imzalı olarak belirtmek zorundadırlar. Yazarlık için yeterli ölçütleri karşılamayan ancak çalışmaya katkısı olan tüm bireyler "teşekkür / bilgiler" kısmında sıralanmalıdır. Bunlara örnek olarak ise sadece teknik destek sağlayan, yazıma yardımcı olan ya da sadece genel bir destek sağlayan, finansal ve materyal desteği sunan kişiler verilebilir. Bütün yazarlar, araştırmanın sonuçlarını ya da bilimsel değerlendirmeyi etkileyebilme potansiyeli olan finansal ilişkiler, çıkar çatışması ve çıkar rekabetini beyan etmelidirler. Bir yazar kendi yayınlanmış yazısında belirgin bir hata ya da yanlışlık tespit ederse, bu yanlışlıklara ilişkin düzeltme ya da geri çekme için editör ile hemen temasa geçme ve işbirliği yapma sorumluluğunu taşır.

Editör ve Hakem Sorumlulukları

Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar. Gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalacağını garanti eder. Baş editör içerik ve yayının toplam kalitesinden sorumludur. Gereğinde hata sayfası yayınlamalı ya da düzeltme yapmalıdır. Baş editör; yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Hakem atama konusunda tam yetkiye sahiptir ve Dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür.

Hakemlerin araştırmayla ilgili, yazarlarla ve/veya araştırmanın finansal destekçileriyle çıkar çatışmaları olmamalıdır. Değerlendirmelerinin sonucunda tarafsız bir yargıya varmalıdırlar. Gönderilmiş yazılara ilişkin tüm bilginin gizli tutulmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir. Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir. Bazı durumlarda editörün kararıyla, ilgili hakemlerin makaleye ait yorumları aynı makaleyi yorumlayan diğer hakemlere gönderilerek hakemlerin bu süreçte aydınlatılması sağlanabilir.

YAZILARIN HAZIRLANMASI

Dil

Dergide İngilizce dilinde makaleler yayınlanır.

Yazıların Hazırlanması ve Gönderimi

Aksi belirtilmedikçe gönderilen yazılarla ilgili tüm yazışmalar ilk yazarla yapılacaktır. Makale gönderimi online olarak https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/siyasal üzerinden yapılmalıdır. Gönderilen

yazılar, yazının yayınlanmak üzere gönderildiğini ifade eden, makale türünü belirten ve makaleyle ilgili bilgileri içeren (bkz: Son Kontrol Listesi) bir mektup; yazının elektronik formunu içeren Microsoft Word 2003 ve üzerindeki versiyonları ile yazılmış elektronik dosya ve tüm yazarların imzaladığı Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formu eklenerek gönderilmelidir.

1. Çalışmalar, A4 sayfada üst, alt, sağ ve sol taraftan 2,5 cm. boşluk bırakılarak, 12 punto Times New Roman harf karakterleriyle ve 1,5 satır aralık ölçüsü ile hazırlanmalıdır.

2. Çalışmalar 4500 - 8500 sözcük arasında olmalı ve sayfa numaraları sayfanın altında ve ortada yer almalıdır.

3. Yazar/yazarların adları çalışmanın başlığının hemen altında sağa bitişik şekilde verilmelidir. Ayrıca yıldız dipnot şeklinde (*) yazarın unvanı, kurumu ve e-posta adresi ve telefonu sayfanın en altında dipnotta belirtilmelidir.

4. Giriş bölümünden önce 180-200 kelimelik çalışmanın kapsamını, amacını, ulaşılan sonuçları ve kullanılan yöntemi kaydeden İngilizce ve Türkçe öz yer almalıdır. Çalışmanın İngilizce ve Türkçe başlığı İngilizce özün üzerinde yer almalıdır. İngilizce ve Türkçe özün altında çalışmanın içeriğini temsil eden 3-5 adet İngilizce ve Türkçe anahtar kelime yer almalıdır.

5. Çalışmaların başlıca şu unsurları içermesi gerekmektedir: İngilizce ve Türkçe başlık, öz ve anahtar kelimeler; ana metin bölümleri, son notlar ve kaynaklar.

6. Metin içi alıntılama ve kaynak gösterme için APA (American Psychological Association) kaynak sitilinin 6. versiyonu kullanılmalıdır. APA 6 stili hakkında bilgi için; http://jps. istanbul.edu.tr/tr/content/yazarlara-bilgi/kaynaklar sayfasını ziyaret edebilir veya Yazarlara Bilgi'nin Kaynaklar başlığı altında ilgili açıklama ve örnekleri inceleyebilirsiniz.

7. Çalışmalarda tablo, grafik ve şekil gibi göstergeler ancak çalışmanın takip edilebilmesi açısından gereklilik arz ettiği durumlarda, numaralandırılarak, tanımlayıcı bir başlık ile birlikte verilmelidir. Tablolara ait başlık üstte, Şekiller'e ait başlık altta yer almalıdır. Demografik özellikler gibi metin içinde verilebilecek veriler, ayrıca tablolar ile ifade edilmemelidir.

8. Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makale ile birlikte yazar bilgilerini içeren kapak sayfası gönderilmelidir. Kapak sayfasında, makalenin başlığı, yazar veya yazarların bağlı bulundukları kurum ve unvanları, kendilerine ulaşılabilecek adresler, cep, iş ve faks numaraları ve e-posta adresleri yer almalıdır (bkz. Son Kontrol Listesi).

9. Kurallar dâhilinde dergimize yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen çalışmaların her türlü sorumluluğu yazar/yazarlarına aittir.

10. Yayın kurulu ve hakem raporları doğrultusunda yazarlardan, metin üzerinde bazı düzeltmeler yapmaları istenebilir.

KAYNAKLAR

Derleme yazıları okuyucular için bir konudaki kaynaklara ulaşmayı kolaylaştıran bir araç olsa da, her zaman orijinal çalışmayı doğru olarak yansıtmaz. Bu yüzden mümkün olduğunca yazarlar orijinal çalışmaları kaynak göstermelidir. Öte yandan, bir konuda çok fazla sayıda orijinal çalışmanın kaynak gösterilmesi yer israfına neden olabilir. Birkaç anahtar orijinal çalışmanın kaynak gösterilmesi genelde uzun listelerle aynı işi görür. Ayrıca günümüzde kaynaklar elektronik versiyonlara eklenebilmekte ve okuyucular elektronik literatür taramalarıyla yayınlara kolaylıkla ulaşabilmektedir.

Kabul edilmiş ancak henüz sayıya dahil edilmemiş makaleler Early View olarak yayınlanır ve

bu makalelere atıflar "advance online publication" şeklinde verilmelidir. Genel bir kaynaktan elde edilemeyecek temel bir konu olmadıkça "kişisel iletişimlere" atıfta bulunulmamalıdır. Eğer atıfta bulunulursa parantez içinde iletişim kurulan kişinin adı ve iletişimin tarihi belirtilmelidir. Bilimsel makaleler için yazarlar bu kaynaktan yazılı izin ve iletişimin doğruluğunu gösterir belge almalıdır. Kaynakların doğruluğundan yazar(lar) sorumludur. Tüm kaynaklar metinde belirtilmelidir. Kaynaklar alfabetik olarak sıralanmalıdır.

Referans Stili ve Formatı

SİYASAL: Journal of Political Sciences, metin içi alıntılama ve kaynak gösterme için APA (American Psychological Association) kaynak sitilinin 6. edisyonunu benimser. APA 6. Edisyon hakkında bilgi için:

- American Psychological Association. (2010). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: APA.
- http://www.apastyle.org/

Kaynakların doğruluğundan yazar(lar) sorumludur. Tüm kaynaklar metinde belirtilmelidir. Kaynaklar aşağıdaki örneklerdeki gibi gösterilmelidir.

Metin İçinde Kaynak Gösterme

Kaynaklar metinde parantez içinde yazarların soyadı ve yayın tarihi yazılarak belirtilmelidir. Birden fazla kaynak gösterilecekse kaynaklar arasında (;) işareti kullanılmalıdır. Kaynaklar alfabetik olarak sıralanmalıdır.

Örnekler:

Birden fazla kaynak;
(Esin ve ark., 2002; Karasar 1995)
Tek yazarlı kaynak;
(Akyolcu, 2007)
İki yazarlı kaynak;
(Sayıner ve Demirci, 2007, s. 72)
Üç, dört ve beş yazarlı kaynak;
Metin içinde ilk kullanımda: (Ailen, Ciambrune ve Welch 2000, s. 12–13) Metin içinde tekrarlayan
    kullanımlarda: (Ailen ve ark., 2000)
Altı ve daha çok yazarlı kaynak;
(Çavdar ve ark., 2003)
Kaynaklar Bölümünde Kaynak Gösterme

Kullanılan tüm kaynaklar metnin sonunda ayrı bir bölüm halinde yazar soyadlarına göre alfabetik olarak numaralandırılmadan verilmelidir.

Kaynak yazımı ile ilgili örnekler aşağıda verilmiştir.

Kitap

a) Türkçe Kitap
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f) İngilizce Kitap İçerisinde Bölüm

Bassett, C. (2006). Cultural studies and new media. In G. Hall & C. Birchall (Eds.), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (pp. 220–237). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

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f) Bir Televizyon Dizisinden Tek Bir Bölüm

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g) Müzik Kaydı

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SON KONTROL LİSTESİ

Aşağıdaki listede eksik olmadığından emin olun:
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  - ✓ Makalenin türü
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d) Turkish Book with Multiple Authors
Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y., & Sever, H. (2002). T*ürkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme* [Performance evaluation in Turkish search engines]. Ankara, Turkey: Total Bilişim.
e) Book in English
Kamien R., & Kamien A. (2014). *Music: An appreciation.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.
f) Chapter in an Edited Book
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Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi [Organization culture: Its functions, elements and importance in leadership and business management]. In M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi* [Organization sociology] (pp. 233–263). Bursa, Turkey: Dora Basım Yayın.
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b) English Article
de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society, 10*(2), 149–173. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002
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Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine, 372,* 2087–2096. http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184

d) Journal Article from Web, without DOI

Sidani, S. (2003). Enhancing the evaluation of nursing care effectiveness. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research, 35*(3), 26–38. Retrieved from http://cjnr.mcgill.ca

e) Journal Article wih DOI

Turner, S. J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly, 27,* 261–278. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0731713 1003765910

f) Advance Online Publication

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867

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Henry, W. A., III. (1990, April 9). Making the grade in today's schools. *Time, 135,* 28–31.

Doctoral Dissertation, Master's Thesis, Presentation, Proceeding

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Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 9943436)

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Yaylalı-Yıldız, B. (2014). *University campuses as places of potential publicness: Exploring the politicals, social and cultural practices in Ege University* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Retrieved from: http://library.iyte.edu.tr/tr/hizli-erisim/iyte-tez-portali

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d) Dissertation/Thesis abstracted in Dissertations Abstracts International

Appelbaum, L. G. (2005). Three studies of human information processing: Texture amplification, motion representation, and figure-ground segregation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B. Sciences and Engineering, 65*(10), 5428.

e) Symposium Contribution

Krinsky-McHale, S. J., Zigman, W. B., & Silverman, W. (2012, August). Are neuropsychiatric symptoms markers of prodromal Alzheimer's disease in adults with Down syndrome? In W. B. Zigman (Chair), *Predictors of mild cognitive impairment, dementia, and mortality in adults with Down syndrome.* Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

f) Conference Paper Abstract Retrieved Online

Liu, S. (2005, May). *Defending against business crises with the help of intelligent agent based early warning solutions.* Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Enterprise Information Systems, Miami, FL. Abstract retrieved from http://www.iceis.org/iceis2005/ abstracts_2005.htm

g) Conference Paper - In Regularly Published Proceedings and Retrieved Online

Herculano-Houzel, S., Collins, C. E., Wong, P., Kaas, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 105,* 12593–12598. http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105

h) Proceeding in Book Form

Parsons, O. A., Pryzwansky, W. B., Weinstein, D. J., & Wiens, A. N. (1995). Taxonomy for psychology. In J. N. Reich, H. Sands, & A. N. Wiens (Eds.), *Education and training beyond the doctoral degree: Proceedings of the American Psychological Association National Conference on Postdoctoral Education and Training in Psychology* (pp. 45–50). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

i) Paper Presentation

Nguyen, C. A. (2012, August). *Humor and deception in advertising: When laughter may not be the best medicine.* Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

Other Sources

a) Newspaper Article

Browne, R. (2010, March 21). This brainless patient is no dummy. *Sydney Morning Herald, 45.*

b) Newspaper Article with no Author

New drug appears to sharply cut risk of death from heart failure. (1993, July 15). *The Washington Post,* p. A12.

c) Web Page/Blog Post

Bordwell, D. (2013, June 18). David Koepp: Making the world movie-sized [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/page/27/

d) Online Encyclopedia/Dictionary

Ignition. (1989). In *Oxford English online dictionary* (2nd ed.). Retrieved from http://dictionary.oed.com

Marcoux, A. (2008). Business ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.). *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy.* Retrieved from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-business/

e) Podcast

Dunning, B. (Producer). (2011, January 12). *in Fact: Conspiracy theories* [Video podcast]. Retrieved from http://itunes.apple.com/

f) Single Episode in a Television Series

Egan, D. (Writer), & Alexander, J. (Director). (2005). Failure to communicate. [Television series episode]. In D. Shore (Executive producer), *House;* New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting.

g) Music

Fuchs, G. (2004). Light the menorah. On *Eight nights of Hanukkah* [CD]. Brick, NJ: Kid Kosher.

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