

‘DISCIPLINING’ TURKISH PEOPLE THROUGH THE PEOPLE’S HOUSES: A
DISCURSIVE READING OF THE ÜLKÜ MAGAZINE (1933-1950)

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VOLKAN KILINÇ

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Modern Turkish Studies

Examining Committee Members:

	DECISION	SIGNATURE
Prof. Mesut Yeğen (Thesis Advisor)	<u>ACCEPTED</u>	<u>Yeğen</u>
Prof. Ferhat Kentel	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Ferhat Kentel</u>
Prof. Bülent Bilmez	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Bilmez</u>

This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the Graduate School of Social Sciences of İstanbul Şehir University.

Date
21.03.2017

Seal/Signature


I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

First Name, Last Name: Volkan Kılınc

Signature:

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ABSTRACT

'DISCIPLINING' TURKISH PEOPLE THROUGH THE PEOPLE'S HOUSES: A DISCURSIVE READING OF THE ÜLKÜ MAGAZINE (1933-1950)

Kılınç, Volkan.

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This study examines the Ülkü (the Ideal) magazine, which was the main publication of the People's Houses (1932-1951) in Turkey, by conducting a discourse analysis through a Foucauldian perspective. By drawing on his concepts of 'disciplinary power', 'biopower', and 'governmentality', the study argues that, the People's Houses were designed by the republican policy makers not only to spread the Kemalist ideology, but also to increase the state's control over the population through disciplinary and regulatory policies and techniques. First, I summarize the historical process and developments leading to the establishment of the People's Houses in some detail. Then, I conduct an extended literature review by discussing the shortcomings of the mainstream approach and underlying the important contributions of the critical studies on these institutions. Third, I introduce my research hypothesis in light of the three theoretical concepts above. I argue that the activities of the People's Houses were designed by the policy makers to improve physical capabilities of individuals, to render the population healthier and to accelerate its growth; to increase its economic productivity; and to transform ordinary people into modern republican citizens that the new regime envisaged by shaping their lifestyles, habits, beliefs, and aesthetic tastes through 'conduct of conduct'. Lastly, I concentrate on numerous writings and speeches by prominent republican intellectuals and policy makers that were published in the Ülkü magazine, the main publication of the People's Houses. By zeroing in on the ideas and policy designs of the republican policy makers and intellectuals about physical education, the issue of population, political economy, and folk education; I intend to demonstrate that modern governmental rationality was an integral part of their mindset, and that the ultimate objective of the People's Houses project extended well beyond mere 'ideological indoctrination' or 'control over minds'.

Keywords: The Ülkü Magazine, People's Houses, modernization, disciplinary power, biopower, governmentality.

ÖZ

HALKEVLERİ ARACILIĞIYLA TÜRKİYE'DE NÜFUSUN 'TERBİYESİ': ÜLKÜ DERGİSİNİN SÖYLEMSEL BİR ANALİZİ (1933-1950)

Kılınç, Volkan.

MA, Modern Türkiye Çalışmaları Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Mesut Yeğen

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Bu çalışma Türkiye'de Halkevleri'nin (1932-1951) ana yayın organı olan Ülkü dergisini bir söylem analizi yaparak incelemektedir. Çalışma Michel Foucault'nun 'disiplinci iktidar', 'bio-iktidar' ve 'yönetimsellik' kavramlarına dayanarak Halkevleri'nin cumhuriyet yöneticileri tarafından sadece Kemalist ideolojiyi yaymak amacıyla kurulmadığını, buna ek olarak disiplinci ve düzenleyici politikalar ve teknikler aracılığıyla devletin nüfus üzerindeki kontrolünü arttırma amacına da hizmet etmek için kurulmuş olduklarını iddia etmektedir. Çalışmada ilk önce Halkevleri'nin kuruluşuna yol açan tarihsel süreç ve gelişmeler özetlenmektedir. Daha sonra ise geniş bir literatür taraması ile Halkevleri üzerine yapılmış ana akım çalışmaların eksik yönleri tartışılmakta ve öte yandan eleştirel çalışmaların yaptığı önemli katkılar vurgulanmaktadır. Üçüncü olarak, yukarıda bahsi geçen teorik kavramlar ışığında bu çalışmanın ana tezi olan Halkevleri'nin faaliyetlerinin cumhuriyet yöneticileri tarafından bireylerin bedensel yeteneklerini arttırma, nüfus arttirini hızlandırma ve nüfusu daha sağlıklı kılma, nüfusun üretkenliğini arttırma ve yönetimsellik (conduct of conduct) aracılığıyla bireylerin yaşam tarzları, alışkanlıkları, inançları ve bedii zevklerini şekillendirerek onları yeni rejimin tahayyül ettiği cumhuriyetçi vatandaşlara dönüştürme amaçlarıyla tasarlanmış oldukları iddiası sunulmaktadır. Çalışmanın son bölümünde ise bu iddiayı desteklemek amacıyla önde gelen cumhuriyet yöneticilerinin ve entelektüellerinin beden terbiyesi, nüfus meselesi, ekonomi-politik ve halk eğitimi gibi konular hakkında Halkevleri'nin ana yayın organı olan Ülkü dergisinde yayınlanmış olan yazıları ve demeçleri detaylı bir şekilde incelenmektedir. Bu incelemeyle amaçlanan modern yönetim zihniyetinin cumhuriyet yöneticilerinin zihin dünyasının ayrılmaz bir ögesi olduğunu ve Halkevi projesinin nihai hedeflerinin dar

anlamıyla 'ideolojik endoktrinasyon' veya 'zihinler üzerinde kontrol kurma' amacının çok ötesine geçmiş olduğunu gösterebilmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ülkü Dergisi, Halkevleri, modernleşme, disiplinli iktidar, bio-iktidar, yönetimsellik.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my dear father, Ateş Kılınç (1960-2006).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
İTC	İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Committee of Union and Progress)
TpCF	Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Progressive Republican Party)
SCF	Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Liberal Republican Party)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USA	United States of America

INTRODUCTION

The decision to establish Halkevleri (People's Houses) around Turkey was taken during the third congress of the CHP (Republican People's Party) in May 1931. After this decision a delegated party committee immediately started to prepare for the inauguration of the People's Houses. Nine months later preparations were completed, and on February 19th 1932 People's Houses were simultaneously opened in 14 cities¹ with an inauguration speech by the CHP Secretary General Recep Peker broadcasted live on the Ankara radio. In his speech Peker defined the goal of the Houses as: "... to organize the [Turkish] nation as a group of conscious people who understand and love each other, and who are committed to the ideal [of the Turkish Republic]." ² In the following years the number of the People's Houses steadily increased, reaching to a total of 478 by 1950. Moreover, in 1939 the government also started to establish People's Rooms in villages around Turkey. The People's Rooms were designed as smaller versions of the Houses, and the party intended to expand the activities of these institutions to villages in which population was not sufficient to open People's Houses. By 1950 the number of People's Rooms had reached to 4322. Taken together, the overall number of the People's Houses and the Rooms can be seen as an indication of the willingness, and perhaps also the desperation, of the new regime to spread the reforms and its ideology to ordinary people.

In simple terms, the People's Houses were established in 1932 in order to accelerate the modernization process in Turkey which was initiated by the founders of the republic almost a decade earlier. Therefore, these institutions should be construed as an integral element of a greater and ambitious modernization and nation-building project. Alberto Martinelli simply defines modernization as "...the combination of social, economic, political, and cultural largescale changes that have characterized the past 200 years and that are by now taking over the entire world."³ Although 'modernity' originated in Western Europe, the concept of modernization does not

¹ These cities include Adana, Afyon, Ankara, Aydın, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, İstanbul, İzmir, Konya, Samsun, and Van.

² Recep Peker, "Halkevleri Açılma Nutku" p.6, in *Ülkü*, February 1933, Volume: 1.

³ Alberto Martinelli, *Global Modernization: Rethinking the Project of Modernity*, p.9, Sage Publications: London, 2005.

necessarily exclude the experience of other countries that are located outside of the 'West'. In the 20th century, as a result of the fall of empires after the WWI and later the decolonization process, multiple new nation states were formed; and as Ernest Gellner underlines, nationalist elites in these newly formed nation states strived for modernization and nation-building.⁴ For such nationalist elites education of ordinary people through formal or semi-formal education was an indispensable part of nation-building.

In this respect, the Turkish case seems to be largely in line with the 'global trends'. As the founders of a newly established nation state, the republican elite wished to rapidly transform the society into a modern nation. For this purpose, education of ordinary people, the majority of whom continued to live in villages and were illiterate, was seen by the republican elite as a 'panacea' to Turkey's problems. Yet, formal education alone seemed incapable of introducing such a transformation in a short time period. The republican elite, however, desired to see rapid results as they aimed to catch up with the Western civilization by closing 'a gap of centuries in a few decades', even shorter if possible. Much to their despair, despite the rapid introduction of various political, legal, economic, and social reforms throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, the majority of ordinary people in Turkey remained reluctant, and occasionally became resistant, to endorse the reforms and the values of the new regime. A series of events, such as the short-lived Liberal Party experiment in 1930, and the Menemen incident in the following months, along with the negative effects of the Great Depression; revealed a growing discontent and resentment among ordinary people towards the single party rule of the CHP. In other words, in the early 1930s it became clear that the reforms had not taken root in society, and that the regime stood on shaky ground.

The People's Houses were established in such a historical context to entrench the republican regime by spreading its ideology and core values among ordinary people; to transform their pre-republic and heterogeneous identities into a uniform Turkish identity; and in this way to complement the modernization and national integration process in Turkey. In this quest for modernization the People's Houses operated along with other institutions, such as the ministry of education and the Village Institutes that

⁴ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Basil Blackwell: London, 1983.

shared the same goals. As the main institution of education in the country, the most pressing priority of the ministry was to promote primary education in Turkey by opening new schools in the remote corners of Anatolia, and training sufficient numbers of teachers. However, the government lacked the necessary financial resources to build a primary school in every village, and the dispersed nature of Anatolian villages made this task even more difficult. Moreover, it became clear in the 1930s that teachers of urban origin could not easily adapt to village life, and thus they did not show the enthusiastic performance that the government expected of them. This lack of adaptability and enthusiasm on the part of village teachers of urban origin hindered the success of the republican education campaign.

Therefore, leading republican educators, such as Hasan Ali Yücel and İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, with the influence of the peasantist ideology of the time, came up with the idea of ‘peasant teachers’ who, upon receiving a training in institutions that were specifically designed for them, would return to their villages and build village schools with the assistance of their fellow peasants to educate and enlighten them. After a pilot study for three years, the Village Institutes were established in 1940 to eradicate poverty and ignorance among peasants, to transform social relations in villages, to increase agricultural productivity, to create peasant intellectuals, and to help spread the Kemalist ideology in the countryside.⁵ The institutes were designed to give prospective peasant teachers a vocational and practical education so that they, in turn, could teach peasants modern methods of agriculture, and other crafts to increase economic production. In sum, the ministry of education, the People’s Houses, and the Village Institutes shared the same goals, and together they constituted three educational pillars of the republican modernization project.

According to the bylaw of the People’s Houses, a fully operational House would consist of the following nine branches: Language, Literature, and History; Fine Arts, Theatre, Sports, Social Assistance, Educational Courses, Library and Publication, Village Studies, and Museum and Exhibition branches. The bylaw defines activities and responsibilities of each branch in detail. Collectively, the responsibilities of the branches included: Promoting Turkish language, literature, and history among local

⁵ M. Asım Karaömerlioglu, “The Village Institute Experience in Turkey”, p.47, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 1 (May 1998), pp.47-73.

people; encouraging them to perform fine arts such as painting and sculpture, and theatre; promoting sports activities and physical education, providing poor people and the sick with financial assistance and healthcare; conducting ethnographic research on nearby villages and their inhabitants, and publishing such research; educating and enlightening peasants; and collecting and preserving historical artifacts in museums. All Houses had to send the center a detailed quarterly activity report and their membership records. All citizens were encouraged to become members of the Houses and participate in their activities; but management positions were reserved only for party members. Overall, the Houses operated as the cultural branches of the CHP without having their own legal personality. The party exercised great control over the Houses, and closely inspected their activities. In the long run, this close affiliation with, and dependence on the CHP precipitated the closure of the People's Houses by the Democrat Party in 1951.

The vast literature on the People's Houses can be roughly divided into two groups. First, the mainstream approach constitutes the bulk of the existing literature, and it heavily relies on the official historiography and the 'public transcript' of the early republican period. Usually, studies in this group uncritically celebrate the People's Houses as a successful experiment that accelerated the modernization process in Turkey. For example, as the leading figure of the mainstream approach, Anıl Çeçen argues that the People's Houses were established to awaken ordinary people from a medieval sleep, and to modernize Turkey according to the principles of Atatürk.⁶ The main deficiency of the mainstream studies derives from their over reliance on the official historical narrative of the early republican period, and their failure to notice the ideological and assimilative functions of the People's Houses. The critical studies, on the other hand, examine the People's Houses from a variety of perspectives, and shed light on the ideological and assimilative functions of these institutions. These studies usually underline the authoritarian and top-down nature of the republican modernization project, and maintain that the People's Houses were established to spread the revolutions, and to indoctrinate and assimilate ordinary people in line with the republican principles. For instance, Sefa Şimşek argues that the Houses were established to transform traditional, religious, and illiterate people, who constituted the

⁶ Anıl Çeçen, *Halkevleri*, p.15, Gündoğan Yayınları: Ankara, 1990.

majority and remained loyal to the Sultanate and Caliphate, into republican, nationalist, secular, populist, etatist, and revolutionary citizens.⁷

In this study I intend to contribute to the critical literature on the People's Houses by analyzing these institutions through a Foucauldian perspective. While acknowledging the ideological and assimilative functions of these institutions, I argue that the objectives of the People's Houses project extended beyond mere ideological indoctrination. By drawing on Michel Foucault's concepts of 'disciplinary power', 'biopower', and 'governmentality', I shall argue that in addition to spreading the Kemalist ideology, these institutions were also designed to render the population physically stronger and healthier, and economically more productive; and also to transform individuals into modern subjects through 'conduct of conduct'. In other words, I contend that activities of the Houses were also designed to enhance the government's control over the population, and its ability to implement various social policies to make the population healthier and more productive.

To give one example, the sports branches of the Houses were responsible for promoting physical education (beden terbiyesi), and encouraging local people to exercise regularly. These activities intended to make individuals physically stronger and robust both for national defense and economic productivity. At the same time, sports activities of the Houses would improve the health of the population as a whole. Second, the Houses were responsible for educating ordinary people about hygiene and sanitation. In addition, the Village Studies branches would have sick peasants examined by doctors, and distribute medicine during village incursions. I argue that these activities of the People's Houses can be construed as local implementation of disciplinary power and biopower aiming to make individuals physically stronger and docile, and a population healthier.

Third, the educational courses branch and the Village Studies branch would organize courses on various subjects, such as reading, natural sciences, history, accounting, foreign languages, painting, music, photography, needlecraft, floriculture, beekeeping, agriculture etc. These courses were designed to integrate ordinary people into the

⁷ Sefa Şimşek, *Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi: Halkevleri (1932-1951)*, p.69, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayinevi: İstanbul, 2002.

newly emerging national economy by equipping them with the necessary skills, and to increase their efficiency and productivity. Moreover, activities of the Language, Literature, and History; Fine Arts, Theatre, Library and Publication, Village Studies, and Museum and Exhibition branches intended to instill in people certain new behavior, manners, and habits, and cultivate modern aesthetic tastes. I will claim that such activities can be analyzed in terms of their relation to the concept of governmentality.

This thesis is organized in four chapters. In the first chapter I will focus on the historical developments prior to the establishment of the People's Houses. More specifically, I will discuss the political, social, and economic developments in Turkey between 1923 and 1931 in their relation to the establishment of the People's Houses. First, I will describe the process leading to the consolidation of the single party rule of the CHP by 1925. The main developments of this period include the formation of the Progressive Republican Party (PRP) in November 1924, the Sheikh Said rebellion that started in February 1925, declaration of the martial law called 'Takrir-i Sükun', and the suppression of any form of opposition to the government with the banning of the PRP and some Istanbul newspapers that were previously critical of the government. With this suppression of all forms of opposition, the CHP remained as the only organized political actor in Turkey, and its single party rule began to consolidate. With no organized opposition group left to challenge its dominant position, the CHP initiated a rapid and top-down reform process to modernize and secularize the state and the society. Through a series of revolutions in the 1920s and early 1930s, the government abolished the institutions of the ancient regime, and established new ones. However, during this period the traditional gap between the political center and ordinary people living in the countryside continued to widen. By the early 1930s, it became evident that as the ruling single party, the CHP was isolated from ordinary people, and it lacked popular support. I will link these developments and the dissolution of the Turkish Hearths in 1931, to the establishment of the People's Houses. In the remainder of the first chapter first I am going to describe the organizational structure of the People's Houses, and the duties and responsibilities of each branch as defined by the bylaw of the Houses. Then, in the last part of the first chapter I will briefly discuss the closure of the People's Houses in 1951 by the new ruling Democrat Party.

In the second chapter I am going to concentrate on the literature on the People's Houses by dividing it into two main categories. First, I shall examine the works of the prominent representatives of the mainstream approach in great detail, and discuss the fundamental assumptions underlying their studies. I will argue that, despite the rich historical details they provide about the operations of specific People's Houses, their uncritical adherence to the official historiography of the early republican period limits the explanatory power of the mainstream studies. Then, I will present the critical studies, and underline their contributions. These studies enhance our understanding of the People's Houses by analyzing them from novel perspectives.

In the third chapter I am going to introduce the theoretical framework of this study, and explain my research hypothesis. In the first part I will discuss and elaborate the concepts of 'disciplinary power', 'biopower', and 'governmentality'. In the second part I will relate these three concepts to my research hypothesis, and argue that the People's Houses were designed by the republican elite to perform disciplinary and regulatory functions on the Turkish population. In other words, in the ideal plan of the republican elites the People's Houses would serve as a socio-cultural space where disciplinary power, biopower, and governmentality operate at the local level to enable the government to manage the population more effectively.

In the long fourth chapter I will set to support my research hypothesis by focusing on numerous writings of some prominent republican intellectuals and policy makers that were published in the *Ülkü* (the Ideal) magazine. In this way, I intend to demonstrate the elements of disciplinary reasoning, bio-political reasoning, and governmentality that were inherent in the mindset of the republican elite. More specifically, I will analyze 68 articles from the *Ülkü* magazine by dividing them into four themes that I will develop in relation to the concepts of disciplinary power, biopower, and governmentality.

The names of these four themes are as follows: 'Physical Education', 'The Issue of Population', 'Economic Productivity', and 'The Village Question and Folk Education'. In the physical education theme I will look at the ideas of republican intellectuals and policy makers about sports and physical education. Second, the issue of population theme will focus on their plans, and social policy designs to grow the

Turkish population and to make it healthier. In the economic productivity theme I will deal with their ideas about political economy, industrialization, and their various policy suggestions to increase the economic productivity of the population. Finally, in the last part of the fourth chapter I will concentrate on their ideas and plans about the village question and folk education. In sum, through this extensive examination of the writings of the leading republican intellectuals and policy makers I intend to demonstrate that the republican elite adopted the modern governmental rationality, and they wished to apply various social, economic, and cultural policies on the population to make it healthier and more productive. Institutions such as the People's Houses, the Village Institutes, or the ministry of education implemented these policies with varying degrees of success.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before examining the historical process leading to the establishment of the People's Houses in February 1932, I should first briefly discuss the mainstream historical narrative on the establishment of these institutions. This narrative is largely based on the modernization discourse of Kemalism that was articulated during the 1930s and 1940s, and it seems to have been influential on the great majority of the recent studies on the People's Houses as well. According to this approach, after the War of Independence Turkey was totally devastated and the country lay in ruins. The Kemalist elite, having secured the political independence of Turkey under very harsh conditions in 1923, immediately set out to modernize the country by launching an extensive reform program. The People's Houses, it is argued, were the main cultural institutions that assisted reformers in achieving their goal. For instance, Adem Kara argues that the War of Independence was won under very difficult conditions and with very limited resources. After a long period of warfare since 1913 Turkey was economically devastated, and socially and culturally backward. Majority of the people lived in villages in poverty, and most of them were illiterate. Kara maintains that under these circumstances the founders of the republic needed an institution to spread the reforms to the people rapidly and efficiently. Therefore, People's Houses functioned as a 'bridge' between ordinary people and the elite, leading to harmony and cooperation between these two groups so that they can work together in order to modernize Turkey rapidly.⁸ In other words, the republican elite were to provide guidance and leadership to the Turkish people, whom in return would voluntarily work hard to achieve the goals of modernization and development set forth for them by the republican elite. In this context, the People's Houses are believed to have provided a suitable and nurturing environment in which people could learn and work together.

Obviously the problem with this narrative has nothing to do with the historical facts it provides regarding the conditions of Turkey after the War of Independence. It is

⁸ Adem Kara, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kalkınmanın Mihenk Taşı: Halkevleri (1932-1951)*, pp.19-66, 24 Saat Yayıncılık: Ankara, 2006.

beyond dispute that after the war Turkey did not have favorable economic and social conditions. The problem with this narrative lies somewhere else: It intends to create an appearance of harmony and cooperation between the republican elite and ordinary people by largely overlooking the fact that majority of the reforms introduced by the republican elite in the course of 1920s and early 1930s did not reach to people living in rural areas at all. This narrative also overlooks the growing discontent among ordinary people towards the new regime as a result of the reforms, and political and economic developments of the period.

The mainstream narrative on the People's Houses presents the establishment of these institutions as a continuation of a modernization project that was characterized by a harmonious and voluntary division of labor between the elite and ordinary people. In my opinion, we can categorize this mainstream narrative on the People's Houses as a part and extension of the 'public transcript' of the republican elite, to use James Scott's concept. In analyzing relations between dominant elites and subordinate groups in various historical settings, Scott makes a distinction between a 'public transcript' and a 'hidden transcript'. Basically, he defines a public transcript as "the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate."⁹ In public settings and in the presence of the powerful, subordinate groups such as slaves, untouchables, and serfs are required to perform certain acts of subordination to the former. Subordinate groups may perform such acts, which are usually humiliating and degrading, "out of prudence, fear, and the desire to curry favor..."¹⁰ having to conceal the resentment, anger, and contempt they feel towards the dominant. In other words, in their public transcript subordinate groups have to appeal to the expectations of the powerful. Their hidden transcript, on the other hand, refers to their 'offstage' discourse and performances when they are not seen or heard by the powerful. In the absence of direct surveillance, subordinate groups usually express their real feelings that they cannot express in the face of power, criticizing the dominant group.

On the other hand, dominant groups also have their own public and hidden transcripts. Their public transcript, however, does not derive from an outright fear. In public

⁹ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, p.2, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1990.

¹⁰ Ibid.

settings dominant groups need to pay lip service to the values and principles their own ideology promotes. As Scott puts it: “A divine king must act like a god, a warrior king like a brave general; an elected head of a republic must appear to respect the citizenry and their opinions; a judge must seem to venerate the law. Actions by elites that *publicly* contradict the basis of a claim to power are threatening.”¹¹ For instance, in a relation of domination such as slavery where the powerful publicly claim that slaves, as long as they obey the rules, are not treated badly, and that their basic needs are guaranteed; the powerful cannot publicly disregard those promises. Even though they treat their slaves harshly, and do not honor their promises ‘offstage’, publicly they must still maintain an appearance of justice and fairness. Scott gives a more concrete example of this elite behavior: In socialist-communist societies where the ruling party claims to rule the country on behalf of the working class, party elites need to conceal the special shops and hospitals exclusively designed for them.¹² Otherwise, their claim to power would become questionable in public. When they are not in public, however, elites also have a hidden transcript that usually contradicts their public performance.

In sum, dominant groups must publicly maintain an appearance of order and obedience by the subordinates. With their performances and discourse in public they need to prove that the system functions as their ideology claims. Therefore, any sign of disorder and malfunction, or expression of disobedience by subordinates in public is a threat to the powerful. In light of this argument, I believe the concept of ‘public transcript’ may help us understand the official discourse of the Kemalist elite on the People’s Houses, and the mainstream narrative on these institutions in the literature. This discourse aims to create an appearance of harmony between the republican elite and ordinary people, because their claim to power, as the ruling single party, relied on this appearance of the Turkish society as a ‘classless and harmonious nation’. The mainstream narrative, on the other hand, strictly adheres to the public transcript of the republican elite, and thus presents the People’s Houses as the main cultural institution that strengthened this harmony for the goal of modernization. In my opinion, however, a more critical look at the developments of the early republican period would cast doubt on the discourse of ‘a harmonious relationship between the republican elite and the ordinary people’.

¹¹ Ibid., p.11.

¹² Ibid.

This chapter is organized into four parts. In the first part I am going to examine the political and economic developments, and the reforms prior to the establishment of the People's Houses; and argue that that the mainstream narrative is not capable of fully explaining the establishment of these institutions. In the second part, I will discuss and relate the closure of the Turkish Hearths to the establishment of the Houses. The third part briefly describes the organizational structure of the Houses as defined by their bylaw. At the end of the chapter I will also discuss the closure of the People's Houses in 1951.

1.1. Behind the Official Story: Political and Economic Developments (1923-1931)

After the elections of 1923 the second term of the Grand National Assembly began in August of that year. During its first term the War of Independence was won, the Sultanate was abolished, and the Lausanne Treaty was signed. As Ahmet Demirel demonstrates in his analysis, there was a fierce opposition during the first term of the Assembly, and Mustafa Kemal was not content with the opposition of the second group.¹³ Thus, before the elections of 1923 he guaranteed, by publicly advocating for the election of members of the first group, that neither the members of the second group nor the members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) would enter the parliament.¹⁴ In this way he intended to create a more docile and manageable assembly to work with. From the beginning of its second term, however, the assembly was not devoid of opposition, an opposition that slowly grew and eventually crystallized into the Terrakiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (TpCF) (Progressive Republican Party) – PRP from now on- in November 1924. As a result of growing disputes and disagreements within the party, several parliamentarians such as Rauf Orbay, Kazım Karabekir, and Ali Fuat Cebesoy resigned from the CHP and formed the PRP. As Mete Tunçay observes, the program of the new party advocated political and economic liberalism.¹⁵

Clearly the new party was not welcomed by the government, and there were three main accusations brought against the PRP. First, it was asserted that the PRP did not have a

¹³ Ahmet Demirel, *Birinci Meclis'te Muhalefet: İkinci Grup*, İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 6th ed., 2011.

¹⁴ Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması (1923-1931)*, pp.46-48 , Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul, 5th ed., May 2010.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.108. Also see pp.385-397 for the manifesto and bylaw of the PRP.

real alternative program to the CHP program, and that the party was created because of personal resentments and envy of its leaders. For instance, in an interview given to the *London Times* Mustafa Kemal argued that the program of the PRP did not have any important principles or ideas that were different from the principles of the CHP.¹⁶ Second, members of the PRP were accused of being covert monarchists who were still loyal to former Caliph and against the republican regime, secretly aiming to restore the Ottoman monarchy.¹⁷ For example, in his famous *Nutuk* Mustafa Kemal says that on one occasion Rauf Orbay told him he was loyal to the Ottoman dynasty and to the caliphate.¹⁸ Third, members of the PRP were charged with encouraging religious reactionism. A clause in the program of the PRP that advocates being respectful towards religious beliefs was seen as a sign of ‘the reactionary inclinations’ of the party. Another and clearer evidence that the government disliked the new party was the proposal by the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü to declare martial law in the country just three days after the formation of the PRP.¹⁹ When this proposal was rejected during a CHP group meeting, İnönü resigned and the new government was formed by Fethi Okyar. The accusations against the PRP, and the proposal to declare martial law right after the formation of the party were early indications of the intolerance of the government towards any form of opposition in the country.

The Sheikh Said Rebellion, which started in February 1925 in Bingöl and quickly spread to other cities such as Mardin and Diyarbakır, and the ensuing martial law called Takrir-i Sükun to suppress the rebellion and restore government authority in the region, provided the government with a pretext and means to crush any form of opposition against itself. One week after the beginning of the rebellion the government introduced martial law in eastern cities, and in early March the parliament passed the Takrir-i Sükûn Law which authorized the government to abolish any form of association and ban all publications that may disturb the public order. The government immediately put this clause into force by creating two Independence Tribunals, a central one in Ankara, and a mobile one to prosecute rebels in eastern cities. In the

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Erik Jan Zürcher, “Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası ve Siyasal Muhafazakarlık” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Muhafazakarlık* ed. Ahmet Çiğdem, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 5th ed. March 2013, p.43.

¹⁸ Gazi Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), *Nutuk*, 2nd volume, p.913, 8th ed., Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi: Ankara, 2010.

¹⁹ Tunçay, p.110.

meantime, the Istanbul press²⁰ that had earlier opposed the government policies, such as the abolishment of the Caliphate, were banned. Moreover, some journalists were arrested by the eastern Independence Tribunal with the accusation of provoking the rebellion indirectly. The journalists were only able to escape prosecution by pledging their allegiance of loyalty to Mustafa Kemal and asking for a pardon.²¹

The eastern Independence Tribunal maintained that some members of the Progressive Republican Party were involved in the Sheikh Said rebellion, and thus closed down all offices of the party in the rebellion region. In general, the party was accused of instrumentalizing religion in politics and provoking the rebellion. The clause in the program of the PRP regarding religious liberties was interpreted, by the government and the Independence Tribunal, as a sign of sympathy and support towards counter-revolutionaries. As a result, the government banned the PRP in June 1925, and some members of the party were sentenced by the Independence Tribunals.

In June 1926 a plot to assassinate Mustafa Kemal in İzmir was discovered, and the Ankara Independence Tribunal immediately started an investigation to punish the perpetrators. Upon a preliminary investigation, the tribunal came to the conclusion that this assassination plot was the first step of a greater political conspiracy to overthrow the government. It was claimed that some members of the CUP, having failed to revive their party, had initially become parliamentarians as members of the CHP, and later they joined the PRP. After the banning of the PRP by the government, the tribunal maintained, those Unionists conspired to assassinate Mustafa Kemal and eventually to overthrow the government.²² Therefore the tribunal arrested several people around the country including the assassins, former CUP notables, some members of the first group in the first term of the assembly, and former leaders of the banned PRP, such as Kazım Karabekir, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, and Refet Bele, who were believed to be involved in the conspiracy. After the trial fifteen people, among whom six active parliamentarians who were former members of the PRP, were sentenced to death; and thirteen of them

²⁰ The banned newspapers and magazines included *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, *İstiklâl*, *Son Telgraf*, *Aydınlık*, *Orak Çekiç* and *Sebilürreşat*. *Ibid.*, p.149.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.151. The letter written by Avni Bey, who was a member of the Independence Tribunal, to Minister of Interior Affairs Cemil Bey proves that these courts were not independent and they took direct orders from politicians like Mustafa Kemal.

²² *Ibid.*, p.170.

were immediately executed. On the other hand, Kazım Karabekir, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Refet Bele, and Cafer Tayyar were acquitted upon a personal request from Mustafa Kemal.

With the Takrir-i Sükûn law, suppression of the Sheikh Said rebellion, criminalization and banning of the PRP, silencing of the Istanbul press, and the execution of former prominent CUP members as a result of the Izmir assassination trials, the government suppressed all forms of opposition in the country. Therefore, with these developments the single party period in Turkey started to become consolidated from 1925 onwards. Thereafter any form of autonomous organization or association, such as Türk Ocakları (Turkish Hearths), that might possibly be a source of opposition to the government and its policies were either banned or forced to abolish themselves and join the CHP. In such an environment without any serious and organized opposition, the ruling elite accelerated a reform process which they started earlier. These reforms comprised a wide range of areas such as politics, economy, law, education, social life, and culture. The ruling elite intended to modernize and secularize the Turkish society by introducing reforms in these areas in a top-down manner. Here I am only going to mention and summarize the most important reforms of the early republican era.

The political and legal systems were secularized by the abolishment of the Sultanate in 1922, proclamation of the republic in 1923, the abolishment of the caliphate in 1924, removal from the constitution the clause: “The religion of the Turkish Republic is Islam” in 1928, and later the inclusion of laicism in the constitution as a principle in 1937. This secularization, however, did not necessarily mean a separation of the state and religion as it did in Western European countries. On the contrary, the Turkish state sought to keep religion under its control and surveillance by replacing the Şeriye ve Evkaf Vekâleti (Ministry of Sharia and Charity Foundations²³) with the Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı (Presidency of Religious Affairs) in 1924. In other words, rather than separating the state and religion, the republican elite on the one hand tried to keep Sunni Islam under control as ‘the religion of the state’ through the Presidency of Religious Affairs, and on the other hand they sought to make religion and its expressions less visible in public life. Moreover, the legal system was modernized and

²³ In the Ottoman Empire this ministry was responsible for upholding the Sharia and inspecting social assistance foundations.

secularized through translations and adoption of laws from European countries such as Switzerland, Germany and Italy. Religious courts were abolished in 1924, and modern and secular courts were established in their stead under the control of the Ministry of Justice.

The education system was also secularized and modernized. With the Law of Tevhid-i Tedrisat (Unification of Education) passed in 1924, religious schools such as madrassas were abolished, and the Ministry of Education took control of all schools in Turkey. In 1928 the Arabic alphabet was replaced with the Latin alphabet. In order to teach people the new alphabet and increase the literacy rate, temporary education centers (Millet Mektepleri) were opened all around the country. Another important step in education was the opening of new schools to train teachers. As Mete Tunçay observes, however, the education reforms in the early republican period were not as successful as they were expected, and the schooling rate by the end of the single party period was less than 50 per cent.²⁴

As mentioned above, after the War of Independence Turkey was demographically and economically devastated. The economy was still heavily based on agriculture, and efforts to industrialize the country had largely failed during the late Ottoman period. Moreover, with the loss of the Balkan regions, which were economically more developed, the Empire was left with a depopulated and poor Anatolia.²⁵ In the Lausanne Treaty the foreign debt of the Ottoman Empire was distributed among the states that were formerly parts of the empire, and Turkey agreed to pay the majority of this debt. The payment of this foreign debt was another heavy burden on the Turkish economy. The founders of the republic were aware that political independence would not mean much without economic development and independence. During the first economy congress in Izmir in 1923, there was a debate on the future economic program of Turkey. Instead of making a difficult choice between economic liberalism and protectionism, the policy makers decided to adopt a hybrid economic policy. It was argued that Turkey should both encourage foreign investment without bestowing foreign investors with privileges, and at the same time protect its own infant industries

²⁴ Tunçay, p.236.

²⁵ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, pp.238-240, trans. Yasemin Saner Gönen, İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 7th ed., 2000.

and help them develop.²⁶ Thus the state heavily invested in railroads and nationalized certain sectors such as tobacco, alcohol, sugar etc. and established new banks to provide cheap credit to the newly emerging Turkish industries.

The Great Depression of 1929 severely damaged the Turkish economy as it did other economies around the world. The decline in food prices, in the demand for agricultural products, and hence in international trade worsened the economic conditions in Turkey as the economy was still largely based on agriculture. The purchasing power of people also started to decline. In this conjuncture the government decided to apply more protectionist and interventionist economic policies because Turkey needed to be economically more self-sufficient and less depended on the harmful effects of international markets. With the influence, encouragement, and assistance of the USSR, Turkey adopted her first 'five years development plan' in 1933.²⁷ In line with this plan, big state-owned enterprises were established, and subsidized by the state. The state also raised the tariffs on imports to protect the already weak Turkish industries. Turkey relied on this import substitution policy until the 1980s.

Reforms in social life and culture were introduced to transform Turkish society into a modern and Western society by erasing the traces of the Ottoman and Islamic past in everyday life. In order to achieve this goal, religious orders, sects, and titles were outlawed in 1925. Religious symbols such as fez, and clothes were also outlawed, and with the 'Hat Law' of 1925 wearing a fedora in public became compulsory for civil servants. Mete Tunçay states that in Anatolia there were several reactions and protests to the outlawing of religious orders and sects, and to the clothing reforms of the government. The protestors were immediately prosecuted and punished by the mobile Independence Tribunal.²⁸ While traditional and religious clothing and symbols were being marginalized, the republican elite also encouraged people to adopt Western style clothing and symbols. In 1926 Turkey abandoned the Islamic calendar, and adopted Western calendar and the international 24 hour clock. Similarly, traditional measurements were replaced with the international measurements in 1931. In addition,

²⁶ Ibid., p.283.

²⁷ Ibid., p.287.

²⁸ Tunçay, p.158.

Friday as the traditional Ottoman weekend holiday was abandoned, and Sunday was adopted as the new weekend holiday in 1935.

Adoption of international time and measurement standards served the policy of Westernization and modernization in two ways: First, these changes enabled the new regime to break with the traditional Ottoman system and its understanding of time, and from that time onward social and public life in Turkey were to be organized, at least in urban settings, in accordance with the Western standards and understanding of time. Second, these reforms gradually led to a synchronization of the Turkish economy and society with its Western counterparts. To put it in a nutshell, in order for Turkey to be a 'contemporary' of 'the West', she needed to reorganize her economic, social, and public life according to Western standards.

In such an era of rapid reforms Turkish language was subject to reform as well. As mentioned above, the Arabic alphabet was replaced with the Latin script in 1928. In the course of 1930s there were several attempts to purify and simplify Turkish. It was argued that the foreign words in Turkish from Arabic and Persian, by which the Ottoman Turkish was heavily influenced, prevented Turkish language to truly represent the Turkish culture. It was also claimed that this foreign vocabulary made it difficult to read and write. Therefore, those foreign words needed to be replaced by their purer Turkish synonyms. For this purpose, the Turkish Language Association was formed in 1932, and three language congresses were organized in 1932, 1934, and 1936. This institution and congresses devoted their energy to purification and simplification of Turkish, and created new words as Turkish synonyms to the Arabic and Persian words in the language. This effort was a part of the policy of erasing the traces of the Ottoman past, and creating a new 'Turkish identity'. In fact, this effort went to such absurd extents that during the third language congress in 1936, the 'Sun Language Theory' was endorsed. According to this infamous theory, Turkish language, with its origins going back to thousands years ago in Central Asia, was the mother of all extant languages.²⁹ Similarly, the Turkish History Association developed the 'Turkish History Thesis' in 1932. This thesis underlines the important role played by Turks throughout the history by arguing that Turks created several earliest and

²⁹ Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, p.276.

greatest civilizations such as Sumerians and Hittites. These curious theories can be seen as a part of an uneasy nation building process in which the republican elite needed both to distance themselves from the Ottoman past, and to create a solid national identity reliant more on an imagined distant past than the recent past.

As a whole, the Kemalist reforms were introduced in a top-down manner in a relatively short period of time, in a political environment where there was hardly any opposition to the ruling party, with the goal of rapid modernization. This top-down, monolithic, and authoritarian modernization program of the republican elite was, in fact, a continuation of the Ottoman reform movements in the nineteenth century.³⁰ Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the main concern of the Ottoman reformers was always to save the empire from disintegration, and they initiated several reform programs in a top-down manner. The republican elite, having witnessed the downfall of the empire as a result of a long period of warfare and military defeats, also inherited this concern, as well as the authoritarian tendency. In other words, the idea of ‘the survival of the state’ preceded, for both earlier Ottoman reformists and the republican elite, any other ideas such as freedom of speech and democracy. For this reason, the general tendency of the state elites, both in the late Ottoman period and the republican era, has been to suppress any form of opposition to their own rule or their policies. For instance, the relatively pluralist and democratic period between 1908 and 1913 was interrupted by the monolithic and authoritarian rule of the CUP until 1918. Similarly, the period between 1918 and 1925 can be characterized as a relatively democratic period because there was a strong opposition during the first and second terms of the Grand National Assembly. As we have seen, this period was also followed by an authoritarian single party rule that continued until 1946. This time, however, authoritarianism and centralism were even stronger than earlier periods.

Having summarized the general characteristics of the Kemalist reforms, now I will return to the political developments of 1930, because developments of that year played a major role in the establishment of the People’s Houses. As stated above, after 1925 there were not any serious opposition to the government left, and the single party rule

³⁰ Mesut Yeğen, *Devlet Söyleminde Kürt Sorunu*, p.105., İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 4th ed., 2009.

was in the process of consolidation. This, however, does not necessarily mean that there were not any grievances and resentments towards the regime. On the contrary, there was a growing dissatisfaction among ordinary people due to the economic depression and radical reforms of the government. Since the establishment of the republic the economy did not develop as it was initially expected, and the Great Depression made the economic situation even worse³¹; and the reforms were embraced only by urban people whom constituted only a small section of the population. In rural areas, rather than being endorsed and supported, the reforms created resentment among people. Religious people were not happy with the radical, top-down, and secular reforms of the regime that sought to minimize the role of Islam in social and public life. There were not, however, any alternative political channels to express these feelings. As the single ruling party, the CHP dominated the political scene, but it did not actually represent choices of the people because almost all candidates for parliamentary elections were predetermined by Mustafa Kemal himself. People were only expected to vote for and approve those candidates in elections. As a result, there was not any meaningful opposition within either the CHP or the parliament. In fact, Mete Tunçay calls this system a ‘unanimous democracy’ (oybirlikli demokrasi) because from the 1930s onwards the great majority of the laws were passed unanimously.³²

It appears that Mustafa Kemal was, to a certain degree, aware of the discontent among people; but he certainly did not know its extent. He thought that a docile and loyal opposition party would first create a channel for the expression of resentment, and would help the government to appease it. Second, an opposition party would also motivate the CHP to work harder by criticizing government policies. He believed that as the single party, the CHP had become too lazy and comfortable. A mild opposition to its policies would make the CHP more passionate and hardworking. Third, Mustafa Kemal feared of being perceived as a dictator by the Western countries.³³ Unlike the PRP, a small and manageable opposition party in the parliament would positively change such perceptions. However, the new party should never become an alternative

³¹ Cem Emrence, “Dünya Krizi ve Türkiye’de Toplumsal Muhalefet: Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası (1930)” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Liberalizm*, vol.7, second ed., pp.213-214, ed. Murat Yılmaz, İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2013.

³² Tunçay, p.314.

³³ Ibid., pp.247-254.

to the CHP. It was only expected to provide a mild and constructive criticism of the government policies without competing with the CHP for power.

For this purpose, Mustafa Kemal needed a leader for the new opposition party in whom he could trust. Fethi Okyar seemed to be a good candidate, and Mustafa Kemal convinced him to undertake this mission in August 1930. Mustafa Kemal agreed to Okyar's condition that as the president of the republic he would remain impartial, and treat both parties equally. Upon this agreement, they negotiated the number of seats the new party would get in the parliament. The new party was named 'Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası' (Liberal Republican Party), and its members were also determined through negotiations between Mustafa Kemal, İsmet İnönü and Fethi Okyar. Consequently, fifteen parliamentarians resigned from the CHP and joined the Liberal Party.³⁴ Obviously, the new party did not come into existence with efforts of an independent opposition movement. On the contrary, it was designed by Mustafa Kemal as a docile opposition party. Therefore, it was not expected to become a threat to the single party rule.

Contrary to the expectations of both Mustafa Kemal and the CHP rulers, the Liberal Party did become a 'threat' to the CHP in a short period of time. People who were discontented with the CHP and its policies perceived the new party as an alternative. As a result, the Liberal Party received more support from people than expected. In September 1930, the Liberal Party organized a rally in Izmir, and forty thousand people enthusiastically participated.³⁵ Upon this unexpected support to the Liberal Party, local CHP rulers also decided to organize a counter rally one day after the rally of the Liberal Party; but people did not wish to participate in the CHP rally. When local CHP rulers eventually organized the rally by forcing certain groups of people to join it, the Aegean campaign of the Liberal Party was overshadowed with violence. The Liberal Party supporters were quite agitated by the recent CHP propaganda in the city, and they attacked the CHP headquarters and official buildings. In the ensuing

³⁴ Ibid., p.260.

³⁵ Cem Enrence, *99 Günlük Muhalefet: Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, p.94, İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2006.

clashes between the Liberal Party supporters and the police, a fourteen year old boy was shot dead, and fifteen protesters were injured.³⁶

Cem Emrence maintains that the sudden support the Liberal Party gained in the Aegean region was related to the dissatisfaction of people in this region towards the economic policies of the government. This region was economically more developed compared to other parts of Turkey, and it was commercially connected to international markets. The Great Depression, and the protectionist policies of the government severely damaged the economy of this region. Therefore, people in this region were generally quite angry with the CHP, and they perceived the new party as a ‘liberator’. In fact, the discourse of the Liberal Party was based on a critique of the economic policies of the government³⁷, and this discourse quickly became attractive to people. In addition, there is also the view that the Liberal Party was supported by muhajirs living in the Aegean region who were discontented with the economic policies of the government, as well as with the inhospitality of locals towards them.³⁸

In general, the Liberal Party received a great support from people throughout its campaigns. This unexpected and sudden support the party gained from people obviously shocked and frightened the CHP rulers. An opposition party, which was their own creation, was perceived as an alternative to the CHP within two months. Moreover, the CHP was not only unable to mobilize people in İzmir, but it was also attacked by them. To make matters worse, the Liberal Party received a great deal of support in the local elections of 1930, which was misconducted and rigged³⁹ by the pro-CHP bureaucracy. Despite the misconduct by the pro-CHP bureaucrats and security forces, the Liberal Party was able to win 40 municipalities around Turkey.⁴⁰ The Aegean campaign of the Liberal Party had already engendered a hatred within the CHP toward the opposition party. The following success of the Liberal Party in the local elections was intolerable for the CHP rulers because they realized that the opposition party they created was becoming a threat to their own power. Thus the

³⁶ Ibid., pp.96-98.

³⁷ Ibid., pp.78-79.

³⁸ Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç: Türk-Yunan Mübadelesinin Öteki Yüzü*, pp.308-309, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1st ed., İstanbul, 2006.

³⁹ Emrence, pp.173-180., Also see Tunçay, pp.273-274.

⁴⁰ Emrence, p.184.

government started to exert a great pressure on the Liberal Party by arguing that it was a ‘reactionary party’. Under pressure from some CHP rulers to side with them, Mustafa Kemal himself abandoned his initial neutral stance as the president, and openly positioned himself against the Liberal Party.⁴¹ In such a high pressure environment, Fethi Okyar did not want to challenge the persona of Mustafa Kemal, and he dissolved the Liberal Party in November 1930. The party could only survive for four months.

In December 1930, another violent incident taking place in Menemen (a district of Manisa) exacerbated the fears of the government of losing control. Six people in Menemen announced that they did not recognize the secular republican regime and they would reintroduce the Sharia, killing one military officer (Mustafa Fehmi Kubilay) and two watchmen who tried to stop them.⁴² It appears that some local people also expressed sympathy to this uprising. The government suspected that the uprising may have been performed by a secret reactionary organization that aimed to overthrow the regime, and that the former political opponents of Mustafa Kemal may be involved. The government introduced martial law in Manisa and Balıkesir for one month, and the uprising was suppressed quite violently. After the trials 35 people were sentenced to death and they were immediately executed. In addition, 41 people were sentenced to prison.⁴³

In my opinion, the political, economic, and social developments between 1923 and 1930, which I have summarized above, cast doubt on the mainstream account of the establishment of People’s Houses. This approach usually looks at the early republican history through ‘rose-colored glasses’, and tends to ignore those ‘unpleasant’ events. However, it appears that these developments and the conjuncture of the early 1930s played an essential role in the establishment of the People’s Houses. In other words, I argue that People’s Houses were not created to increase cooperation and harmony among the republican elites and ordinary people for the common goal of modernization that both groups supposedly shared. On the contrary, the primary reason of the establishment of the Houses was *the lack of* any cooperation and harmony between the elites and ordinary people. By 1930 the regime had introduced several reforms in a top

⁴¹ Tunçay, p.269, and p.272.

⁴² Ibid., p.303.

⁴³ Ibid., p.305.

down manner in a short period of time; but these reforms were not endorsed by the majority of people. Conservative people living in Anatolia were opposed to the secular reforms of the regime, and the government usually accused these people of reactionism and suppressed them with violent means if necessary. Moreover, the economy did not grow as fast as the elite initially expected, and the Great Depression, combined with government policies, severely damaged economic conditions of people. In other words, by 1930 the regime was already quite disconnected from ordinary people, and its rule over people certainly was not based on consent.⁴⁴

In his book Hasan Rıza Soyak provides some evidence to support this argument. Soyak quotes Mustafa Kemal during his 1930 nationwide tour saying: “I feel depressed son, I feel depressed by a great misery! As you see, wherever we go we always listen to problems and complaints...We are surrounded with a deep poverty, a material and moral misery... We rarely see anything refreshing, unfortunately this is the real condition of our country!”⁴⁵ It appears that the Liberal Republican Party experiment and the unexpected expression of popular discontent towards the CHP, the Menemen incident, and his experience during his journey around the country most likely led Mustafa Kemal to the realization that the regime had largely failed to incorporate ordinary people, and the reforms did not take root in the society.

1.2. The Dissolution of the Turkish Hearths and the Establishment of the People’s Houses

In the meantime, there were two related developments that paved the way for the establishment of the People’s Houses. The first one was the dissolution of the Turkish Hearths⁴⁶ in 1931. As mentioned earlier, after 1925 all autonomous organizations, associations, and clubs were either banned or forced by the government to abolish themselves and join the CHP, and eventually the Turkish Hearths were not an exception. These institutions were established in 1912 by nationalist Turkish students with the goal of improving the social, cultural, and economic conditions of Turkish

⁴⁴ Mesut Yeğen, p.180.

⁴⁵ “Bunalıyorum çocuk, büyük bir ıstırap içinde bunalıyorum! Görüyorsun ya, her gittiğimiz yerde mütamadiyen dert, şikayet dinliyoruz.. Her taraf derin bir yokluk, maddi, manevi bir perişanlık içinde...Ferahlatıcı pek az şeye rastlıyoruz; maateessüf memleketin hakiki durumu bu işte!...” in Hasan Rıza Soyak, *Atatürk’ten Hatıralar*, p.405, Yapı Kredi yayınları: İstanbul, 1973.

⁴⁶ For a detailed analysis of the Turkish Hearths please see: Füsün Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları (1912-1931)*, İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2nd ed., 2004.

people, and their language. As a promoter of Turkish nationalism these institutions organized conferences, course on Turkish and foreign languages, concerts, theater plays and shows, and provided some social assistance and healthcare services. In this respect, the Turkish Hearths can be considered as the predecessor of the People's Houses. After the First World War and the occupation of Istanbul by the British, leaders of the Turkish Hearths left Istanbul for Anatolia to join the nationalist movement for independence. In 1923, the Hearths were reactivated in Ankara.

After the establishment of the republic, the Hearths continued to play an active role in spreading Turkish nationalism. They were seen as the bearers of the Turkish culture, expected to promote Turkish language and to work for the creation of a national consciousness among people.⁴⁷ Another mission of the Hearths was to assist the Turkish modernization project. In other words, the founders of the republic considered the Turkish Hearths as the cultural branch of their national modernization project, and thus they provided these institutions with assistance and financial support. Under the patronage of the ruling elite, activities of the Hearths expanded, their overall number exceeded 250, and they had more than thirty thousand members by 1930.⁴⁸

However, the relationship between the Hearths and the CHP was not as smooth as it first appeared. The CHP's desire to control all social, political, and cultural entities in the country created tensions between the two organizations. Despite their close and organic relations with the CHP, the leaders of the Hearths wished to maintain their autonomy from the party and the government. In contrast, the CHP cadres considered the Hearths as the cultural branch of the party, and they demanded the Hearths be governed by CHP members. In fact, from 1925 onwards the party took certain steps to bring the Hearths under its control. In 1927 a new clause, stating that the Hearths would work with the CHP for implementing state policies, was added to the bylaw of the Hearths. Similarly, the Hearths were defined as an institution under the CHP supervision by the CHP congress of 1927.⁴⁹ Moreover, some party members were actively involved in the administrative body of the Hearths.

⁴⁷ Mesut Yeğen, p.176.

⁴⁸ Füsun Üstel, p.358.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.402-403.

According to its bylaw, the Hearths and its members were not allowed to engage in any political activities. However, not only some prominent members of the Hearths, such as Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, and Reşit Galip, became members of the Liberal Republican Party- as a result of the agreement between Mustafa Kemal and Fethi Okyar, but also the Hearths developed generally close relations with the new party.⁵⁰ The involvement of some members of the Hearths in politics, also not in the CHP but in an opposition party, certainly altered the positive perception of the Turkish Hearths among the CHP rulers. Suddenly the Hearths became a place for political struggle and propaganda. Members of the Liberal Party began to criticize the CHP and the government during the meetings of the Turkish Hearths, and there were heated debates between the Liberal Party supporters and the CHP advocates. Moreover, the Hearths had, thanks to their activities, stronger ties with people at the local level. This was seen as a threat by the CHP because the Liberal Party could possibly take advantage of the local power the Hearths possessed.

As a result, the CHP started to exert pressure on the Turkish Hearths by emphasizing that these institutions were the cultural branch of the party. Therefore, it was announced that members of another political party could not be members of the Hearths, and only CHP members and people who were not members of any political party were welcome to the Hearths. Similarly, the pro-government media began to criticize the Hearths even more aggressively, by arguing that these institutions had become obsolete over years: during the late Ottoman period these institutions had played important roles, but after the establishment of the republic the Hearths failed to adopt themselves to the new conditions, and they could not perform their functions properly anymore. Second, the Hearths were accused of promoting Pan-Turkist ideas and policies that might deteriorate relations with the Soviet Union. In fact the Soviet ambassador in Ankara did warn Turkish officials about the Hearths and their expansionist ideas about the Soviet territories populated by Turks. The nationalism adopted by the Hearths was still in line with the Pan-Turkist ambitions of the CUP; but the republican regime had long abandoned such ambitions, and it now favored a more Anatolian-based Turkish nationalism. Thus, the nationalism promoted by the Hearths was seen as archaic and dangerous for Turkey. Third, it was also argued that

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp.338-339.

both the CHP and the Turkish Hearths shared the same ideals and objectives. Therefore, their abolishment and incorporation to the CHP would be more appropriate. Lastly, there were allegations of misconduct against the rulers of the Hearths. For instance, it was claimed by the pro-government media that certain officers of the Ankara Turkish Hearth received too high salaries.⁵¹

All these arguments, accusations, and propaganda against the Turkish Hearths eventually proved effective. In March 1931 the Turkish Hearths decided to have an extraordinary congress in the following month, and Mustafa Kemal informed the leaders of the Hearths that he wished to see the Turkish Hearths united with the CHP. He argued both institutions worked for the same goals, and their combined strength and resources would be more efficient and productive. All the organizations, and spiritual and material forces working for the national goals needed to be united under one banner.⁵² Upon such a request from Mustafa Kemal, the dissolution of the Hearths was inevitable. In the extraordinary congress of April 1931 the general assembly of the Turkish Hearths decided to dissolve themselves and join the CHP. All resources and properties of the Hearths were transferred to the party. With the forced dissolution of the Turkish Hearths, another semi-autonomous actor was absorbed by the CHP.

In the meantime, there were efforts of young Kemalist intellectuals, who were sent to Europe for education by the government, to create a new institution for folk education. They carefully examined several institutions established in European countries for this purpose, and presented their reports and presentations to the related government authorities. For instance, Vildan Aşır Savaşır paid special attention to the Sokol organizations in Czechoslovakia, and examined these institutions in great detail.⁵³ He presented his reports during a conference at the Ankara Turkish Hearth's building. Later his speech was broadcasted live on the Ankara radio. During his speech he suggested that Sokols may serve as an example, and Turkey should create similar institutions for folk education. After his speech on the radio, Savaşır received a phone call and encouragement from Mustafa Kemal. Savaşır was told that he should be prepared for further tasks.

⁵¹Ibid., pp.344-361.

⁵²Ibid., p.374.

⁵³ Anil Çeçen, p.108.

The minister of education Reşit Galip was order by Mustafa Kemal to organize a meeting with young intellectuals in order to prepare for the creation of the People's Houses. The meeting was held at the Ankara Turkish Hearth, and Reşit Galip informed the participant intellectuals that they were assigned to work for the creation of the Houses. A commission was formed and it was assigned to write the bylaw of the new institutions. The commission members included Ziya Cevher Etili as the president, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Sadi İrmak, Tahsin Banguoğlu, Hamit Zübeyir Koşay, Hüseyin Namık Orkun, Kerim Ömer Çağlar, Namık Katoğlu, and Vildan Aşır Savaşır.⁵⁴ This commission prepared a bylaw in two months and it was examined and discussed during the CHP meetings. During the third congress of the CHP in May 1931 the party ratified the final version of the bylaw, and formally took a decision to establish the People's Houses around Turkey.⁵⁵ The preparations were completed by 1932, and on February 19th Houses were opened in 14 cities.

1.3. The Organizational Structure of the People's Houses

As stated earlier, the bylaw of the People's Houses was penned by a delegated commission, and ratified by the CHP. Unlike the Turkish Hearths, the Houses did not have any autonomy, and the CHP strictly monitored and supervised their activities. All Houses had to send the center a detailed quarterly activity report. Also, the bylaw meticulously defines the duties and responsibilities of each branch. According to the bylaw, the People's Houses were institutions working in accordance with the six principles of the CHP: republicanism, nationalism, populism, laicism, statism, and revolutionism. All citizens, whether they be party members or not, were welcome to participate in activities of the Houses. Yet, in order for a person to become a part of the administrative body, he or she had to be a member of the CHP. Each branch should carefully keep membership records⁵⁶, and branches that had ten to fifty members would form a management committee of three members. Branches that had more than fifty members would form a management committee of five members. Each branch would elect a representative to the administrative body of the House.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 110.

⁵⁵ "1931 CHF Nizamnamesi ve Programı" in Mete Tunçay, p.464.

⁵⁶ For a table for recording House members according to occupations please see Appendix A.

⁵⁷ C.H.F Halkevleri Talimatnamesi, p.8, Yeni Mersin Matbaası, Mersin, 19 Şubat 1933.

There were certain preconditions for establishment of a People's House in a region. First, there needed to be a proper location and a building that had adequate space for all activities of a House. Buildings and budgets of the Houses were financed by the CHP. Second, a People's House had to have at least three active branches with sufficient number of members. A fully active House would consist of nine branches: Language, Literature, and History; Fine Arts, Theatre, Sports, Social Assistance, Educational Courses, Library and Publication, Village Studies, and Museum and Exhibition branches. Each branch had its own management committee and worked independently from other branches; but they should also cooperate with each other when necessary. Now, I will briefly describe the duties, responsibilities, and activities of each branch as defined by the bylaw of the People's Houses.

1.3.1. Language, Literature, and History Branch

This branch was responsible for organizing conferences⁵⁸, studying Turkish language and national traditions, publication of books and magazines, and discovering and encouraging people talented at literature. The branch organizes conferences about various subjects to educate people, to teach them the principles of the republic and the revolutions, patriotism, civic duties, and know-how for economic activities and everyday life. Second, it collects and records local dialects, proverbs, idioms, tales, and cultural traditions of the local people. Third, the branch publishes magazines consisting of educative articles, poems, and stories on the principles of republic, the revolutions, national values etc. Fourth, it helps young people who are talented at literature to improve their skills.⁵⁹

1.3.2. Fine Arts Branch

First, this branch discovers and assists talented artists and amateurs to improve their skills in music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. Second, it organizes exhibitions and concerts at night for local people. Third, the branch intends to fuse traditional Turkish music with modern music. Fourth, it seeks to increase the number of people interested in fine arts, to improve aesthetic senses and tastes of local people by opening

⁵⁸ For a list of conferences organized by the Beyoğlu House please see Appendix B.

⁵⁹ C.H.F. Halkevleri Talimatnamesi, pp.15-16.

courses where available. Lastly, the branch teaches people how to sing national anthems and songs, and collects and records lyrics and notes of local folk songs.⁶⁰

1.3.3. Theatre Branch

Theatre branches consist of local people who are interested in and talented at theatre. The theatre group performs plays that were deemed appropriate and listed by the CHP. Other plays outside of the list must first be examined and approved by the party before being performed.⁶¹

1.3.4. Sports Branch

The bylaw states that sports are an indispensable part of education/discipline (terbiye) of the youth and the nation. Therefore, these branches should arouse interest among the Turkish youth and people for sports. Second, according to the bylaw sports branches should always take into consideration the fact that realization of the national ideals requires all sports and physical activities to be in line with the scientific laws and methods. Thus, they should assist national and local sports clubs to observe these methods. They should also encourage young people to join these clubs. Sports activities strengthen the body, improve people's mental health, and helps them build self-control. Therefore, sports branches should encourage involvement of local people in sports such as gymnastics, cycling, swimming, wrestling, boxing, hunting, fishing, and horseback riding. They should also organize hiking tours and journeys around the country, and conferences about sports.⁶²

1.3.5. Social Assistance Branch

The main mission of these branch is to raise funds to help destitute and helpless women and children, disabled people, the sick, and the elderly in the locality. For this purpose, social assistance branch cooperates with other charity organizations in the country, supports hospitals, nursing homes, kindergartens, and other health organizations in their efforts, provides for orphans, helps unemployed people to find jobs. In order to

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp.16-18.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.18.

⁶² Ibid., pp.18-22.

be able to undertake these missions the branch seeks to arouse humanitarian feelings among the local population, and organizes kermises and shows for charity.⁶³

1.3.6. Educational Courses Branch

This branch aims to educate local people in various subjects such as history, natural sciences, foreign languages, accounting, and handicrafts etc. It also organizes courses to teach illiterate people how to read and write. This branch coordinates with other educational institutions and courses offered by municipalities.⁶⁴

1.3.7. Library and Publication Branch

The bylaw states that libraries play a crucial role in broadening knowledge and skills of ordinary people. Therefore, all People's Houses have to have a library and a study room. This branch should enrich the collection of their library by encouraging people to donate books, archiving daily newspapers, buying and renting books, and exchanging extra copies of books for required books. It should also regularly organize reading parties in remote villages to encourage people to read books.⁶⁵

1.3.8. Village Studies Branch

According to the bylaw of the People's Houses, the primary mission of the Village Studies branch is to improve the health condition of villages, cultivate civic manners and aesthetic capacity in peasants, to foster mutual understanding and cooperation between urban people and peasants. It often invites peasants to participate in various activities of the Houses, and organizes trips to villages to integrate both groups. Moreover, this branch cooperates with Educational Courses branch to increase the literary rate in villages. It also assists peasants with their contacts with state institutions and deals with the paperwork. Finally, the branch takes care of orphans, wounded veterans, and families of martyrs in villages.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid., pp.22-24.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.25-26.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp.27-30

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.31-32.

1.3.9. Museum and Exhibition Branch

This branch consists of two groups. The Museum group seeks to preserve artifacts in its region, and informs authorities about them. Second, it tries to enrich the existing museums in the region, and establish new ones. If possible, it collects national artifacts either through donations or purchase. The Exhibition group, on the other hand, organizes exhibitions in which talented painters, sculptors, architects, calligraphers, and other artists in the locality can easily exhibit their creations. It also tries to cultivate a sensibility of aesthetics and a love of art in local people.⁶⁷

1.4. The Closure of the People's Houses

After the establishment of the first 14 Houses in 1932, the number of the People's Houses rapidly increased, and they continued their activities until 1951. However, the transition to multiparty politics in 1946 signaled the beginning of a difficult period for the People's Houses which resulted in their closure by the Democrat Party (DP) in 1951. During the single party period the Houses had operated as the cultural branches of the CHP under the party's strict control without having their own legal personality, and they were funded by the party from the state budget. In the multiparty era funding of the People's Houses from the state budget became a point of contention between the CHP and the DP. The main argument of the DP against the People's Houses was that despite being the cultural and propaganda branch of the CHP, the Houses had been illegally funded from the state budget, and that these institutions should adopt a nonpartisan attitude and allow all parties to utilize their facilities equally. In response to these arguments, the CHP deputies claimed that the Houses were established as non-political cultural institutions to spread the revolutions and the national culture to the people, and that their funding from the state budget was justified by the fact that their doors were open to all citizens who wished to use its facilities.

This dispute over the status of the People's Houses continued until and after the accession of the DP to power in 1950. Anıl Çeçen claims that while still in power the CHP actually aimed to transform the People's Houses to independent cultural foundations able to meet the requirements of the new multiparty era. Yet, due to slowness and bureaucratic-mindedness of its top management, the CHP could not

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp.32-34.

achieve this transformation.⁶⁸ On the other hand, according to Sefa Şimşek the CHP had deliberately not given the Houses a legal personality in order to exclude them from the scope of the law of associations which prohibited associations from engaging in political and propaganda activities. Şimşek also argues that the People's Houses were not transformed because the CHP wished to maintain its control over them.⁶⁹ In either case, the Houses remained untransformed until the end of the CHP rule.

Once in power, the DP assigned inspectors to examine the budget of the People's Houses, and drafted bills to transfer their property into the treasury. Now in opposition, the CHP realized that the Houses should be transformed into independent public foundations; and established a party commission for this purpose. As a result of the negotiations between the CHP representative Faik Ahmet Barutçu and the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, the two parties initially agreed to preserve the People's Houses as a memory of Atatürk, and to transform them into public facilities.⁷⁰ However, this conciliation did not last long, and the two parties could not agree on the details of the draft. After fruitless negotiations for months, the DP drafted and passed a bill that confiscated the property of the People's Houses, and the law was immediately enforced. Consequently, the People's Houses were closed down on August 8, 1951.

Anıl Çeçen argues that the Houses could have continued to serve as independent cultural institutions in the multiparty period; but the reactionary elements of the DP base, who disliked and wished to revert the republican revolutions, exerted pressure on the DP government and eventually had the Houses closed down.⁷¹ Sefa Şimşek, however, maintains that the Houses were designed for a single party political system, and in the multiparty period they had already started to degenerate and decay. He points out that in the 1940s activities of the Houses, such as theater, started to lose their ideological character. Moreover, in the multiparty era most people had already stopped attending the People's Houses because of the possibility of a government changeover. For these reasons, according to Şimşek, the closure of the People's

⁶⁸ Çeçen, p.241.

⁶⁹ Şimşek, pp.209-210.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.211.

⁷¹ Çeçen, p.245 and p.251.

Houses in 1951 only made their already ongoing decline official.⁷² In my opinion, from the very beginning the overwhelming control of the CHP over the People's Houses, and its over-monitoring of their activities eventually paved the way for their closure in 1951. The overdependence of the Houses on the CHP, and the close affiliation between the two hindered a possible adaptation of the Houses to the multiparty period; and the Houses continued to be viewed, both by the DP and the wider public, as the cultural and propaganda branches of the CHP. As a result, this politicized image of the People's Houses precipitated their closure.

⁷² Şimşek, p.214.

CHAPTER II

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

In the previous chapter I discussed the historical background of the establishment of the People's Houses, and described their activities as they were defined by the bylaw. In this chapter I am going to focus on the vast literature on the People's Houses. Despite the large number of studies and different perspectives it contains, I believe that it would be appropriate, for analytical purposes, to classify the literature on the People's Houses into two main categories. The first category constitutes the bulk of the existing literature, and it heavily relies on the modernization discourse of Kemalism that was articulated in the early republican period. Studies in the second category, on the other hand, take a more critical position and analyze ideological and assimilative functions of the People's Houses. Studies in this group give a critical account of the indoctrination of people in these institutions from a variety of perspectives. In the next part I am going to present and critically examine the fundamental tenets and assumptions of the mainstream approach with several examples from the literature. In the second part I will introduce the critical studies on the People's Houses and underline the contributions they have made to our understanding of these institutions.

2.1. The Mainstream Approach

A typical mainstream study on the People's Houses usually goes along these lines: It starts with a very brief summary of the Independence movement and the establishment of the republic under very harsh conditions under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk; then it also mentions the ensuing urgent need to modernize the country after the War of Independence, and relates the establishment of People's Houses to this very necessity. Then, the general organization and institutional structure of the People's Houses is explained in some detail. After that, activities of a particular People's House are listed in great detail, and the importance of that House for the local people and culture, and for development of the region is underlined. The activities of a particular House are usually listed according to the branches of the House. For instance, first activities of the Language, Literature, and History branch would be explained, then

activities of the Theatre and Fine Arts branches would follow, and so forth. Authors usually conclude their studies by emphasizing the achievements and the significance of the People's Houses both for the local community and for Turkey as a whole in socio-economic and cultural development, and modernization. Now, I will examine this approach in more detail beginning with a constitutive example that summarizes its main tenets quite well.

Perhaps the pioneer of the mainstream approach, Anıl Çeçen's book *Halkevleri* presents a classic example. Çeçen is not only an academician studying the People's Houses, but he also served as secretary general of the Ankara People's House for long years in their second period. Therefore, his personal experience at this institution had an influence on his ideas about them. In the first chapter of the book Çeçen engages in a long discussion of the notions of 'people' and 'populism' within the context of Atatürk's revolutions that were 'directed towards the Turkish people'. In the second chapter, he gives a historical account of the establishment of the People's Houses. After the War of Independence the Kemalist movement undertook a major reorganization of the state and the society. Çeçen maintains that the new regime was a 'state of the people', and thus the rulers sought to increase people's participation in the government of the country through elected representatives in the parliament. Yet it was becoming clearer every day that the people could not understand what was being done for them. The ruling cadre came to the realization that the people could not keep pace with the revolutions and they were not able to endorse them quickly. Therefore, Çeçen argues, the rulers started to search for ways to close this gap.⁷³

Çeçen also elaborates on the 'question of the Turkish Hearths'. He points out that even though these institutions had done the country great services during the Ottoman period, they gradually became a venue for racist, pan-Turkist, and religious reactionary people. In other words, the Hearths began to oppose Atatürk's reforms. From the very beginning, Çeçen notes, Atatürk did not have any negative opinions about the Hearths, and he in fact wished to transform them into republican cultural institutions; but the events unfolded in such a negative way that there was not much left to do about them. Çeçen speculates that had the Hearths not become unprogressive and a center for

⁷³ Çeçen, pp.23-86.

reactionary ideas, they could have been the primary institutions through which the Kemalist revolutions were spread to the people.⁷⁴ Yet, the Hearths were becoming engaged in politics and they were promoting reactionary and anti-Kemalist ideas as though they were an opposition party. Çeçen notes that the Hearths started to work as the branches of the new Liberal Republican party. Moreover, some leaders of the Hearths like Hamdullah Suphi were promoting expansionist and pan-Turkist ideas by suggesting that Turkey should also establish youth organizations, similar to the ‘successful’ Fascist organizations in Italy, in order to save Turks living outside of Turkey.

According to Çeçen the Liberal party experiment and the Menemen incident were the drop that spilled the cup. Çeçen argues that in order to save the regime Mustafa Kemal had to take a decision to close those institutions, which he initially supported, for they started to degenerate. Çeçen continues his analysis by discussing the establishment of the People’s Houses to replace the Hearths. He argues that two developments played an important role in the establishment of the Houses. First, the harmful impact of the Great Depression on the Turkish economy became visible from 1930 onwards. Second, the gap between the bureaucratic elite and ordinary people had widened due to the policies between 1923 and 1929 which restricted democratic rights and liberties, and by doing so these policies put the economic burden on ordinary people’s shoulders through high tax rates. In such a conjuncture, Çeçen argues, the Kemalist cadre had two options. They would either extend democratic rights and liberties to make the regime more democratic, or they would establish a more centralist and stricter regime through interventions that encompass every area of life. Given the conditions of the country and the limited experience of the Kemalist cadre, they were inclined to choose the latter.⁷⁵

As a result, the regime became more authoritarian compared to its earlier years, and having failed to cope with the economic depression through economic interventions, the rulers prioritized an ideological solution. They feared that the economic depression would lead to new disputes and problems, and thus they wished to engender a new enthusiasm around the country by establishing the People’s Houses. Çeçen states that

⁷⁴ Ibid.,pp.87-100.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.104.

these institutions were going to educate people politically and ideologically in accordance with the Atatürk's revolutions. They served as the mass organization that spread the populist and nationalist ideology of the Kemalist cadre into Anatolia.⁷⁶ In the third chapter of his book Çeçen examines the activities of the People's Houses in their first period. The fourth chapter deals with the second period of the People's Houses between 1963 and 1980, but this period is beyond the scope of this study. Overall, Çeçen's book is rich in historical details, and it has constituted a narrative that the majority of the mainstream studies have followed. Therefore, while presenting other representatives of the mainstream approach in the following pages I am not going to repeat their historical accounts of the establishment of the People's Houses because their accounts largely rely on, and repeat Çeçen's narrative. I will rather present some of the empirical data that other mainstream studies provide about specific Houses in Anatolian cities. In this way, I hope to enrich our understanding of activities of some local People's Houses with the historical details that mainstream studies provide abundantly.

Nurcan Toksoy presents the second example of the mainstream approach in her study on the cultural activities of the People's Houses. She argues that these institutions played a great role in the cultural development and enlightenment of the Turkish people in the early republican period, and that the primary goal of the Houses was to initiate and spread a cultural enlightenment into even the remotest corners of Turkey. Reaching the level of contemporary civilizations required education and enlightenment of the ordinary people. The peasants constituted the primary target of this cultural campaign. According to Toksoy, the republican intellectual class considered the enlightenment of the Turkish peasantry as their responsibility and mission for they were indebted to the peasantry a great deal. Toksoy also notes that the Houses did not belong to any particular class, group, or adherents of a certain political ideology; all citizens (young, old, men, women, peasants, city dwellers, educated, uneducated etc.) were welcome to participate in the activities of the Houses so that they could meet each other, and cooperate for the development of Turkey.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp.106-107.

⁷⁷ Nurcan Toksoy, *Halkevleri: Bir Kültürel Kalkınma Modeli Olarak*, pp.1-8, Orion Yayınevi: Ankara, 2007.

In the second chapter, Toksoy focuses on the history studies of the People's Houses, which were conducted in cooperation with the Language and Literature branch, Museum and Exhibition branch, and the Turkish Historical Society. She notes that the People's Houses were responsible for raising the consciousness of ordinary people about the Turkish history by organizing conferences and lectures. The Houses also conducted research on local history and the Ottoman court records, and published their studies. In addition, they made contributions to the Turkish History Thesis. In the last part of the chapter Toksoy examines in detail the annual activities of the Language and History, and the Museum and Exhibition branches of the People's Houses.⁷⁸ Similarly, in the third chapter the author focuses on the annual activities of the Houses on language and literature. Toksoy notes that the main responsibilities of the Language and Literature branch included collection, classification, archiving, and publication of folk sayings, stories, epic literature, and traditions. The branch was also responsible for organizing conferences on the Turkish language and literature in order to educate ordinary people and to raise a national consciousness among them. Toksoy concludes the chapter with a detailed examination of the annual activities of the Language and Literature branches.⁷⁹

In the fourth chapter, the author analyzes the publishing and library activities of the Houses by focusing on the magazines published by these institutions. At the end of the chapter, Toksoy similarly examines the annual activities of the Library and Publication branches.⁸⁰ In the last chapter of the book the author analyzes the education activities of the People's Houses. Toksoy notes that these branches played an active role in their locality, and that local people enthusiastically attended the courses offered by the branches. In her conclusion, Toksoy argues that the People's Houses played a crucial role in modernization and sociocultural life of Turkey. These institutions increased the integration and cooperation between the intellectuals and ordinary people, enhanced national unity and cohesion, and facilitated the modernization process in Turkey.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp.155-218.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp.221-303.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp.307-427.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.477.

The third example of the mainstream approach was written by Murat Küçükuğurlu and Mehmet Okur. In their study the authors examine the influence of the People's Houses in Erzurum upon the local life and culture. In the introduction, they argue that the People's Houses were established to spread the republican revolutions and to make sure that ordinary people adopt the republican values. After a brief summary of the historical process leading to the establishment of the People's Houses, and of their organizational structure, the authors continue with a description of the sociocultural conditions in Erzurum prior to the establishment of the People's Houses. Before the WWI Erzurum was an affluent city with a population of 80,000. Unfortunately, the city was devastated by the Great War, and its population shrank to 8000. The destruction of the war and the ensuing poverty made life difficult in Erzurum. Even though Erzurum was an important cultural center during the Ottoman period, the literacy rate had traditionally remained low due to the elitist understanding of education. Because of this traditional sociocultural backwardness of ordinary people and the devastation of the war, Erzurum was in a quite bad condition before the establishment of the central People's House in 1934.⁸²

The first chapter of the book focuses on the central House and its activities in some detail. The authors list the names of the founding members of the central House, and it is evident that the bureaucrats and civil servants, along with a few rich landlords, dominated the cadres of the central House in Erzurum. Küçükuğurlu and Okur also point out that during its first few years the Erzurum House did not have a good performance, and it received warnings from the CHP headquarters. The authors argue that the unsatisfactory performance of the House during its initial years was related to the socioeconomic conditions of Erzurum at the time, migration of young and talented people to big cities for higher education or better employment opportunities in the bureaucracy, lack of electricity, lack of a proper building for the House, local people's habit of spending the summer in plateaus; as well as the disinterestedness of the House managers.⁸³ Moreover, the House initially did not have much financial resources either, and it only had a small library with few books. As a result of these drawbacks, the House was initially unable to meet the expectation of the CHP headquarters. In

⁸² Murat Küçükuğurlu and Mehmet Okur, *Tek Parti Döneminde Erzurum Halkevleri*, pp.31-41., Derya Kitabevi: Trabzon, 2007.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.47-50.

1934, the House had 489 members, 461 male and 28 females. ⁸⁴ However, the authors argue that from the end of the 1935 onward the House slowly became more efficient and successful. Consequently, local people became more and more interested in the activities of the House, and started to attend the conferences and courses it organized.⁸⁵

In the remainder of the first chapter the authors examine in great detail the activities of the central House in Erzurum until its closure in 1950. Even though it faced many problems and difficulties the House continued its activities. In November 1939, the new People's House building became operational. In 1942 Murat Uraz became the president of the House, and a new era for the Erzurum House began. During his term, all branches became more active and the Erzurum House gained momentum, and experienced its golden age in the mid-1940s.⁸⁶ Yet, in the multiparty era the House faced new problems and its activities started to slow down. Due to the criticism and opposition by the Democrat Party towards budget of the People's Houses, the government had to cut the budget. As a result, all People's Houses around Turkey experienced economic difficulties. Moreover, the political rivalry and accusations between the two parties also negatively affected the performance of the Houses in this period. The opposition accused the People's Houses to be just a branch of the ruling CHP. In fact, the central Erzurum House actually supported the CHP in the 1950 elections. As a result, when the Democrat Party came to power after the election, the managers of the Erzurum House, majority of whom were also public servants, had to resign from their positions at the House. Resignation of its managers led the Erzurum House into a period of inactivity. Eventually, the Erzurum House, along with all People's Houses, was closed down by the Democrat Party on August 8, 1951.⁸⁷

In the second chapter of the book, the authors focus on the others People's Houses and People's Rooms that were located in districts of Erzurum, and examine their activities in some detail. Compared to the central House, the Houses in the districts had limited financial resources, and their performance was generally lower to the point that some party inspectors argued that these ineffective Houses needed to be closed down and

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.52-53.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p.62.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.89.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp.101-102.

replaced with much cheaper People's Rooms.⁸⁸ Moreover, Küçüküğürlü and Okur note that personal rivalries and accusations between former presidents and their successors and their staff also hindered the activities of the Houses in districts.⁸⁹

In their conclusion, the authors maintain that the central People's House in Erzurum played a crucial role in modernizing a war-torn and backward city. Yet, the same thing cannot be said about the Houses in the districts of Erzurum. They note that due to economic hardships and ineffective administration those Houses could not achieve their full potential. Even the performance of the central House varied from one period to another. Overall, Küçüküğürlü and Okur argue that, despite the various efforts of the central government and local managers to urge ordinary people to participate in the activities of the Houses, the success of the People's Houses in Erzurum in attracting people's attention remained limited due to the economic hardships ordinary people endured, especially during the WWII. Ironically, during this period the central House experienced its golden age, but the economic hardships and poverty made ordinary people less interested in the activities of the House. As a result, civil servants and local notables took a more active role in the activities of the Houses than ordinary people.⁹⁰

The fourth example of the mainstream approach was written by Mustafa Şanal. In his descriptive and highly extensive study Şanal examines the activities of the Kayseri House between 1932 and 1950. In the first chapter the author discusses the concepts of 'people' and 'populism' (halkçılık) with reference to Atatürk's understanding of the two concepts. According to Şanal populism refers to a political movement that defends the interests of masses who live on their own labor. This movement seeks to establish national unity by overcoming class struggles.⁹¹ In order to achieve this goal, Şanal argues, Atatürk wished to spread folk education around Turkey. Folk education would both teach ordinary people how to read, and through various courses, teach them practical knowledge and skills that they would use in social and economic life. According to Şanal, the People's Houses were designed to achieve these goals. In the second chapter Şanal discusses the historical context in which the People's Houses

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.200.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.172.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp.207-210.

⁹¹ Mustafa Şanal, *Kayseri Halkevi ve Faaliyetleri (1932-1950)*, p.7, Kayseri Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları: Kayseri, 2007.

were built. Then, he also describes the organizational and administrative structure of the Houses, and the duties and role of each branch.⁹² In the third chapter Şanal briefly analyzes the establishment of the Kayseri House, its administrative structure and gives the names of its presidents and other managers.

In the fourth chapter of the book Şanal engages in an exhaustive and highly detailed analysis of the annual activities of the House between 1932 and 1950 by drawing on the documents in the Prime Minister's Republican Archives, the local newspaper 'Kayseri Vilayet Gazetesi', and other news about the Kayseri House in its publication 'Erciyes' magazine and in the *Ülkü*.⁹³ In the fifth chapter, the author focuses on the publications of the Kayseri House and gives information about 19 books and magazines that were published by the House. In his conclusion, Şanal summarizes the activities of each branch of the Kayseri House. These statistics may help us understand the scope of the activities of Houses in general. According to his analysis, the Language and Literature branch organized 397 conferences on various topics between 1932 and 1950. The Fine Arts branch organized 133 concerts between 1932 and 1937, taught various music courses for young and talented youth who were interested in music; and organized semi-monthly movie screenings for women. The Theater branch performed 163 plays in total. The Sports branch helped local football clubs, and organized football games between them. It also organized climbing and skiing activities on the Erciyes Mountain. The Social Assistance branch gave 3585 liras to 1500 people as charity between 1932 and 1937. It also had 2486 patients treated, and provided poor students with food, clothes, and books. The Educational Courses branch organized various courses on several subjects including foreign languages like English, French, and German. The Library and Publication branch created a library containing 6464 books and magazines. It also published 85 issues of its Erciyes magazine between 1938 and 1950. By 1950 it published 21 books and magazines. The Village Studies branch organized village trips, helped peasants with their official affairs, and organized practical courses, theater plays and movie screenings to educate the peasants. Finally, the History and Exhibition branch discovered and excavated various artifacts from the Seljuk period, and exhibited them at the Kayseri museum.⁹⁴

⁹² Ibid., pp.12-23.

⁹³ Ibid, pp.29-185.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp.193-196.

Kenan Olgun presents another example of the mainstream approach in his study on the Adapazarı House. His study examines the influence of the Adapazarı House on the social and cultural development of the region. In the second chapter Olgun analyzes the period from the establishment of the Adapazarı House in 1934 until 1940. He notes that in general the management cadres of People Houses were dominated by civil servants, bureaucrats, and especially teachers. The Adapazarı House was not an exception, and most of its managers were teachers. In 1934 the House had 880 members, and only two of them were females. The majority of members (593) were enrolled to the sports branch of the House. The least favorite branches among the members were the fine arts branch and the educational courses branch, each receiving only 18 members.⁹⁵ Olgun notes that in the first inspection report on the Adapazarı House the inspector expressed his disappointment with the performance of all branches, stating that branches had done almost nothing in their first year, and that branch managers lacked enthusiasm. The inspector also stated that most local people even did not know where the Adapazarı House was because the House, having no building of its own, was located in the CHP building without a signboard.⁹⁶ In the remainder of the second chapter the author continues to analyze in detail the annual membership records and activities of the Adapazarı House until 1940. In the third chapter, he follows the same method, and examines the activities of the House from 1940 until its closure in 1951. In his conclusion, Olgun argues that the Adapazarı House had several positive effects upon the sociocultural development of the region, and promoted theater, fine arts, and sports among the local people. Therefore, its closure in 1951 hindered this cultural development process which had started in 1932.⁹⁷

Another example of the mainstream approach was written by Eminağ Malkoç on the Kadıköy House. In his introduction the author notes that after the establishment of the Turkish republic the success of the new regime depended on the adoption of the principles of the revolution by ordinary people through nationwide folk education. The People's Houses were established to achieve this goal.⁹⁸ In the first chapter of his book

⁹⁵ Kenan Olgun, *Yöresel Kalkınmada Adapazarı Halkevi*, p.112, Değişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2008.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.115.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.233.

⁹⁸ Eminağ Malkoç, *Devrimin Kültür Fidanlığı Halkevleri ve Kadıköy Halkevi*, p.13, Derlem Yayınları: İstanbul, 2009.

Malkoç analyzes the establishment of the People's Houses, their organizational structure, and duties of each branch.⁹⁹ The second chapter extensively focuses on the Kadıköy House and its activities. The House was established in 1935, and initially it had 1042 members. The Fine Arts branch was the first to become operational, and in 1935 it had 59 members: one lawyer, 13 teachers, 4 artists, and 41 civil servants. Over the years this number increased, and the branch taught various painting, sculpture, violin, piano, mandolin, and guitar courses; organized concerts and exhibitions, and encouraged many talented youths to pursue their careers in fine arts. The Social Assistance branch, on the other hand, provided poor people with financial assistance, food, clothes, coal, free healthcare, medicine, and vaccination. By 1943 the branch distributed over 74 tons of food, 16 tons of bread, 4000 kg milk, 700 kg dates, 55 kg medicine, 7863 kg fuel allowance, and 386 liras as financial aid.

Similarly, the Educational Courses branch taught 3706 courses until 1942, and 39,816 students attended these courses. Between 1935 and 1942 the Literature and Language branch organized 205 conferences that were attended by 48,901 people. The Library and Publication branch aimed to increase the number of books in the House library, and organized several conferences. By 1945 the library contained 4163 books, and in the first six months of the same year it was visited by 21,341 readers. Between 1935 and 1943 the Theater branch performed 96 plays which were watched by 64,828 people. The Sports branch, on the other hand, was one of the most active branches of the Kadıköy House, and it encouraged young people to engage in football, athletics, wrestling, aquatic sports, fencing, and tennis. The Village Studies branch organized trips to nearby villages such as İçerenköy, Bakkalköy, and Merdivenköy; as well as to the villages in Kartal and Pendik regions. In his conclusion Malkoç argues that the closure of the People's Houses in 1951, as a result of the political rivalries of the time, dealt a major blow to the cultural development, enlightenment, and democratization of Turkey. He suggests that the Houses could have easily been placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Education; and in this way they would have continued their activities in the multiparty era.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp.13-95.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp.116-172.

Another study in this group was written by Mustafa Özsarı. In his study Özsarı analyzes the literature and cultural activities of the People's Houses in the Aegean region by focusing on the magazines published by those Houses. In the first chapter Özsarı first gives some information about the People's Houses in the Aegean region. There were 15 Houses in Aydın, 20 in Denizli, 22 in İzmir, 15 in Manisa, and 7 in Muğla. Focusing only on the major Houses that were influential in the cultural sphere, Özsarı points out that from its establishment in 1932 until its closure in 1951, the management cadres of the İzmir House were dominated by prominent bureaucrats, journalists, and educators in the city. The İzmir House was especially active in publishing, organizing conferences and performing theater plays. It published two periodicals, over 40 books, and many brochures. The House also organized several conferences that were lectured by famous intellectuals such as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, M. Fuat Köprülü, Nurullah Ataç, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, and many others. The House also cooperated with the British Council in order to promote friendly relations between the two countries, and some British scientists and artists visited the House and gave lectures. Lastly the House also performed 69 theater plays in 18 years.¹⁰¹

After summarizing the activities of other culturally influential Houses in the region, Özsarı also analyzes in detail the major magazines published by those Houses. For example, the İzmir House published *Fikirler* and *Güzel Günler*; the Manisa House published *Yeni Doğu* and *Gediz*; the Muğla House *Muğla*, the Milas House *Yeni Milas*, the Denizli House *İnanç*, the Urla House *Ocak*, and the Tire House published *Küçük Menderes* magazines.¹⁰² In the second and third chapters of the book the author engages in an in-depth analyses of the poems, stories, articles, essays, and other writings in those magazines with respect to their topics and themes which include patriotism, revolutions, and local heroes; social life, city life, and life in villages; nature, love, and loneliness; scientific and philosophical writings, law, economy, geography, history, health, sports, theater, music, painting etc.¹⁰³ In his conclusion, Özsarı emphasizes the important role those Houses and their publications played in the cultural and intellectual life of the Aegean region in particular, and in Turkey in general

¹⁰¹ Mustafa Özsarı, *Ege Bölgesi Halkevleri: Edebi ve Kültürel Çalışmalar*, pp.34-39, Asi Kitap: İstanbul, 2010.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp.61-75.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 91-297.

as they provided a platform where prominent intellectuals of the day could share their ideas and works.¹⁰⁴

The next two books in this category were penned by Selçuk Duman, one about the Sivas House, and the other about the Tokat House. In the former book Duman begins his analysis with a discussion of the concepts of ‘people’, ‘populism’, and ‘folk education’. He argues that the People’s Houses came into existence as a result of Atatürk’s adherence to the idea of populism, and his willingness to enlighten Turkish people through folk education.¹⁰⁵ The second chapter of the book extensively focuses on the Sivas House that was established in 1933. Duman examines the administrative structure of the Sivas House, and lists the name of its presidents. In 1933 the House had 447 members, 399 males and 48 females, majority of whom were civil servants. The most popular branch of the House was sports branch with 151 members. On the other hand, the Museum and Exhibition branch initially had only 9 members. Duman notes that between 1933 and 1938 the Literature and Language branch organized 50 conferences that were attended by 16,890 people. Initially, the House failed to attract ordinary people to the conferences, and thus they were mainly attended by civil servants. However, after 1938 the House managed to obtain a regular audience, and the conference hall hardly had enough room for the people.

The sports branch was especially active in javelin throwing and skiing, and encouraged local people to engage in these sports. Also, Duman notes that the CHP supplied the Sivas House with various gymnastics equipment that the House could not afford on its own. The Social Assistance branch provided poor and sick people with free healthcare, and organized conferences for ordinary people on sanitation. The branch played a critical role in assisting the victims of the 1939 Erzincan earthquake. The educational courses branch organized literacy courses for the local people and prisoners whom received their certificates at the end of the course. The other courses offered by the branch included French, German, painting, violin, as well as physics, chemistry, math, and language courses for students who failed their exams.¹⁰⁶ In the fourth chapter of

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.307.

¹⁰⁵ Selçuk Duman, *Türk Modernleşme Sürecinde Sivas Halkevi (1933-1951)*, p.53, Berikan Yayınevi: Ankara, 2008.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp.209-271.

the book Duman gives information about the publications of the Sivas House. The House published two periodicals called *Ortayayla* and *4 Eylül*, and the *Kızılırmak* newspaper. The House also published 14 books.¹⁰⁷ In the conclusion, Duman argues that the Sivas House in particular, and the People's Houses in general played a crucial role in preserving the Turkish culture and traditions against cultural erosion; and that nowadays Turkey needs such nationwide education institutions.¹⁰⁸

In his second book Duman follows the same organizational pattern. In the third chapter he examines the activities of the Tokat House in detail. For example, the Language and Literature branch of the Tokat House organized many conferences on various topics such as sanitation, sports, literature, and Turkish history. Similarly, the Theater branch performed 16 plays in 1935 that were watched by 8000 people. The Sports branch was active in football, hunting, biking, and horseback riding. The Social Assistance branch had 625 patients examined free of charge, and supplied 300 poor people with money for medicine. The Educational Courses branch organized literacy, French, and accounting courses. In 1939 the library of the Tokat House included 1293 books and 1675 magazines. In 1933 the Village Studies branch visited 40 nearby villages, examined the sick, and provided them with medicine.¹⁰⁹ The publications of the Tokat House included the *Tokat* newspaper, the *Yeni Tokat* magazine, the *Yeşilirmak* newspaper, and the *Ülker* magazine. In his conclusion Duman reemphasizes the important role the People's Houses played in promoting national unity and culture in Turkey.¹¹⁰

Examples of the mainstream studies can be multiplied¹¹¹, but the ones presented above should suffice to describe the general characteristics of this approach. As we have seen, mainstream studies usually examine a specific House, or all Houses in a city as a case study; and in this way they provide rich historical details by analyzing activity reports of different People's Houses. In this respect, they enhance our understanding of the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 297-322.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.374.

¹⁰⁹ Selçuk Duman, *Bir Modernleşme Aracı Olarak Tokat Halkevi*, pp.90-128, Berikan Yayınevi: Ankara, 2011.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.219.

¹¹¹ For two more contemporary examples of the mainstream approach please see: İbrahim Erdal, *Halkevlerinin Kuruluşu, Yapısı ve Yozgat Halkevi (1932-1951)*, Siyasal Kitabevi: Ankara, 2013; and Feyza Kurnaz Şahin, *Atatürk'ün Kültür Kurumlarından Halkevleri ve Afyon Halkevi*, Berikan Yayınevi: Ankara, 2014.

People's Houses by shedding light on the specific operations of local Houses as described in their activity reports. However, mainstream studies also have several drawbacks that limit their capacity to analyze the People's Houses from a wider, and perhaps a more neutral perspective. To begin with, mainstream studies heavily rely on the official historiography of the early republican period. For instance, following the 'public transcript' of the republican elite which publicly preaches 'the people', Anıl Çeçen maintains that the new regime was a 'state of the people' and it sought to increase the participation of the people in the government; but he does not take into consideration the authoritarian policies of the regime such as the Takrir-i Sükun law, the violent suppression of the Sheikh Said rebellion, criminalization and banning of the PRP, silencing of the Istanbul press, and oppression of all forms of opposition in the country in the same period. Even though Çeçen acknowledges that the policies between 1923 and 1929 restricted democratic rights and freedoms, and created economic problems for ordinary people; he does not seem to problematize further these policies, and he does not examine how authoritarian policies of the government may have hindered the 'participation of the people in politics'. However, such authoritarian policies of the government certainly cast doubt on the discourse of 'a state of the people' that Çeçen uncritically accepts.

Similarly, other mainstream studies overlook the authoritarian policies of the government in this period by strictly adhering to the official historiography. These studies usually repeat the same historical narrative regarding the early republican period, and focus on a specific People's House and its activities. There is, however, one exceptional study in the mainstream approach that gives a more balanced historical account of the period. In his study, Şerafettin Zeyrek acknowledges that the violent suppression of the Sheikh Said rebellion, the banning of the PRP, the İzmir assassination trials, the purge of the former CUP members from politics, the burden of the Ottoman foreign debt, and the Great Depression created dissatisfaction among ordinary people and led to some 'unpleasant events'.¹¹² He also admits that the government had sometimes, but not always, been violent when it purged social and political opposition to itself.¹¹³ His uneasy acknowledgement of the authoritarian policies of the early republican period makes Zeyrek's study an exception among other

¹¹² Şerafettin Zeyrek, *Türkiye'de Halkevleri ve Halkodaları*, p.5, Anı Yayınları: Ankara, 2006.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.10.

mainstream studies. However, overall his study only focuses on the positive effects of the People's Houses on Turkey's modernization and development, without entertaining the possibility that there might have been some negative effects as well. In other words, his study generally shares other tenets of the mainstream approach.

Second, the mainstream approach does not at all problematize the indoctrination of people in the People's Houses. Several authors assert that the establishment of these institutions was necessary to educate people and teach them the revolutions of Atatürk. For instance, Selçuk Duman argues the People's Houses had a difficult mission because they, on the one hand, had to reach to all people around the country, most of whom were illiterate, and on the other hand they had to teach people the fundamental principles of the Turkish republic and the revolutions of Atatürk.¹¹⁴ Similarly, Nurcan Toksoy maintains that Atatürk sought to protect Turkish people from the harmful effects of foreign ideologies. He considered the People's Houses the most suitable environment to create national unity and cooperation.¹¹⁵ Obviously, for these authors ideological indoctrination of people does not constitute a 'problem' provided that the ideology is 'national'. They make a clear distinction between those 'harmful foreign ideologies' aiming to deceive our people, and our own 'national ideology' which is 'necessary and beneficial' to our people. Oblivious to the critical debates in social sciences on 'ideology' and 'ideological state apparatuses', mainstream scholars in general do not entertain the possibility that 'our own ideology', rather than being beneficial, may be an instrument for control over a society because in their understanding a 'national ideology' has only positive functions such as improving social cohesion and creating a national identity. This uncritical ready acceptance of the official ideology is highly illuminative of the state-centric nature of the mainstream approach.

Third, the mainstream approach celebrates the experience of the People's Houses as a part of the 'cultural development' and 'enlightenment' of Turkey¹¹⁶; without considering the possibility that these institutions may also have had certain negative functions. For instance, Çeçen maintains that at the time of the collapse of the Ottoman

¹¹⁴ Duman, *Bir Modernleşme Aracı Olarak Tokat Halkevi*, p.14.

¹¹⁵ Toksoy, p.9.

¹¹⁶ Toksoy, p.5.

Empire Turkish society was in a state of a ‘medieval sleep’-characterized by backwardness, underdevelopment, and inactivity. After the War of Independence and the foundation of the republic, however, Atatürk did his best to awaken his people.¹¹⁷ In fact, the People’s Houses were established for this very purpose: to educate and enlighten people, start a national cultural renaissance, and to modernize the country. In these institutions people spent their free time productively, engaging in several activities such as fine arts, literature, theatre, sports, social assistance, village studies, taking courses in several subjects etc.¹¹⁸ According to Nurcan Toksoy, people showed an enormous enthusiasm for these institutions, and they voluntarily participated in their activities, making great sacrifices for their country and people without any personal expectations. Moreover, the Houses helped to close the gap between the village and the city, intellectuals and the people, and the old and the young. They created a mutual understanding among those groups, enhanced their cooperation, and strengthened the national unity in Turkey.¹¹⁹

As we can see, the mainstream approach shares the simplistic modernist dichotomy between torpid and ‘backward’ societies and dynamic modern societies, and it thus attributes a totally positive role to the People’s Houses as institutions that modernized Turkey. Here I need to clarify a point. I am neither arguing that People’s Houses did not modernize Turkey, nor that they should not have. Rather than taking equally simplistic pro or anti-modernist positions, my critical point is that modernization may also have some negative outcomes as well as positive ones. In other words, ‘modernization’ or ‘modernity’ should not simply be construed either as an ‘all positive’ or an ‘all negative’ process. However, this is exactly what the mainstream approach does: it construes modernization process as a totally positive and desired goal. Looking at the People’s Houses through uncritical, modernist, nationalist, and state-centric lenses, it is quite natural for the adherents of this approach to hold such a positive perception of them. On the other hand, we do not necessarily have to share this perception. As the critical studies in the following part will demonstrate, a more critical approach may as well depict a different picture of these institutions.

¹¹⁷ Çeçen, pp.87-88.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp.124-127.

¹¹⁹ Toksoy, pp. 10-11.

2.2. The Critical Approach

Compared to the mainstream approach, critical studies on the People's Houses are fewer in numbers, but more original in content. The first representative of this approach is Neşe G. Yeşilkaya's book *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*. In the book Yeşilkaya examines the relationship between ideology and architecture within the context of the People's Houses. She begins her analysis with a theoretical discussion of the concept of 'ideology' and its evolution, and lists its main functions: mobilization, legitimation, naturalization, rationalization, and universalization.¹²⁰ An ideology may mobilize and organize people around a common cause by generating consent. Similarly, it may also legitimize a regime in the eyes of people, or at least guarantee their tacit approval of the regime. Once subjects begin to judge themselves according to the judgement of the power, then its domination over the subjects would be legitimized. Through this act of legitimization ideology also naturalizes and rationalizes domination by rendering it natural and inevitable in the eyes of subjects. Fourth, ideology may unite certain groups of people under an identity, and improve social cohesion. Lastly, universalization also means depriving of a history and location. Then, Yeşilkaya discusses the relationship between ideology and architecture through several examples from the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. She argues that architecture was seen by both regimes as an instrument of propaganda. Both regimes encouraged and sponsored the construction of colossal buildings and monuments in order to display their power to people and to impress them.¹²¹

In the second chapter of the book Yeşilkaya focuses on the intellectual history in Turkey and Kemalism. Summarizing the ideology of the Young Turks, the author continues with an examination of the Kemalist ideology and its main principles such as populism, nationalism, laicism, and revolutionism as they relate to the missions of the People's Houses. The third chapter of the book deals with the organizational structure of the People's Houses. Yeşilkaya first gives a brief historical account of the establishment of the Houses. Second, she explains the objectives of these institutions as follows:

The primary objective of these institutions was to spread the Kemalist ideology and the principles of the party, and to entrench the revolutions in the society. As

¹²⁰ Neşe G. Yeşilkaya, *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*, p.16, 1st ed., İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 1999.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp.17-21.

a ‘modern project’ Kemalism aims to create a ‘new society’ and a ‘new life’. *The new habits, behaviors- ways of thinking, tastes in arts and music, ways of entertainment, or in short the mindset required by the ‘new life’ were instilled in people through these institutions. ... As the ‘educator’ of the society the People’s Houses educate the society, and teach people the ‘correct doctrines’ through inculcation and discipline/education (terbiye).* ¹²² (Emphasis added)

In the remainder of the third chapter Yeşilkaya examines the activities of each branch of the Houses in some detail. In the fourth chapter, she focuses on the relationship between architecture and the official ideology in Turkey between 1930 and 1940 with examples from several People’s Houses and other buildings built in this period. She notes that the establishment of a railroad network around the country enabled the regime to reach to the remotest corners of the country. Typically, the regime built the following building in city centers to represent the new nation state in remote regions: republican squares with statues of Atatürk, municipality buildings, court houses, primary schools that were usually named ‘Ghazi’, and the People’s Houses. Yeşilkaya also demonstrates how the official ideology shaped the professional ideology of architects in this period. She notes that ‘national architecture’ was expected to conform to the principles of the republic, and it should be in line with the revolutions. With their designs and creations architects should assist the gradual creation of the ‘ideal individual’ envisaged by the revolutions through education/discipline (terbiye). The last chapter of the book examines in more detail the People’s Houses and other republican buildings in terms of architecture, spatial organization of cities, and their relation to the official ideology. In her conclusion Yeşilkaya defines the People’s Houses as the embodiment of the official ideology of the period in architecture.¹²³ Overall, Yeşilkaya’s critical examination of the complex relations between power, space, ideology, representation, and architecture within the context of the People’s Houses is highly illuminative.

Another example of the critical approach is present in Mesut Yeğen’s book *Devlet Söyleminde Kürt Sorunu*. In examining the Turkish state discourse on the Kurdish question, Yeğen challenges the view that the state discourse conceals the undermining of the Kurdish identity by the Turkish state through a misrepresentation of the Kurdish question as ‘reactionism’, ‘regional backwardness’, ‘tribal resistance to central

¹²² Ibid., p.61.

¹²³ Ibid., pp.110-190.

authority', or 'the problem of banditry'. On the contrary, Yeğen argues, by drawing on Michel Foucault's archeological discourse analysis, that rather than misrepresenting it, the Turkish state has in fact perceived the Kurdish question as 'reactionism', 'regional backwardness', 'tribal resistance to central authority', and 'the problem of banditry'. Therefore, he proposes to read the state discourse not as a distortion of the fact that the Kurdish identity has been undermined by the state; but as the language, the story, and the evidence of this very undermining.¹²⁴

In addition to tracing the historical formation of the Turkish state discourse on the Kurdish question and its complex relations with other discursive practices, Yeğen also analyzes core republican institutions, such as the Turkish Hearths, the People's Houses, the Turkish History Association, and the Village Institutes, which assisted the formation of the state discourse in several ways. The author underlines the wide gap between the new regime and the peasants in Anatolia in the early republican period. The modernization project and reforms of the republican elite were not enthusiastically endorsed by ordinary people, and there were expressions of discontent towards the regime as indicated by the popular support for the two opposition parties in 1924 and 1930. However, Yeğen notes that the republican elite were not discouraged by these obstacles and the popular resistance. They realized that formal education system alone was not sufficient to overcome these obstacles. Thus they decided to establish institutions for folk education that can spread the symbolic regime of the republic into Anatolia by undermining the symbolic regime of ordinary people, which was based on Islam; popularize the reforms, and accelerate the national integration process. The People's Houses were established to achieve these goals.¹²⁵

Yeğen notes that the peasants presented a particular obstacle to the national integration process designed by the regime. Their passive resistance to the reforms, the prevalence of the Islamic symbolic regime in the countryside, and the traditional disconnection between the center and the countryside complicated the national integration process at the cultural level. In order to overcome these problems, the rulers decided to extend the activities of the Houses to the villages. In 1939 the government started to establish People's Rooms in villages around Turkey. Yeğen states that the Houses played an

¹²⁴ Mesut Yeğen, pp. 24-25.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p.181.

active role in national integration by teaching Turkish to Kurds and Arabs living in Mardin.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, the national integration process was not devoid of difficulties. For instance, Yeğen cites an observation about a village trip organized by the Ankara People's House to a nearby village just outside of the capital. Despite the proximity of the village to the capital, the People's House convoy, which consisted of the House members, politicians, intellectuals, civil servants, doctors, dentists, students, poets etc., appeared to be exploring an unknown continent with a huge supply of canned food. The convoy planted a Turkish flag at the village center, delivered the peasants a harangue, examined the sick in the village, and took several pictures of the village and the peasants. The village was perceived as an unknown and unsafe territory to be explored, and the convoy needed to represent the state with the flag and state institutions in this nearby village. Yeğen notes that the village trip should be seen as an indication of the wide gap between the regime and ordinary people.¹²⁷

Sefa Şimşek presents the third example of the critical approach in his book *Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi: Halkevleri (1932-1951)*. The book is fairly comprehensive, and I am only going to refer to the most relevant parts. To begin with, Şimşek analyzes the People's Houses in terms of political propaganda and mobilization. In the beginning of the book he argues that during the 1920s the Kemalist elite were occupied with the creation and entrenchment of the new state. A series of radical reforms were introduced in a top down-manner, and the superstructure of the ancient regime was replaced by new institutions. However, at the popular level the traditional values of the society were still prevalent, and the reform policies of the new regime widened the traditional gap between the state and the society in Turkey.¹²⁸ Referring to the famous saying of Massimo d'Azeglio, Şimşek asserts that the Kemalist elite, having created the Turkish Republic, then set out to create the republican Turkish citizens. In other words, the new regime required a new society.¹²⁹

According to Şimşek, single party states require politicized societies more than plural political systems. In this respect, the People's Houses were one of the most important

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp.180-183.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp.184-185.

¹²⁸ Sefa Şimşek, p.2.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p.6.

propaganda institutions of the single party regime in Turkey. Their main mission was political indoctrination and mobilization of ordinary people according to the principles of the regime. In this way, they were expected to close the gap between the state and the society.¹³⁰ In the second chapter of the book, Şimşek discusses the concept of ‘political propaganda’ and its evolution with examples from the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy. Şimşek notes that the republican elite had the propaganda institutions in those countries examined before the establishment of the People’s Houses.¹³¹

After a brief account of the establishment of the Houses, Şimşek examines speeches of several CHP rulers, intellectuals, and other prominent figures to see how they defined the goals of the Houses. Based on those speeches, Şimşek argues that one of the primary missions of the Houses was creation of an ‘imagined community’ as designed by the party. Second, they were expected to create ‘critical symbols’ to alter the tastes and demands of the society in line with the party ideology.¹³² In the eighth chapter Şimşek pays attention to the village studies of the People’s Houses. He notes that the views of Kemalism on the peasants are contradictory. On the one hand, peasants are usually praised by the regime; but on the other hand there are many negative descriptions of peasants in the writings of Kemalist intellectuals. Therefore, Şimşek holds the opinion that the praise of peasants by Kemalism was far from genuine, only a discourse to get support from peasants for the new regime.¹³³

The ninth chapter deals with the ‘Turkish History Thesis’ and the ‘Sun Language Theory’. In the tenth chapter Şimşek looks at the relationship between sports and ideology within the context of the People’s Houses. Before discussing the view of Kemalism on sports he cites a few examples from national sports program of other countries such as Italy, Germany, and the United Kingdom as these countries influenced the Turkish program. All these countries paid special attention to the physical training of the youth, and encouraged ordinary people to participate in sports activities for they wished to physically prepare their citizens for a possible war. For

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp.11-12.

¹³¹ Ibid., p.26.

¹³² Ibid., pp.64-65.

¹³³ Ibid., pp.129-130.

instance, in Nazi Germany twenty-two million people were actively involved in sports, and there were twenty-two thousand sport facilities in the country. However, Şimşek maintains that physical discipline and improvement were not the only motivation behind these national sports programs. In addition to physical discipline, those regimes intended to indoctrinate people with their ideology and worldview.¹³⁴

Similarly, Şimşek notes, Kemalism viewed sports as a mechanism of ideological indoctrination, and racial improvement also known as eugenics. In other words, all Turkish people were encouraged to participate in sport activities, and in doing so they would also endorse the republican values. Şimşek also points out that Kemalism wished to keep all sport activities under state supervision and control. In this way, Şimşek argues, the CHP wished to enhance its popular standing by translating the interest and enthusiasm of ordinary people for sports into support for itself and the regime.¹³⁵ In this respect, the primary mission of the sports branches of the Houses was to promote sports among local people.

The eleventh chapter of the book focuses on the theater activities of the People's Houses as a means to spread the Kemalist ideology. Şimşek notes that in societies with low literacy rates, theater serves as a more efficient instrument of propaganda compared to printed materials and conferences.¹³⁶ In this respect, the theater branches of the People's Houses were held responsible to spread the principles and values of the republican regime. However, Şimşek argues that the theater branches largely failed due to low literary and artistic quality of the plays, exaggeratedly expressed ideological messages, overly simplistic dualism between good and evil characters, and poorly decorated theater stages combined with poor performance of actors majority of whom were amateurs. These factors prevented ordinary people from identifying with characters in plays, and hindered the effectiveness of ideological messages.¹³⁷ In his conclusion, Şimşek argues that even though the People's Houses may have failed to popularize the Kemalist ideology and its values among ordinary people; in the long run they nevertheless had a great impact on the ideas of teachers, intellectuals, writers,

¹³⁴Ibid., p.169.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.176.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.186.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp.195-197.

and artists whose cultural and intellectual identity was formed in these institutions. Those intellectuals in turn transferred their knowledge and ideas to the future generations.¹³⁸

Lastly, Alexandros Lamprou carries out a brilliant examination of the People's Houses from a bottom-up perspective by focusing on the "...interplay between the reforms introduced by the ruling elite and their enactment and consumption by social subjects in concrete social settings, within local societies and power networks."¹³⁹ Underlining the limitations of previous studies that emphasize the 'textbook' version of the Houses, rely on a strict distinction between state and society, and look at these institutions through the lenses and the discourse of the political center; Lamprou treats the Houses as a 'juncture of state and society', and seeks to shed light on how the power relations between the center, local party elites, and other local actors influenced, modified, and sometimes reversed the plans and intentions of the political center. In other words, Lamprou aims to see how, and to what degree, the designs and intentions of the center were carried out in local settings, and how local actors coped with these designs. The author focuses on the Kayseri and Balikesir Houses as case studies, and in order to lend an ear to the voices of local actors he draws on petitions, and complaint letters about the (mis)conduct of the Houses which were sent to the Party headquarters.

In the first chapter of the book Lamprou describes the historical background and the main tenets of the People's Houses project as it was designed by the political center. In the second chapter, Lamprou sketches "... a human geography of the Halkevi space and its clientele and manpower in provincial towns, where the majority of the Houses were established."¹⁴⁰ He provides statistical data about the composition of the ruling cadres and members of the Kayseri and Balikesir Houses, including their occupation, gender, and level of education. As several other authors, Lamprou notes that usually the majority of the ruling cadres of the Houses consisted of civil servants, and teachers.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp.224-225.

¹³⁹ Alexandros Lamprou, *Nation Building in Modern Turkey: The 'People's Houses', the State and the Citizen*, p.2., I.B Tauris: London, 2015.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p.59.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p.69.

Lamprou also points out that there was a substantial difference between the Houses that were established in major cities in the West with greater state presence, and those Houses that were established in the Eastern cities with a weak state presence and predominantly non-Turkish populations (Kurds or Arabs). The Houses located in big Western cities were much more active compared to those located in the east. In addition to the small numbers and isolation of the non-local civil servants from the local society, the linguistic, social, cultural, and ethnic differences between the local society and the state actors severely hindered the interactions between the two groups. As a result, most of the Eastern Houses were exclusively staffed by non-local civil servants, and in some cases the Houses only served as gathering and socializing points for bureaucrats in the locality.¹⁴² As Lamprou states:

Allowing for exceptions and regional variations, the Houses in the Kurdish-populated east were definitely less- if at all- integrated into local societies than the Houses in the west and appeared to be isolated state colonies in the middle of the vast ethnic, linguistic, and, cultural otherness they were supposed to eradicate by facilitating the assimilation of its people and the colonization of its space through deportations and population settlement. An unambiguous part of such a state project over local society, *the Eastern Halkevi appears almost as a colonial state office or a recreational space for colonial administrators, a space built upon the differentiation and segregation between colonizers and colonized.*¹⁴³ (Emphasis added)

In the remainder of the second chapter and in the third, Lamprou engages in a detailed analysis of some petitions, complaint and denunciation letters that were written by local actors and sent to the center. His analysis demonstrates that the actual working of several local People's Houses differed greatly from the ideal designs of the political center. In their speeches and writings the republican elite usually depicted the People's Houses as institutions in which people cooperated and worked together harmoniously for the national goals. In reality, however, most People's Houses were caught up in personal conflicts, and political rivalries between various local actors and their alliances. To cite one example from the book, there were three denunciation letters against the People's House chairman (who was also the party chairman) of Artvin that resulted in an investigation. The first letter claimed that on several occasions the chairman did not allow House members to listen to the news on the radio. Instead he

¹⁴² Ibid., pp.71-72.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p.73.

changed the radio station and listened to music with his friends. The second letter complained about the arbitrary and tyrannical rule of the chairman. The third denunciation letter argued that due to the unlawful and unplanned activities of the chairman, the Artvin House became inactive. Upon these accusations, a party inspector conducted an investigation. His report revealed that the chairman had been systematically targeted, with fake charges, by two former chiefs of the Artvin House orchestra who were removed from their positions by the chairman. Lamprou notes that such plots to remove a chairman or an officer from their positions by their rivals occurred quite frequently across many People's Houses.¹⁴⁴

In the fourth chapter, Lamprou focuses on some complaint letters about the exclusionary spare time practices of People's Houses managers. He notes that since the Ottoman times the state viewed coffee houses as uncontrollable and dangerous venues where subversive popular political ideas and bad habits such as drinking and gambling flourished. The republican regime inherited this negative view about coffee houses, and condemned them through a moralistic discourse which depicts coffee houses as places 'hurting family life', 'lodges of the idle', and 'nests of gossip' where the youth wasted their time doing nothing, but gambling and drinking. In this respect, in the official discourse the People's Houses were presented as alternatives to the coffee houses, and people were encouraged to participate in their activities. The Houses were celebrated as cultural institutions where intellectuals and ordinary people would come together and learn from each other.

However, Lamprou demonstrates that in practice the situation was much more complicated, and that in most cases House managers drew a line between themselves and ordinary people. Many complaint letters criticized civil servants and intellectuals for monopolizing People's Houses that belonged to the people, excluding people from certain rooms which they reserved for themselves, and performing the very bad habits, such as gambling and drinking, that the center sought to keep away from the People's House space. Lamprou notes that authors of complaint letters successfully employed the official moralist discourse on coffee houses as a tactic for their own advantage. Usually, the complaint letters argued that due to the exclusionary and immoral

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp.103-105.

behavior of House managers the local youth could not find any proper place to socialize, and unfortunately they started to waste their time in decadent coffee houses. Another method used by House managers to segregate themselves from ordinary people was the system of invitation cards. By issuing invitation cards for House activities such as theater, movie screening, and musical performances, House managers were able to exclude ordinary people from such events. Thus, the invitation card system was heavily criticized in the complaint letters.¹⁴⁵ Overall, the fourth chapter of the book indicates that, despite the idealism of the political center, the integration of intellectuals and ordinary people at People's Houses remained limited.

In the fifth chapter Lamprou focuses on the tension produced by the introduction of mixed-gender entertainment and social interaction within largely sex-segregated local societies. Lamprou notes that the 'women issue' was an integral part of the Kemalist modernization and nation-building project.¹⁴⁶ However, on the one hand the new regime gave civil rights to women and encouraged them to participate in professional and social life. On the other hand, the republican elite expected women to continue to perform their traditional duties as mothers and wives. The People's Houses had the responsibility to promote women's participation in its activities. However, this created tensions in local societies, such as Balikesir and Kayseri, where women were expected to remain in the private sphere. Lamprou notes that local party members faced a dilemma. On the one hand, they could allow their womenfolk to participate in public life and politics to earn support from Ankara. On the other hand, public visibility and participation of their female relatives in public affairs could easily damage their families' reputation among the local population, and their local political rivals would probably use this situation by spreading rumors to discredit them. Thus, most local party members chose to keep their female relatives out of public life.

In the by-law of the People's Houses men were forbidden to play women's roles in theater plays. Lamprou points out that this created a real problem for House officials. Due to the lack of women willing to go on stage in public, the House executives occasionally allowed men to play women's role. But the primary method employed by the House officials was to exert pressure on female teachers to act on the stage. They

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.125-152.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p.153.

also offered financial compensation to women who agreed to perform in theater plays. In addition, in order to solve this problem, many Houses arranged itinerant theater companies to perform on their stages. However, this practice often created a reaction among local people. There were many complaint letters about these plays claiming that such plays led to moral decay and undermined family life.¹⁴⁷ Lamprou states the most employed practice by House managers to cope with such problems was the tactic of limited inclusiveness through invitation cards during mixed-gender activities. Usually, local bureaucrats and their families attended such activities, and they excluded local ordinary people to avoid tensions.

Finally, in the last chapter Lamprou examines some village excursions organized by the Kayseri House and compares them with the detailed village activities program of the political center. The author notes that the participants of such excursions were usually the same people: the House chairman and his family, members of the Village Studies branch, civil servants and their wives, teachers, an army officer etc. For non-local party members and civil servants these excursions were an opportunity to come into contact with peasants for the first time. Provincial elites such as merchants and tax farmers, on the other hand, had already been in contact with peasants, providing them with credit and buying their products, as well as mediating between peasants and the state. Lamprou highlights the paradox of the regime with respect to its peasantist discourse and its reliance on provincial elites in its relations with peasants. The peasantist discourse of the regime seeks to liberate peasants from those oppressors who exploit them. However, in reality the regime was dependent on the same oppressors to carry out its policies in rural areas.¹⁴⁸

Lamprou also notes that in the village activities reports they sent to the center, House chairmen and other managers usually followed the same program prepared by the center, and they emphasized their own achievements to win the favor of the political center.¹⁴⁹ In other words, if a researcher studies the village activity reports of the People's Houses alone, (s)he would probably conclude that during those excursions House members and peasants established close relations and had discussions about

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.168.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp.193-194.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.195-196.

their problems, and patients were treated etc. However, Lamprou argues that the village excursions were characterized with authoritative behavior of House managers as the House chairman ordered the ‘masters of the country’ to sit and listen, and report their complaints. As a result, Lamprou states that village excursions could not make any contributions to the country side: “The village operation either established or reinforced existing relations between urban elites and villagers, as they replayed the power relations between them.”¹⁵⁰ In the conclusion of the book, Lamprou argues that the policies and designs of the state were domesticated; that is renegotiated, accommodated, and adopted by local agents in order to turn these products into something more agreeable to local conditions and more meaningful for their users.¹⁵¹ As he puts it:

The center’s ideas and plans- without necessarily being rejected- were blended with activities, perceptions, and practices they were supposed to eradicate. Given the novelty of many state-sponsored practices and ideas and the expressed goal that they replace ‘older’ or ‘backward’ ones, their consumption in the Halkevi was also a process of negotiation of contested categories- modern vs backward, Western vs. national/local- but also of the identities of both their carriers and refuters.¹⁵²

In sum, the critical studies offer critical insight and greatly enhance our understanding of the People’s Houses by examining these institutions from a variety of novel perspectives. These studies especially shed light on the ideological and assimilative functions of the People’s Houses that the mainstream approach tends to overlook. For instance, in her book *Yeşilkaya* examines the relationship between ideology, space, and architecture within the context of People’s Houses. Similarly, Sefa Şimşek scrutinizes activities of the People’s Houses and their role in spreading the official ideology. Mesut Yeğen, on the other hand, analyzes the formation of the Turkish state discourse on the Kurdish question through several republican institutions, and emphasizes the designated role of the People’s Houses in national integration process. Lastly, Alexandros Lamprou analyzes these institutions from a bottom-up perspective to demonstrate how the reform policies of the political center were enacted in local settings. His study suggests that there was a great discrepancy between the plans and intentions of the republican elite, and the way these policies were carried out by local

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p.213.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp.224-225.

¹⁵² Ibid., p.225.

actors. Overall, these critical studies depict a quite different picture of the People's Houses and their operations than the mainstream approach presents.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

3.1. Theoretical Framework

The idea of studying the People's Houses through a Foucauldian approach was inspired by a passage in Timothy Mitchell's famous book *Colonising Egypt*. In the beginning of the fourth chapter namely 'After We Have Captured Their Bodies', Mitchell refers to a report written by a French military officer in Algeria to the French authorities in Paris on a recent local insurrection. In his report the officer informs Paris of methods of establishing effective control over the local population:

In effect the essential thing is to gather into groups *this people which is everywhere and nowhere*; the essential thing is to make them something we can seize hold of. When we have them in our hands, we will then be able to do many things which are quite impossible for us today and which will perhaps *allow us to capture their minds after we have captured their bodies*.¹⁵³ (Emphasis added)

Even though this report was written within a specific colonial context, it can nevertheless give us an idea of how modern power operates in general. In order to be able to establish ideological control over a certain group of people through indoctrination, modern power first requires to establish a degree of 'physical control' over them. In other words, control over bodies precedes control over minds. However, the critical studies summarized above mainly focus on ideological functions of the Houses. In fact, it is true that the primary function of these institutions was indoctrination and establishment of ideological control over people. However, a sole focus on ideology cannot demonstrate other less visible, but not insignificant, functions of the Houses. Drawing on Michel Foucault's concepts of 'disciplinary power', 'bio-politics', and 'governmentality', this study shall argue that the People's Houses were also designed by the republican elite to perform disciplinary functions as well as ideological functions, and they provided the central government, to a certain degree, with the necessary information and instruments to govern the Turkish

¹⁵³ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, p.95, University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1998. Quoted by Mitchell from Michael Gilson's book *Recognizing Islam: Religion and Society in the Modern Arab World*, New York: Pantheon, 1982.

population more effectively. Now I will first elaborate on these three concepts, and then introduce my research hypothesis.

3.1.1. Disciplinary Power

In the 1970s Michel Foucault shifted his focus from analyses of discursive formations, and returned to analyses of social institutions and practices of confinement. In the *Discipline and Punish* he conducts a genealogy of disciplinary institutions and techniques that gradually arose throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Simply defined, disciplinary power refers to a series of calculated techniques, methods, and regulations carefully applied to the body in order to render it more productive and docile. Foucault argues that the classical age discovered the body as object and target of power. As he puts it: “The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down, and rearranges it. A ‘political anatomy’, which was also a ‘mechanics of power’, was being born...”¹⁵⁴ Foucault admits that many disciplinary techniques had long been in existence; but in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they began to reach out to ever broader domains, as if they tended to cover the entire social body. These techniques did not suddenly emerge from a single source either; they were the result of a multiplicity of minor processes which overlap, repeat, imitate, and support one another, gradually converging and producing the blueprint of a general method. For instance, these techniques circulated from one institution to another: from secondary education to primary education, then to hospitals, and then to military organizations etc.¹⁵⁵

Disciplinary power relies on certain procedures and techniques such as enclosure, partitioning, division of duration into successive or parallel segments, drawing timetables, hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and examination. First of all, disciplinary power requires confinement of a group of individuals in a specified and closed space such as schools, or barracks. However, enclosure alone is rarely sufficient; discipline also requires partitioning of individuals in a certain and fixed location. As Foucault puts it: “Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual. Avoid distributions in groups; break up collective dispositions; analyze

¹⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, p.138, trans. Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books: New York, 1995.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.138-139.

confused, massive, or transient pluralities. Disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed.”¹⁵⁶ Third, time is divided into successive segments, and periods of each activity is isolated from one another. Period of training and period of practice should be strictly separated, instruction of new recruits and practice of veterans should not be mixed. Following time tables facilitates this partitioning of time; in this way work and leisure, or study time and breaks can be strictly separated. However, one also has to assure the quality of time used through constant supervision and the pressure of supervisors. As Foucault says: “Time measured and paid must also be a time without impurities or defects; a time of good quality, throughout which the body is constantly applied to its exercise. Precision and application are, with regularity, fundamental virtues of disciplinary time.”¹⁵⁷ Lastly, normalizing judgement and examination establish norms, standards, and criteria of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ behavior; set up ranks, measure grades; and in doing so they judge individuals, establish hierarchies among them as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ subjects in relation to one another; punish ‘bad behavior’ or ‘deviations’ from norms through repetitive exercises or decrease in rank; reward ‘good behavior’ through promotions, and distribute privileges and distinctions. Through these mechanisms of punishment and rewards disciplinary institutions compare, differentiate, hierarchize, homogenize, and exclude. In short, they correct behavior and *normalize* individuals.¹⁵⁸

Foucault notes that Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon provided an ideal architectural model for disciplinary institutions. In the Panoptic model a tower is located at the center, and surrounded by an annular building which consists of numerous cells. A supervisor positioned at the tower can observe individuals in the cells without being seen. The major effect of the Panopticon, according to Foucault, is to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. Bentham maintained that power should be visible and unverifiable: “Visible: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied on. Unverifiable: the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p.143.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 150-151.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 177-183.

always be so.”¹⁵⁹ Thus, inmates will have to autocorrect their behavior, and over time they will internalize discipline.

Bentham devised the Panopticon to serve multiple purposes. With certain modifications one can apply this model to various institutions. Foucault summarizes the functions of the panoptic model as follows:

It is polyvalent in its applications; it serves to reform prisoners, but also to treat patients, to instruct schoolchildren, to confine the insane, to supervise workers, to put beggars and idlers to work. It is a type of location of bodies in space, of distribution of individuals in relation to one another, of hierarchical organization, of disposition of centers and channels of power, of definition of the instruments and modes of intervention of power, which can be implemented in hospitals, workshops, schools, or prisons. Whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behavior must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used. ¹⁶⁰

Moreover, the Panopticon can also serve as a laboratory to carry out experiments, to alter behavior, to train and correct individuals; to experiment with medicines and monitor their effects; to try out different punishments on prisoners, according to their crimes and character, and to seek the most effective ones; to teach different techniques simultaneously to the workers, to decide which is the best. As Foucault states, one can even try out strange pedagogical experiments with orphans: “...one could bring up different children according to different systems of thought, making certain children believe that two and two do not make four or that the moon is a cheese, then put them together when they are twenty or twenty-five years old...”¹⁶¹

In sum, with his meticulous analysis of disciplinary power and institutions Foucault demonstrates how the body has become an object and target of power relations in modern societies. He calls this phenomenon as the emergence of a ‘political technology of the body’, or a ‘political anatomy of the body’. His analysis discloses operations of this political technology that are usually difficult to discern at first sight in daily life. Throughout their lives people engage with modern institutions such as schools, factories, army, hospitals, prisons etc. without realizing they have been, in

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.201.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.205.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.204.

one way or another, subjected to certain disciplinary techniques and procedures. Yet, disciplinary techniques are not the only political technology of modern power to which people have been subjected.

3.1.2. Biopower

In one of the lectures of 1976 at College de France Foucault introduces a new concept to define another technology of modern power: *biopower*. In order to explicate the concept he compares biopower with the traditional power of sovereignty over life and death. In the classical theory of sovereignty the sovereign has the right of life and death, which means he can either put people to death or let them live. However, the sovereign can exercise his power only when he kills; thus his power can be called ‘the right to take life or let live’. Foucault asserts that in the nineteenth century this right of the sovereign was complemented by a new and opposite right: the power to ‘make’ live or ‘let’ die.¹⁶²

Foucault points out that biopower is not disciplinary; but it does not exclude disciplinary power. On the contrary, biopower integrates disciplinary techniques, and takes advantage of them when necessary. However, biopower operates at a different level: whereas disciplinary power or the political anatomy deals with individual bodies to render them more productive and docile, bio-politics focuses on the social body as a whole; it is “...applied not to man-as-body but to the living man, to man as living being; ultimately, if you like, to man-as-species.”¹⁶³ In other words, the object and target of biopower is the ‘population’ with its various characteristics and regularities. Foucault also discusses the emergence of the concept of ‘population’ as an administrative and technical category different from ‘society’ as a political or legal category. He states: “One of the great innovations in the techniques of power in the eighteenth century was the emergence of population as an economic and political problem: population as wealth, population as manpower, or labor capacity, population balanced between its own growth and the resources it commanded.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended. Lectures at College de France (1975-76)*, pp.240-241, edited by Arnold I. Davidson, trans. David Macey, Picador: New York, 2003.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p.242.

¹⁶⁴ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley, Pantheon Books: New York, 1978.

Liberal political theory and politico-legal discourse of jurists usually rely on the concept of 'social contract' that defines the relationship between the sovereign and his individual subjects. In other words, the 'society' is a politico-legal concept. On the other hand, the concept of 'population' has a more technical connotation. As Partha Chatterjee puts it in a nutshell: "Citizens inhabit the domain of theory, populations the domain of policy. Unlike the concept of citizen, the concept of population is wholly descriptive and empirical; it does not carry a normative burden."¹⁶⁵ The emergence of statistics and demography by the end of the eighteenth century gave rise to the concept of population as a new category.

The mechanisms introduced by bio-politics to deal with the population and its problems include forecasts, statistical estimates, and overall measures. Unlike the disciplinary power, they do not aim to deal with such problems at the individual level, or to improve the condition of an individual. On the contrary, they aim to intervene at the general level.¹⁶⁶ For instance, even though it is not possible to prevent death at individual level since it is unpredictable, at the level of population death becomes more visible, traceable, and predictable thanks to the statistical knowledge of the population. Thus, it becomes possible for governments to intervene in the constant struggle between life and death in favor of the former through regulatory policies and measures. In other words, the level of generality enables policy makers to detect regularities, patterns, and continuities in collective phenomena such as death and birth rates, and to intervene accordingly.

Foucault notes that biopower requires a detailed knowledge of the population, its characteristics, and habits. In fact, one of his essential arguments throughout his studies is that power produces knowledge, and vice versa. Challenging the traditional view that knowledge can thrive only when it remains outside of power relations, Foucault argues: "...there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations."¹⁶⁷ Elsewhere he states that a 'medico-administrative'

¹⁶⁵ Partha Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*, p.34, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004.

¹⁶⁶ Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, p.246.

¹⁶⁷ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.27.

knowledge began to develop from the eighteenth century onward. This knowledge focuses on society, its health and sickness, its conditions of life, and housing and habits.¹⁶⁸ It is such a knowledge of the population that enables government functionaries to observe, design regulatory policies for, and intervene in such collective phenomena.

A series of natural processes and collective phenomena such as ratio of births to deaths, the rate of reproduction, the fertility of a population; endemics as permanent factors that sap a population's strength, shorten the working week, waste energy, and cost money (because of both the fall in productivity and costs of treatment); accidents, anomalies, and inevitable phenomena that incapacitate individuals such as the problem of old age; the direct effects of the geography and climate on the population; all of them constitute the field of intervention of biopower. For instance, operations of biopower include: campaigns to increase birth rates or for birth control, providing free healthcare for poor people, campaigns to maintain and increase hygiene in public and private areas, to enforce safety regulations in the workplace, vaccinating school children against epidemics, campaigns against drugs, alcohol and smoking; campaigns against obesity which urges people to exercise regularly and maintain a healthy diet, public spotlights and TV programs concerning health, insurance policies, taking care of the elderly in nursing homes, and social pensions etc. These are the problems that policy makers have generally concerned themselves with since the late eighteenth century in terms of population. Bio-politics deals with the population as a political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political. In short, with the concept of bio-politics Foucault refers to the increasing 'state control of the biological'.¹⁶⁹

3.1.3. Governmentality

In his lectures in 1978 Foucault introduces the concept of 'governmentality' to deepen and refine his analyses of technologies of modern power, and put biopower into a broader historical context. He argues that in the sixteenth century there emerged a literature on the 'art of government' in opposition to the notion of 'juridical sovereignty' as exemplified in Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Whereas territory constituted

¹⁶⁸ Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (1972-1977)*, p.176, edited by Colin Gordon, Pantheon Books: New York, 1980.

¹⁶⁹ Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, pp.243-245.

the fundamental element of sovereignty in the latter; it became only one of the factors in the new 'art of government'. In the traditional system of juridical sovereignty a ruler's exercise of power usually consisted only of taxation, recruitment of soldiers, and maintenance of public order. As James Scott observes, the pre-modern state was partially blind; it did not know much about its subjects, their wealth, their landholdings and yields, their location, their very identity.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, in the sixteenth century 'governing' acquired a new meaning different from 'reigning' or 'ruling'. Foucault argues, unlike today, 'government' in this period did not have a strictly political meaning, and it exploded as a general problem in this period: for example, how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, and how to become the best possible governor etc.¹⁷¹ In the new understanding government may have multiple ends (such as government of children, of families, of a household, of souls, of a community etc.), and it is defined as "...the right disposition of things, arranged so as to lead to a convenient end."¹⁷²

It can be argued that governmentality has two complementary dimensions. The first one refers to policies, regulations, and institutions of government aimed to increase the productivity of a population, and in this sense it is closely interrelated to, yet distinct from biopower. According to Foucault, prior to the emergence of population as a category, economy was conceived as the management of a family, and it was not possible to conceive the 'art of government' except on the model of family. In other words, with the replacement of 'family' by 'population' as the unit of analysis, and the more or less simultaneous introduction of economy into political practice led to the 'governmentalization of the state'.¹⁷³ Foucault calls this new governmental rationality, which replaced juridical sovereignty, 'governmentality', and defines it as follows:

The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principle form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. ¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ James Scott, *Seeing Like A State*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1998.

¹⁷¹ Foucault, (1978) "Governmentality" in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, p.87, The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.94.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.104.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.102.

Whereas biopower deals with the population in terms of its biological well-being, governmentality takes matters a few steps further. It takes population into account in its relation to other things such as wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, customs, habits, ways of thinking and acting etc.¹⁷⁵ The emphasis here is on economic productivity of the population and its use of natural resources. In other words, governmentality meticulously takes care of a multiplicity of factors that can affect a population's health, productive capacity, and wealth. It can be best explained with the metaphor of 'governing a ship'. As Foucault puts it:

What does it mean to govern a ship? It means clearly to take charge of the sailors, but also of the boat and its cargo, to take care of a ship means also to reckon with winds, rocks, and storms; and it consists in that activity of establishing a relation between the sailors who are to be taken care of and the ship which is to be taken care of, and the cargo which is to be brought safely to port, and all those eventualities like winds, rocks, storms and so on; this is what characterizes the government of a ship. ¹⁷⁶

The second dimension of governmentality is more abstract, and it can best be expressed as 'conduct of conduct'. As stated above, 'government' did not only refer to political institutions. One can also speak of government of others, directing their actions or conduct. As Foucault puts it: "It [government] did not only cover legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection but also modes of action, more or less considered or calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. To govern, in this sense is to structure the possible field of action of others."¹⁷⁷ Exercise of such a power cannot rely on coercion, or on legal enforcement, for in Foucault's understanding freedom is a condition of exercise of power: "Power is exercised only on free subjects, and only insofar as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse compartments, may be realized."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p.93.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 93-94.

¹⁷⁷ Foucault, "The Subject and Power", p.790, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol.8 No.4 (Summer 1982), The University of Chicago Press.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

In other words, governmentality does not directly command individuals or groups, as juridical sovereignty does; but it creates certain dispositions and desires among subjects. Perhaps, a simple example from everyday life may help clarify this crucial point: As stated above, modern power requires people to be healthy and physically strong, and perhaps the best way to keep the body healthy and strong is to exercise regularly and engage in sports activities. Yet, governments, or public authorities in general, usually do not force their citizens to participate in sports activities. Instead, they build sports facilities in which individuals can voluntarily engage in sports activities. Moreover, there is a widespread discourse on health and fitness promoted not only by ministries of health, but also other public institutions, and civil society organizations; doctors, experts, TVs, and magazines that induces individuals to exercise regularly and eat healthy. People who engage in sports are not, in any way, forced to do so; and they are truly free to participate in or refrain from sports activities. However, by structuring a possible field of action for free individuals; building sports facilities, and promoting a discourse on healthy life etc. governments exercise a subtle and indirect form of power over their populations.

Therefore, governmentality cannot operate through coercion. It rather "...operates by educating desires, and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs."¹⁷⁹ Education of desires, and configuration of habits, aspirations, and beliefs actually amounts to formation of certain subjectivities. For instance, the famous 'homo economicus' of modern economy can be considered as an example of such a subjectivity. Homo economicus is expected to conform to certain rationalities and modes of action such as being self-interested, competitive, industrious, self-sufficient, making rational calculations in the market, certain consumption habits etc. Formation of such a subjectivity relies on a variety of discourses and practices such as economic theories, modern education, regulation of markets, advertisement, consumer credit to name but a few. Modern power governs individuals through conduct of conduct or governmentality that constitutes certain subjectivities. As a result, Foucault argues that subject is an effect of power: "The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is

¹⁷⁹ Tania Murray Li, "Governmentality", p.275, *Anthropologica*, Vol. 49, No.2 (2007), pp.275-281, Canadian Anthropology Society.

the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces.”¹⁸⁰

In sum, Foucault’s concepts of disciplinary power, biopower, and governmentality form a series. While disciplinary power emphasizes ‘micro-physics’ of power that targets individual bodies, biopower and governmentality refers to regulatory technologies that focus on populations. Foucault’s analyses first shed light on subtle power relations that seems to have largely escaped from the attention of the classical political theory with its traditional focus on the formal political systems, institutions, and procedures; sovereignty, laws, democracy; rights, freedoms, and liberties of individuals etc. Second, his analyses challenge the long-held view that power is inherently negative; that through laws it forbids, constrains, limits, and represses; and that power and truth are external to each other (the repressive hypothesis).¹⁸¹ In contrast, throughout his analyses Foucault convincingly demonstrates that power does not only have negative effects; he maintains that if that was the case it would not be possible to reproduce and perpetuate relations of domination in society. It rather, as discussed above, has positive effects as well; it increases productivity, makes people healthier, creates desires, produces knowledges, and forms subjectivities. Here, one may raise an objection and rightfully ask: “If these technologies of modern power has such positive effects, why criticize them?” However, Foucault’s critical point is that technologies of modern power objectify people, establish a subtle control over them, and turn them into subjects. In other words, Foucault’s criticism can be seen as an attack on the modernization theory and the idea of ‘progress’, which assume that the process of modernization will eventually liberate people from relations of domination.

3.2. Research Hypothesis

Earlier in the literature review we have seen that the critical studies underline the ideological and assimilative functions of the People’s Houses. In light of the theoretical framework above, I will argue that in addition to their mission to spread the Kemalist ideology and to assimilate non-Turkish people, the People’s Houses were also designated by the republican elite to perform disciplinary and regulatory functions that modern governmental rationality requires to manage a population effectively. In

¹⁸⁰ *Power/Knowledge*, p.74.

¹⁸¹ *The History of Sexuality*, pp.17-49.

other words, these institutions were designed as a socio-cultural space where disciplinary power, biopower, and governmentality would jointly operate in order to make the Turkish population healthier and economically more productive. Having created a nation state, the republican elite also aimed to create a modern society. In this modernization project they utilized, to a certain degree, disciplinary and regulatory technologies of modern power described above.

Even a cursory overview of the activities¹⁸² of the People's Houses as described in their bylaw would reveal the similarities between the intentions of the republican elite and the modern governmental rationality. To begin with, participation of ordinary people in the activities of the Houses would increase their visibility. Through the People's Houses in urban areas and the Rooms in villages, the government was going to be able to see, inspect, and report certain, if not all, segments of the population; rendering them 'something they can seize hold of'. Reports, statistics, membership records, and publications of the Houses provided the government with a knowledge of the population that biopower and governmentality rely on. The special reports on minority groups prepared by the Tunceli Houses that Mesut Özcan presents provide a perfect example. In his interesting book Özcan presents a compilation of the official documents and correspondence between the People's Houses and Rooms in Tunceli and the CHP headquarters. Those documents basically reveal how the Houses in Tunceli functioned to culturally assimilate local Kurds and especially children to the Turkish identity by teaching them Turkish. Özcan points out that some managers of the Houses also prepared special reports on minority groups, such as Zazas and Alawites, to be presented to the government and İsmet İnönü.¹⁸³ Given the traditional gap and disconnectedness between the center and the countryside, this increased visibility of locals, being one of the conditions of disciplinary power, was something new; and it was crucial for the management of the population by the government. In short, the Houses and the Rooms operated as the eyes of the regime in the countryside.

¹⁸² For a table illustrating the minimum compulsory annual activity program of the People's Houses please see Appendix C.

¹⁸³ Mesut Özcan, *Tunceli'de Kurulan Halkevleri ve Halkodaları (1932-1951)*, p.28., Kalan Yayınları: Ankara, 2012.

Second, the Sports branches of the Houses were designed as an important instrument of disciplinary power. By encouraging local people to participate in sports activities such as gymnastics, cycling, swimming, wrestling, boxing, hunting, fishing, and horseback riding etc.; this branch aimed to increase their physical strength and endurance. Yiğit Akin observes that in the early republican period sports activities were encouraged both for military purposes (national defense) and increasing economic productivity.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, at a more general level sports activities would also improve the health of the population, by increasing people's immunity to diseases, and helping them to avoid bad habits. In other words, the sports branch was expected to both increase physical capabilities of individuals at the local level; and at the same time complement the bio-political social policies of the government at a more general level by improving the health of the population as a whole. The Social Assistance branch was another instrument of biopower at the local level. By financially and medically helping the poor, the sick, helpless women and children, the disabled, and the elderly; who are usually economically inactive and in need of care; and by assisting other health care institutions in their operations; this branch intended to improve the health of the disadvantaged segments of the population. This branch also worked in cooperation with the Village studies branch to be able to reach the disadvantaged people in villages.

Third, the Educational Courses branches aimed to integrate local people into the modern economy and increase their economic productivity by teaching them various subjects. Courses on foreign languages, accounting, natural sciences, and handcrafts were designed to equip people with the skills and abilities that the modern economy demands. Moreover, the Village Studies branches organized practical courses on modern agricultural methods to educate villagers about the most efficient methods of cultivation. It also cooperated with other branches to increase the literacy rate in villages. All these policies can be seen as local implementation of governmentality which takes population into account in terms of its economic productivity and use of natural resources.

¹⁸⁴ Yiğit Akin, *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar: Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*, pp.123-190., 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2014.

Fourth, the Houses also had a ‘civilizing mission’. This ‘civilizing mission’ can be directly related with the second dimension of governmentality: conduct of conduct. With their various activities the Language, Literature, and History; Fine Arts, Theatre, Library and Publication, Village Studies, and Museum and Exhibition branches intended to instill in people certain new behavior, manners, and habits, and cultivate modern aesthetic tastes. As I have discussed above, conduct of conduct does not rely on coercion as it requires free subjects; and in the case of the People’s Houses people were free to choose any activities (music, painting, theater, sports etc.) that interested them. In other words, the activities of the People’s Houses were designed to form new subjectivities and create new individualities, or the ‘ideal Turkish citizens designed by the republic’ by structuring a possible field of action for ordinary people, and by creating certain dispositions.

For instance, this ideal citizen can be described as follows: *Someone who is docile and obedient to authority, full of patriotic feelings and willing to sacrifice themselves for their country; who is secular and rational with a scientific mindset, and devoid of superstitious beliefs; who is economically productive and efficient, disciplined and equipped with the skills, know-how, and other abilities that modern economy requires; who is physically strong and healthy to endure harsh conditions, capable of performing difficult military missions; who has modern aesthetic tastes in fine arts, theatre, and music; and finally someone who is communitarian and helpful, devoted to his community and nation.* As we shall see, a careful look at the writings and speeches of the republican elite in the early republican period reveals that this was, more or less, the ideal citizen they wished to create. It can be argued that the People’s Houses were established to create these ideal citizens through conduct of conduct.

However, it would be wrong to assume that these technologies and techniques of modern power were suddenly introduced in the republican period. In other words, the founders of the republic did not have to invent these technologies from scratch. On the contrary, they had their roots in the Ottoman reform project, as they gradually infiltrated¹⁸⁵ the Ottoman system from the early nineteenth century onward as a result of the modernization process. Ottoman reformers, who had been to Europe for

¹⁸⁵ For instance, for an analysis of the emergence of prisons in the Ottoman Empire see: Güntekin Yıldız, *Mapusane: Osmanlı Hapishanelerinin Kuruluş Süreci (1839-1908)*, Kitapevi Yayınları: İstanbul, 2012.

education, adopted modern administrative techniques and technologies of power from European countries, and they implemented them, with varying degrees of success, on the Ottoman population. From the Tanzimat period onward, the Ottoman state started to collect demographic data of the population through censuses, and designed various social policies to increase the economic productivity and war capacities of the population. In this respect, it can be argued that there is continuity between the late Ottoman period and the republican period. For instance, Füsun Üstel demonstrates and underlines this continuity in her analysis of the civic education in Turkey since the second constitutional period. She argues that civic education constituted an essential dimension of the nation building projects of both the CUP intellectuals and the founders of the Turkish republic.¹⁸⁶

Therefore, this study should not be seen as a narrow critique of the Kemalist policies in the early republican period. It rather aspires to engage in a critique of the modern governmental rationality; as an attempt to demonstrate how modern nation states design policies to exercise a subtle but enormous power over their populations by examining the case of the People's Houses. Put differently, my main purpose in this study is to examine the ideas, intentions, and plans of the republican elites through a Foucauldian perspective, and to show that the modern governmental rationality was inherent in their projects like the People's Houses. For this purpose, in the next chapter I am going to focus on numerous articles from the *Ülkü* magazine that were penned by prominent intellectuals and policy makers of the early republican period.

However, this study does not intend to assess the 'success' of the People's Houses in implementing the policies designed by the political center. It rather focuses on the discourse of the republican elite on the management of the Turkish population, and seeks to demonstrate the elements of the disciplinary power, bio-political reasoning, and governmentality inherent in their mindset. In other words, this study aims to understand the intentions and plans of the republican policy makers and intellectuals, and it does not focus on the actual performance of the People's Houses on the ground. For, there seems to be at least three factors that make such a general assessment of the ultimate 'success' or 'failure' of the People's Houses project nearly impossible.

¹⁸⁶ Füsun Üstel, *Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde: II Meşrutiyetten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*, p.127, 3rd edition, edited by Tanıl Bora, İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2008.

First of all, it is extremely difficult to make a general and accurate assessment of the activities and performance of all the People's Houses and Rooms (478 Houses and 4322 Rooms in total) that operated all around Turkey for 19 years because there were substantial regional variations between different People's Houses. A map showing the distribution of the People's Houses and Rooms around Turkey naturally creates the impression that these institutions managed to reach to even the remotest corners of the country. However, as Lamprou demonstrates in his study, there were enormous differences between the Houses in the West and those in the East. The Houses that were located in the West usually had much better performance thanks to their proximity to the political center, relatively higher level of development, and cultural integration of the Western regions, as well as having more financial resources and more competent staff. The Eastern Houses, on the other hand, performed quite poorly because of the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic barriers between the non-local staff of the Houses and the local people; the weaker presence of state institutions in the East; limited resources, and the incompetence and reluctance of several House managers who were usually exiled to a post in the East as a punishment. Moreover, the majority of the People's Rooms established in villages usually remained inactive.¹⁸⁷

Second, it appears that even performance of a single People's House varied greatly throughout time. For example, Küçükuğurlu and Okur argue in their analysis that the performance of the Erzurum House fluctuated over time: Initially the House was almost inactive and it received warnings and criticisms from Ankara. In the mid-1940s the House experienced its golden age under the presidency of Murat Uraz. After 1946, the activities of the House slowed down again as a result of the political atmosphere of the multiparty era, the ensuing budget cuts, and resignation of some of its top managers. These fluctuations in the performance of the Erzurum House imply that the People's Houses around Turkey did not have a uniform, steady, and synchronized performance throughout their life span. It rather appears that the location of a House, the competence and enthusiasm of its managers, and availability of financial resources and facilities had a substantial effect on its ability to attract local people's attention, and its overall performance.

¹⁸⁷ Alexandros Lamprou, p.40.

Last but not the least, another problem arises with respect to the credibility of official documents, and especially activity reports of the People's Houses. As we have seen in the previous chapter, mainstream studies predominantly rely on the activity reports that were written and sent by local People's House managers to the center. By uncritically relying on these documents mainstream studies conclude that the Houses successfully performed their tasks, and played an important role in the sociocultural development of their respective regions. However, we also know that some, if not all, House managers penned activity reports in such a way to please the political center, and win its favor by exaggerating the achievements of their Houses and themselves. Therefore, we cannot know for certain whether ordinary people's participation level in activities of a certain People's House declared in an activity report by its managers was completely true or not. For instance, İlhan Başgöz and Howard E. Wilson argue that the statistics and reports about the activities and professions of their participants should be approached with suspicion because in most cases House chairmen exaggerated their activities and fabricated false statistics to impress their superiors in Ankara.¹⁸⁸ All these factors prevent us from making a definitive and accurate assessment of the 'success' or 'failure' of the People's Houses as a whole in carrying out the orders of the political center at the local level.

Nevertheless, it is still possible to make a few tentative inferences from some small pieces of information about the actual operations of the Houses that primary and secondary resources provide. First, as many scholars argue, the management cadres of the most People's Houses were dominated by civil servants, local politicians, and professionals like teachers. This trend indicates that ordinary people's active participation in the activities of the People's Houses may have generally remained limited. For example, Başgöz states that ironically, even though he had participated in the activities of the Ankara House- which officially declared that it had 3339 working class members in 1934- for five years, he never saw any workers during those activities. Thus, the authors maintain that despite their name, these institutions failed to become the Houses of the people.¹⁸⁹ Similarly, in his book on the Adapazarı House Kenan Olgun shares statistics about a sports competition called 'Gürbüz Çocuk

¹⁸⁸ İlhan Başgöz and Howard E. Wilson, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Eğitim ve Atatürk*, p. 197, Dost Yayınları: Ankara, 1968.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.198.

Müsabakası' between children for the celebration of April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day in 1949. According to the statistics, the overwhelming majority of the competitors were children of the local military officers; and children from ordinary local families do not seem to have participated at all.¹⁹⁰ Such scattered details about the activities of the People's Houses indicate that ordinary people's participation in those activities remained quite low; and even if ordinary people were officially registered as members of the Houses, they usually did not tend to actively participate in their activities. On the other hand, we should also note that, given the usually higher numbers of membership in Sports branches, more entertaining sports activities like football or skiing seem to have attracted the attention of ordinary people more than any other activities of the People's Houses.

Based on such details, and in light of Lamprou's analysis of the operations of the People's Houses in local settings, I shall argue that the People's Houses were designed by the republican elites as an ideal project to perform disciplinary and regulatory, as well as ideological and assimilative, functions in line with the modern governmental rationality. However, it seems that in practice the capacity of the People's Houses to continuously perform these functions at different local settings across Turkey varied greatly, and in general ordinary people's active participation in their activities remained rather limited. Therefore, it can be argued that the People's Houses generally could not meet the high expectations of the political center. Put differently, the 'success' of the Houses in implementing the ideal design, and social policies of the political center remained limited. In the following chapter I am going to examine this ideal project and intentions of the republican elite, and highlight the elements of disciplinary power, biopower, and governmentality that were inherent in their mindset. For this purpose, I am going to zero in on numerous writings of leading republican intellectuals and policy makers that were published in the *Ülkü* magazine, and examine their ideas and intentions about the Turkish population.

¹⁹⁰ Kenan Olgun, p.165.

CHAPTER IV THE ÜLKÜ MAGAZINE

Continuously published by the Ankara House for seventeen years, the Ülkü magazine was the main publication of the People's Houses. It was a non-profit magazine to which authors voluntarily contributed without any payment. The main motivation behind the publication of the Ülkü was to create some kind of a national discussion platform for intellectuals to share information, discuss social policy issues, and to find solutions for problems the country was facing. In this way, Recep Peker argues, it would be possible to organize the individual efforts of intellectuals under one banner, and to harness this collective energy for the goal of modernization.¹⁹¹ In this respect, the Ülkü is a valuable source of information for understanding the mindset and intentions of the Kemalist reformers. As the main publication of the People's Houses, the magazine also provided instructions and guidance to the Houses.

Firdevs Gümüšođlu classifies the authors who regularly penned articles for the magazine into three main groups. The first group consisted of those authors, such as Nusret Kemal (Köymen), Recep Peker, Necip Ali Küçüka, Reşit Galip, M. Fuat Köprülü, Şevket Aziz Kansu among several others, whom sought to formulate the main principles of the republican ideology with their writings. These authors also occupied several important policy making positions in the government. In the second group there were professionals such as doctors, architects, engineers, teachers, jurists, and artists who contributed to the magazine with various articles in their respective areas of expertise. The third group of writers included members of the People's Houses and Rooms, and local intellectuals, poets, and young artists who sent their essays, short stories, and poems to the magazine.¹⁹²

The Ülkü was continuously published from February 1933 to August 1950; but in three different series. The first series of the magazine was published monthly between February 1933 and September 1941, and it contains 102 issues. The second series was

¹⁹¹ Recep Peker, "Ülkü Niçin Çıkıyor", in *Ülkü* February 1933, p.1.

¹⁹² Firdevs Gümüšođlu, *Ülkü Dergisi ve Kemalist Toplum*, pp. 157-158, first ed., Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, Topkapı, Mart 2005.

published fortnightly from October 1941 to December 1946, and consists of 126 issues. The third series was again published monthly from January 1947 to August 1950, and it includes 44 issues. In total, there are 272 published issues of the Ülkü. In general, the magazine covered a wide range of subjects; but its focus and emphasis changed over the years. In the period between 1933 and 1938 the magazine focuses more on subjects such as the principles and the character of the regime, modernization, economic development, village studies, the issue of population, folk education, civic duties and responsibilities of citizens, and public hygiene. After 1938, however, the emphasis on contemporary social issues declines and the Ülkü becomes more of a history and literature magazine in which articles on history and Turkish literature constitute the majority of the content. In the second series the emphasis shifts from history and literature onto articles about culture and art; but there is also a renewed interest in village studies, and there are several articles focusing on the folkloric culture and traditions of Anatolian peasants. This trend continues during the third series along with discussions about democracy as a result of the transition to multiparty politics in Turkey in 1946. As Gümüšoğlu points out, it appears that in its later series the Ülkü, to a certain extent, lost its earlier enthusiasm and revolutionary radicalism, and attempts to revive its earlier spirit largely failed.¹⁹³

Interestingly, I could not find much information in the existing literature on the Ülkü magazine as to why it was closed in 1950, one year before the closure of the People's Houses.¹⁹⁴ In his article in *Toplum ve Bilim* Hakkı Uyar compares the Kadro magazine and the Ülkü magazine in terms of their role in the formation of the official ideology. Yet, the article does not contain any information on the closure of the Ülkü magazine.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, in an article Bülent Varlık states that the Ülkü was closed and republished in a new format as a result of its inability to perform its initial mission, which was to create a discussion platform and common language among intellectuals where they can discuss about the revolutions.¹⁹⁶ It appears that Varlık

¹⁹³ Ibid., 159.

¹⁹⁴ For two MA theses on the Ülkü magazine please see: Sarper Dost, *Fotoğrafve İdeoloji: Ülkü Dergisi Örneği (1941-1950)*, 2007, Submitted to Hacettepe University Social Science Institute, Ankara; and Nurettin Özocak, *Türk Halkbilimi Açısından Ülkü Mecmuası*, 2011, Submitted to Fırat University Social Science Institute, Elazığ.

¹⁹⁵ Hakkı Uyar, 'Resmi İdeoloji ya da Alternatif Resmi İdeoloji Oluşturmaya Yönelik İki Dergi: Ülkü ve Kadro Mecmualarının Karşılaştırmalı İçerik Analizi', in *Toplum ve Bilim*, vol.74, Fall 1997, pp.181-192.

¹⁹⁶ M. Bülent Varlık, 'Ülkü: Halkevleri Mecmuası', in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*,

refers to the closure of the first series of the *Ülkü* and the publication of the second series in its stead. Apart from this statement, I could not find anything about the closure of the *Ülkü* magazine, and for now the reasons for its closure in 1950 remains a mystery.

The primary target audience of the *Ülkü* was not ordinary people, but the intellectuals themselves. This point was stated in an anonymous article arguing that *Ülkü* was published for those educated and enlightened persons in the country who were to provide guidance to ordinary people.¹⁹⁷ This is not to say that the magazine did not also have a mission to propagate the official ideology to a wider public, but this was not its primary mission. Overall, the *Ülkü* served as a discussion platform for Kemalist intellectuals and reformers, and it reflected their ideas, intentions, and projects. As the leading publication of the People's Houses, and a representative of the ideas of the ruling elite in the early republican period, articles in the *Ülkü* magazine can help us examine their understanding of, and approach to the management of the Turkish population.

4.1. Methodology

In this long chapter, I am going to examine 68 articles from the *Ülkü* magazine written by 46 authors. However, some articles were written anonymously. At first sight my method for choosing articles from the *Ülkü* may seem random and arbitrary. However, during my readings of the *Ülkü* I carefully scanned all of its issues and collected all articles that seemed relevant to this study. Then, I aimed to represent at least one article for each year between 1933 and 1950 to be able to see the evolution of the ideas of *Ülkü* authors. However, as mentioned above, the focus and emphasis of the *Ülkü* shifted over the years, and the majority of the articles on modernization, economic development, the issue of population, and village studies concentrated in the period between 1933 and 1938. Therefore, I had to focus more on this period. Nevertheless, I tried to include as many articles as possible from later periods.

For analytical purposes the chapter is organized into four parts, and each part relates to one of the three concepts: 'disciplinary power', 'biopower', and 'governmentality'.

edited by Ahmet İnel, İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 6th ed., 2009, pp.268-271.

¹⁹⁷ Anonymous, "Ülkü Bir Yaşını Bitirirken", in *Ülkü* January 1934, p.469.

However, several articles in these parts include elements from several concepts. For instance, village monographs in the second part also relate to the articles on the peasantist movement in the fourth part. Therefore, some articles do not exclusively belong to one theme, and they may include elements from more than one of the three concepts.

Through a detailed examination of the 68 articles, I am going to demonstrate that disciplinary reasoning, bio-political reasoning, and other modern governmental rationalities were inherent in the mindset of the republican policy makers and intellectuals. As a general rule, I will first relate each theme to its theoretical concept. Then, I am going to provide detailed summaries of each article, without much interference, to be able to objectively present the ideas of its author. However, I will add some occasional explanations and commentary when necessary. At the end of each part I am going to provide a general overview and analysis of the articles by connecting them to my research hypothesis.

4.2. Physical Education: Not Individual Champions but Robust Masses

In this part I am going to analyze 12 articles and 3 conference speeches about physical education (beden terbiyesi) that were published in the *Ülkü*. In these articles and speeches authors discuss and analyze various aspects and issues of physical education from different perspectives, whether it be health, economy, or national defense. Despite their different perspectives, however, all authors argue that the government needs to promote physical education in Turkey, and all citizens should make gymnastics and sports an integral part of their lives. By drawing on the concept of disciplinary power I intend to trace and demonstrate the disciplinary reasoning inherent in these articles and speeches.

Yet, before starting I should mention a few general points about the views of the republican elite on sports and physical education. First, they strongly believed that sports were an instrument for regeneration of the Turkish population in terms of health and physical capabilities. The republican elite had inherited a weak, scattered, and impoverished population that suffered long periods of warfare and epidemics; and as the founders of a modern nation state they wished to create a healthy and productive population. Thus, they employed sports and physical education as an instrument for

the regeneration of the Turkish population. Therefore, the Kemalist intellectuals frowned upon any individualist approaches to sports; and they argued that sports had to be organized at the national level and for the nation. Hence, they had a strong dislike for individualist and competitive sports like football that rendered the majority of people a mere passive audience. In their eyes, sports should not be competitive; they should rather be participatory, and focus on improving the physical strength and health of all citizens. In this respect, they favored gymnastics and similar physical exercises, which ordinary people could actively participate, rather than passively watch; over competitive and individualistic sports.

Second, the republican elite had huge economic constraints, and they knew quite well that they could not build modern and expensive sports facilities in every town or village; or quickly train 40,000 professional trainers for each village. Therefore, they rather searched for economic and straightforward methods that would make ordinary people physically more active. This is another reason why gymnastics and culture physique were the favorite sports of the republican elite. These exercises do not require expensive facilities or equipment, and they can be easily performed indoors or outdoors by individuals or groups. Therefore, the ruling elite desired to create a national sports culture in which ordinary people would realize the importance of physical activity for their lives, and adopt gymnastics and other beneficial sports as a daily habit. As we shall see, the People's Houses, along with many other institutions, were held responsible by the republican elite to promote physical education and sports among ordinary people.

To begin with, Burhan Asaf wrote an introductory article on the issue of sports in the first issue of the *Ülkü*. In this short article the author tries to answer the following question: "What should Turkey's approach to sports be?" He believes that the issue of sports constitutes an integral part of the national cause (reaching the level of contemporary civilizations). According to Asaf, Turkish generations have physically weakened and degenerated in the last few centuries. Because of diseases such as malaria, and malnutrition, children have had feeble and fragile bodies. Therefore, the author suggests, unlike European countries, which have an individualist approach to sports, Turkey should design a nationwide sports policy and establish a national sports organization. Asaf contends that no other regime in Turkey paid attention to sports as

much as the republican regime has. However, the author does not completely approve the way sports affairs are conducted in the country. In order to improve its national sports policy Asaf suggests that Turkey, having a population of 17 million, should be able to establish a nationwide sports organization that would integrate at least 3 million youth.¹⁹⁸

Instead of achieving mediocre scores and records in international Olympiads, Asaf asserts, Turkey should find ways to recover from the physical deterioration of the last 150 years caused by lack of healthcare and sanitation. In his opinion, Turkish sports affairs are not meant to be an exhibition or show. They should rather be employed as a method of physical education of the Turkish nation which has been seeking to reconstitute itself on all fronts. According to the author, making an artificial distinction between amateur and professional sports is one of the greatest mistakes and disgraces of the West. Unfortunately, since Turkey uncritically endorses everything from the West, she has also adopted this false distinction. The author also criticizes those people who boast of having a few great tennis players or 5-10 good football players, despite the fact that Turkey still cannot get to the finals. Asaf believes that having a few individual great sportsmen does not bring to Turkey any honor or consolation. At the end of the article he perfectly summarizes the outlook of the republican regime on sports: “We demand sports be for the nation, and organized at the national level. Rather than single individual champions, we wish to have masses *with beautiful and well-built bodies* who endorse the republican moral system.”¹⁹⁹ (Emphasis added)

In my opinion, Asaf’s ideas and propositions in this article reflects the disciplinary and bio-political reasoning inherent in the mindset of the republican policymakers quite well. He considers sports as an instrument of social policy to regenerate the population, and thus favors collective sports activities over competitive and individualistic games. Moreover, his article indicates that the republican intellectuals and policy makers were equally concerned about molding bodies of individuals as they were concerned about shaping their minds. Therefore, I argue that Asaf’s ideas and concerns about sports were primarily shaped by disciplinary and bio-political reasoning.

¹⁹⁸ Burhan Asaf, “Spor Telakkimiz”, in *Ülkü* February 1933, p.68.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.69.

In November 1935, the *Ülkü* translated and published a conference speech delivered by Prof. Dr. Yean Demoor about physical education at the 7th International Physical Discipline Congress at the Université libre de Bruxelles. The translation is titled ‘The Meaning and Importance of Physical Education’. The fact that *Ülkü* translated and published this speech indicates that physical education was an important issue for the *Ülkü* circles. In his speech Demoor notes that physical education has become a crucial issue that is daily discussed in the majority of the civilized world. In 1918, it became evident that male teenagers between the ages of 14 and 16 in Belgium were not physically and mentally ready for the difficulties of the WWI. Thus, Demoor contends that they should prepare the youth physically for national defense and other hardships in life.

In this respect, Demoor talks about the principles of physical education. The first thing that comes to mind about physical education is physical activities and exercise which increase the activity of muscles and increase blood circulation. However, Demoor warns his audience that one should be careful about the intensity of such activities: Each body should be supplied with the precise exercise it needs. Physical training should be well-coordinated; all parts of the body should work harmoniously and continuously. Gymnastics does not have positive effects only on the body; it also gives will power, determination, courage, and character to people who regularly do it.²⁰⁰ Yet, Demoor criticizes football and the unnecessary importance attached to it by people. For instance, a football player who happens to score a goal usually gets too much praise, and people treat him like a war hero. Such praise often leads football players to think that they are more important than they actually are. Demoor argues against such an individualistic understanding in sports because for him sports should not be an activity undertaken for individual satisfaction and success. Rather, the primary goal of sports is to improve health, enhance coordination and proper functioning of various organs, and to teach people moral values. After all, Demoor concludes, our goal is to raise useful men, not individual champions.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Yean Demoor, “Beden Eğitiminin Anlam ve Önemi”, trans. *Ülkü*, in *Ülkü* November 1935, pp.174-175.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp.176-177.

Like the previous article, Demoor's speech represents the ideas of the republican elite on sports. Both for Demoor and republican intellectuals, sports activities had the mission of improving health of the population, and propagating moral values. Also, we see that republican intellectuals closely followed new trends and developments about sports that took place in other, especially Western countries, and they aimed to integrate new ideas about sports into Turkish sports policy by translating and publishing speeches and articles by foreign experts. In my opinion, their close monitoring of European intellectual trends on sports supports my claim that both the late Ottoman and republican reformers adopted modern technologies of power like disciplinary and bio-political reasoning from European countries through their interactions with their European counterparts.

Another speech about physical education was delivered by Zehra Cemal at a People's House in December 1935. In this short speech Cemal highlights some deficiencies in the Turkish national sports system. She states that Turkey does not have a strong sports movement; and only a small percentage of the population are members of sports clubs. Cemal makes a distinction between 'sports' and 'gymnastics', which roughly corresponds to a distinction between professional sports and amateur sports. According to her, whereas only physically strong and capable people engage in sports, everybody –old, weak, strong etc. - can do gymnastics. Gymnastics prepares body for life by making it stronger and more resistant. Cemal admits that so far they (the government) have only advised people to do gymnastics rather than sports; but they have not been able provide them with the necessary facilities and equipment. For instance, in schools, gym classes are compulsory, yet there are not suitable locations for gymnastics. Similarly, most cities do not have any sport facilities where people can exercise. Higher education institutions, for their part, have neglected the issue of physical education, and not conducted a scientific research on sports yet.²⁰² Thus, Cemal congratulates the People's Houses for the special importance they have placed on gymnastics and sports. She states that, having seen all those deficiencies, the People's Houses have made huge sacrifices from their budgets and allocated substantial resources to build a facility for sports in their compounds.

²⁰² Zehra Cemal, "Halkevinde Kış Sporları", in *Ülkü* December 1935, p.311.

Then, Cemal gives some information about gymnastics and health by noting that one of the pre-conditions of health is a well-functioning blood circulation. Therefore, instead of exercising once a week or even once a year, people should make exercise a part of their lives: one hour for exercise per day. The physical activity during a job usually exhausts people and weakens the body; but gymnastics, on the other hand, nourishes it. Cemal also encourages women to do gymnastics to become healthier. Cemal sadly points out that in the West Turkish women are still depicted as a ‘fat doll lying on a coach’. Did ancient Turkish women, Cemal asks, who rode horses in Central Asia have any signs of laziness? Who can claim that the peasant Turkish women, who worked so hard to deliver ammunition to the battlefield, and bread to their children, were physically inactive? In the West women, even working class women, always do gymnastics in the morning before they go to work. Thus, Cemal asks those women, who would enroll to the sports branches of the Houses, to think of sports and gymnastics not as a luxury or as a leisure activity, but as a daily necessity. They should do gymnastics not to be a champion, not to be as fit as this or that actress, but only for their health. Whatever their daily routines and activities are, they should not neglect gymnastics and sports. Cemal concludes by noting that if everybody- thin or fat, young or old- adopts this mentality, they will have the courage to work together for the ideals of health and beauty.²⁰³ In this speech we see that Cemal urges ordinary people, and especially women, to get physically more active, and she emphasizes the importance of daily regular physical activity. Therefore, in my opinion, her speech perfectly reflects the disciplinary reasoning which aims to increase the physical capacities of individuals through regular exercise.

In an article published in January 1936, Rahmi Apak discusses the new direction the sports affairs in Turkey have recently started to follow. First, the author summarizes the developments in the field and the sports policy of the republican government in its first decade. Apak argues that in this period the government realized the importance of sports, and thus sports activities were centralized under the Association of Turkish Exercise Organizations (Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı).

²⁰³ Ibid., pp.312-313.

Second, the number of sports clubs in the country has increased from a small number of 5-6 in 1923, all of which were located in big cities, to hundreds that were mainly founded in many towns and villages of Anatolia. Third, in the past football was the most played sports, and other sports were almost non-existent. Today, with the encouragement of the state, other sports like athletics, water sports, cycling, and hand ball are played as well. The state has also resuscitated traditional Turkish sports like wrestling, which almost fell into oblivion in the last centuries.²⁰⁴

Apak notes that the government also undertook to build stadiums and other sports facilities around Turkey; one stadium in Ankara, three in Istanbul, and smaller facilities have been built in other cities. Currently, there are 150 sports facilities in Turkey in total. Apak proudly notes that ten years ago no such facilities existed. In general, public interest for sports has been growing, and people begin to realize that sports are more of a necessity rather than a leisure or luxury. In schools the weekly hours of gym classes have been increased, and scientific methods of physical education are now applied. The government founded an education institute to meet the need of qualified trainers.²⁰⁵ Having summarized the developments in the first decade, the author argues that Turkish sports have gained a new meaning and direction after 1934. In this new period, the government has set out to establish the national Turkish sports which, according to Apak, refers to *a sports system that will equip Turkish citizens with the necessary fighting skills to gain the upper hand against enemies in warfare; and will supply the Turkish army with soldiers who are nimble, courageous, heroic, resistant, and obedient in the battlefield.* (Emphasis added) Apak concludes by stating that this is the new mission and responsibility of the Turkish national sports system.²⁰⁶ In my opinion, this article is important for two reasons. First, it demonstrates the importance that the government attached to physical education. Second, the italicized sentence above clearly explains the expectations of the republican elite from sports: improvement of the physical capacities of individuals for national defense.

Rahmi Apak penned another article in June 1938 about the role and responsibilities of the sport branches of the People's Houses. According to Apak, in addition to encouraging establishment of local sports clubs in their locality and participation of

²⁰⁴ Rahmi Apak, "Türk Sporunun Yeni Yükümleri", in *Ülkü* January 1936, p.345.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p.346.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p.346-348.

the local youth in their activities, the sports branches of the Houses have other duties as well. The 47th clause of the People's Houses bylaw confers on these institutions the responsibility of popularizing sports and other physical activities among Turkish people, especially the youth.²⁰⁷ In this respect, the Houses, first of all, should incite local people and the youth, they either be members of sports clubs or not, to do gymnastics and exercise. Second, the Houses can organize collective hiking trips to different locations in their region so that people will get to know other parts of their country. Third, all Houses ought to establish indoor and outdoor sports facilities, and equip them with the necessary gymnastic equipment like shots and trapeze. Fourth, the Houses need to make certain that gymnastics and other physical activities should follow scientific rules, and be undertaken under the supervision of professional and experienced trainers. The sports branches should create an appropriate program and separate timetables for men and women so that hundreds and even thousands of citizens can easily access and use those facilities.

Another responsibility of the sports branches is to organize vivid and spectacular gymnastic shows and parades during national holidays and other special occasions. Lastly, the Houses should organize more conferences on physical education and sports.²⁰⁸ Apak also warns the Houses not to present the activities of the local clubs (like football games) as their own activities in their semi-annual reports. In this article we see that Apak reminds the sports branches of the People's Houses about their responsibilities and duties. In my opinion, the duties that Apak assigns to the sports branches clearly indicate that the People's Houses were designed by the republican elite to perform disciplinary functions on local people. First of all, Apak urges the People's Houses to promote not only football, but also gymnastics and other less performed sports in their locality to prepare ordinary people for national defense. He also reminds the Houses that in order for these activities to be effective, they need to follow scientific rules and norms. In my opinion, his insistence on adherence to scientific norms shares a great deal with disciplinary reasoning which emphasizes enhancement of physical capacities of individuals through carefully calculated and applied techniques and procedures.

²⁰⁷ Rahmi Apak, "Halkevleri Spor Şubeleri Nasıl Çalışmalıdır", in *Ülkü* June 1938, p.351.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.353.

In 1938 Şinasi Şahingiray wrote an article, which was published in two consecutive parts in the *Ülkü*, about sports facilities in the People's Houses. He starts the article by noting that one of the primary duties of the Houses, which have been established all around Turkey to meet the cultural, educational, and artistic needs of the Turkish people, is to provide them with appropriate facilities and environment where they can easily engage in sports activities.²⁰⁹ Şahingiray argues that sports facilities do not necessarily have to be huge or expensive stadiums, swimming pools, or gyms. Rather, People's Houses can also easily establish much smaller and humbler, but useful facilities in which local people can exercise and play games at their leisure. The facilities that the Houses should build consist of two groups: indoor and outdoor. Şahingiray first discusses outdoor facilities, such as volleyball, basketball, and tennis courts, which are easier and less expensive to build. In the article, the author shares his own drawings of sample basketball and volleyball courts and explains the details so that People's Houses can use them, and he points out that those courts also need changing rooms and showers. According to Şahingiray, even with such a simple volleyball court it will be possible to get 10-14 young people physically active at a time.²¹⁰

In the next issue of the *Ülkü* the second part of Şahingiray's article was published. In the second part the author discusses the indoor facilities that would enable people to continue to do gymnastics during winter rather than wasting their time in coffee shops. He admits that indoor facilities are more expensive and hence more difficult for the Houses to build than outdoor facilities; but the Houses should use all available resources at their disposal. If possible, the Houses should create a separate building for the sports facility. If not, then the facility should be established inside the main House building at a convenient location. In the worst case scenario where there is no such location, the People's Houses should at least allocate one small room for gymnastics. At the end of the article Şahingiray maintains that the sports branches of the Houses should focus more on building such facilities than organizing football games because in this way they will have accomplished their duties and achieved their goals defined in their bylaw.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Şinasi Şahingiray, "Halkevleri'nde Basit Spor Tesisleri", in *Ülkü* July 1938, p.459.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.462.

²¹¹ Şinasi Şahin Giray, "Halkevleri'nde Basit Spor Tesisleri", in *Ülkü* August 1938, pp.520-524.

In this article, Şahingiray advises the People's Houses to build simple and inexpensive sports facilities so that local people would become physically more active. Well aware of the financial difficulties that the government faced, Şahingiray encourages the Houses to allocate at least a small room for sports because he does not want people to remain physically inactive. Here I would like to underline his desperate insistence on building the smallest sports facility possible. Even building a simple volleyball court at a People's House means a lot for Şahingiray because it will get at least 10-14 young people physically active. Thus, in my opinion, like the previous ones, this article also indicates that the republican elite attached a great deal of importance to physical education and the smallest physical exercise that ordinary people could possibly engage in. Also the article demonstrates that the People's Houses were assigned the task of exerting physical discipline on local people by any means necessary.

In October 1938, Nizamettin Kırşan wrote an article to criticize sports branches of some People's Houses, which do not follow the instructions of their bylaw, and to remind them their responsibilities defined by the new Physical Education Law of 1938. Kırşan states that certain People's Houses, including the Ankara and Beyoğlu Houses, have done a great job in terms of sports and gymnastics; and he praises them for their efforts and success. Many other Houses, however, seem to have misinterpreted the relevant clauses of the bylaw about the responsibilities of the sports branches. For example, such Houses have formed their own football teams, and started to compete with other local clubs. Yet, Kırşan points out that this is not what the People's Houses are supposed to do. Instead of engaging in a rivalry and competition with local football clubs, the sports branches of the Houses are rather expected to assist them in their activities, and encourage formation of clubs if there are no clubs in the region. In other words, the sports branches of the Houses are not sports clubs themselves; and they should not act as one. Moreover, Kırşan states that the branches have misinterpreted the bylaw in another fundamental way: Even though the bylaw clearly defines all the sports activities the branches should undertake, they only focus on organizing football games. Fortunately, Kırşan notes, the new Physical Education Law corrects this misunderstanding: The People's Houses should encourage local people to do the

following sports: Gymnastics, fencing, wrestling, trekking, salon sports, and national dances.²¹²

Kırşan argues that the sports branches can easily create facilities and provide equipment to promote gymnastics, fencing, and wrestling. For gymnastics all they need to do is to allocate an appropriate location where 20-30 people can do gymnastics, and to find a trainer for them, who can be the teacher of the local primary or secondary school. As for fencing, the Houses can provide people with the equipment, and help them train. Kırşan notes that fencing is an important sports because it helps the body in several ways: it increases intelligence, improves reaction time, and makes people stronger with better fighting skills. Lastly, the Houses can promote wrestling by teaching amateur wrestlers the modern wrestling techniques and organizing local or regional tournaments.²¹³ This article indicates that the republican elite were not happy with the way some sports branches conducted their activities. Ironically, many sports branches of the Houses seem to have predominantly focused on football, which was despised by the republican elite. Rather, Kırşan urges them to promote other collective and cooperative sports activities like gymnastics. Again, we see that Kırşan advises the Houses to make the most out of limited resources, and provide local people with simple but effective sports facilities. Thus, this article epitomizes the willingness of the republican elites to exert physical discipline on ordinary people through simple and inexpensive methods.

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the foundation of the republic, Rahmi Apak wrote an article in which he summarizes the sports policies of the government thus far. According to Apak, the main reason of the decline of sports in the Ottoman period was the bigotry of Muslims. As a result, people and administrators lost their connection with sports for one century. The rulers themselves had become lazy and fat. The reign of the CUP was quite short-lived, and as for many other things, they did not have enough time for sports. Nevertheless, scouting in schools began in this period. The republican regime was first to realize the importance of sports, and thus focus on the issue. In 1923, some sportsmen in Istanbul formed the Alliance of Turkish Sports Association, and applied to the government for assistance, which the government did

²¹² Nizamettin Kırşan, "Halkevleri'nde Beden Terbiyesi", in *Ülkü* October 1938, pp.126-127.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.128.

not turn down. There were four main goals of the alliance. The first goal was to expand sports activities all around the country, and to train the qualified sports personnel. In this way, the youth would play sports in their spare time, and refrain from bad habits like alcohol, gambling etc. Second, the alliance aimed at the centralization of all sports organizations under one banner. The third goal was management of sports activities and events through this umbrella organization. Lastly, the alliance would make contact with sports clubs in other countries.²¹⁴

Apak continues by stating that the government has financially supported sports organizations and clubs, and in 1926 it allocated 40,000 liras for sports. By 1938, this amount has increased 6 times and reached to 239,000 liras. In 1923, there were only 14 clubs; it increased to 230 by 1933, and to 442 by 1938. Again, in 1923 there were only 827 registered sportsmen; by 1938 this number reached to 27,601. In 1936, the alliance was reorganized and renamed “Turkish Sports Institution”. From that year onward, Apak notes, the government has begun to allocate even more resources for sports, and hence sports have been developing faster. The new institution has established closer links with its branches in the countryside, and began to organize more competitive tournaments (like a football league) for each sports.

Second, skiing started to develop rapidly: Skiing centers were opened in Bursa, Sivas, Erzurum, Ankara, Kastamonu, and Manisa. All of a sudden 2000 skiers emerged in Turkey. Similarly, the Sports Institution encourages traditional sports like wrestling, archery, and javelin throwing. It organized a nationwide wrestling audition to select potential talented wrestlers for the national team. An archery school was established in Istanbul. Fourth, a trainer school has been established to guarantee the scientific conduct of sports. So far, 30 trainers have graduated and started to educate sportsmen around the country. Finally, Apak points out that the government has also funded construction of sports arenas, which will include football pitches, athletics fields, 400 meters long running tracks, swimming pools, shooting ranges; tennis, basketball, and volleyball courts, and bleachers with a capacity of 5000-10000 audience, in 22 cities.²¹⁵ This article summarizes the sports policies of the government in the first 15 years, and shows that the government began to attach even greater importance to sports

²¹⁴ Rahmi Apak, “Onbeş Yıl ve Türk Sporu”, in *Ülkü* November 1938, pp.229-230.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.231-234.

activities. The government took several measures to spread a sports culture around Turkey, increased the amount of resources allocated to sports, built new facilities around the country, and to centralize all sports activities under its control. All these measures suggest that physical education constituted an integral element of the social policies of the government to regenerate the population.

In March 1939, Nüzhet Abbas (Baba) wrote an article to discuss the potential benefits of cooperation between the newly established General Directorate of Physical Education and the People's Houses on physical education and sports. The author starts the article by listing certain preconditions of a successful physical education in Turkey. First of all, people need to realize that education of the mind and the body are inseparable. Second, Turkey needs sufficient numbers of trainers. Third, physical education requires indoor and outdoor sports facilities, and sports equipment like clothes. An additional issue is the proper nutrition of children. Abbas points out that in England the government provides each child with 2-3 glasses of milk every day in schools. Factors such as having healthy parents free of genetic diseases and being well-fed have an impact on the physical education of the youth. The author admits that Turkey does not have these resources in abundance.²¹⁶

Baba notes that the General Directorate of Physical Education has made an appropriate distinction between intramural and extramural sports activities. In this respect, three institutions are responsible for promoting physical education in Turkey: The Directorate, the Ministry of Education, and the People's Houses. In the article Abbas focuses on extramural sports activities, and examines the possibilities of cooperation between the Directorate and the Houses. According to the author, the two institutions can cooperate in the following areas: First, the Directorate can supply the Houses with sports education books/booklets that it publishes. Second, the two can work together and share the responsibility of propagating sports. Third, the Houses can send talented youth in their locality to the courses that the Directorate shall open to educate trainers. The author notes that currently there are 367 People's Houses, which means that they can help finding at least 367 prospective talented trainers. Fourth, the Houses can build humble but useful sports facilities in their locality. Fifth, the two institutions can

²¹⁶ Nüzhet Abbas, "Halkevleri ve Memleket Sporu", in *Ülkü* March 1939, p.23.

organize conferences to promote sports among people. The Houses can also promote and encourage traditional Turkish sports like wrestling at the local level. In his conclusion, Baba maintains that a cooperation between the Directorate and the Houses on those areas will facilitate the promotion of physical education in Turkey.²¹⁷ This article suggests that the republican elite wished to expand physical education in Turkey by coordinating activities of different institutions with similar goals. In this respect, they continuously contemplated on the issue of physical education, and developed new plans and strategies. The article also shows that the republican intellectuals and policy makers expected the People's Houses to perform various functions in promoting physical education and discipline among ordinary people.

Nüzhet Baba penned another article on physical education and scouting in August 1939. At the beginning of the article, Baba states that if he were asked to define scouting, he would, without any hesitations, reply: "It is a complimentary school that educates the minds and bodies of the youth in a country."²¹⁸ He argues that through scouting children can learn about the nature and their country in a more fun and easier way than they would in schools. Scouting is a unique instrument to teach a child about his country and himself, and to raise them as more beneficial individuals to their country. Baba points out that once upon a time scouting was taken seriously in Turkey. Until the WWI, the CUP paid special attention to scouting. At the time the prominent British scouting expert M. Parfitt visited Istanbul and assisted the establishment of the first Turkish scouting organization. However, the world war and the ensuing chaos until the end of the War of Independence interrupted this process, and the development of scouting in Turkey halted.

According to Baba, the current state of scouting in Turkey is not necessarily bad; but it certainly needs improvements. Among the three institutions responsible for physical education in Turkey, the Ministry of Education and the People's Houses can spearhead the promotion of scouting. The Directorate, on the other hand, currently does not have enough resources and personnel, and thus is not in a position to assist the promotion of scouting. Moreover, Baba argues that scouting can be more beneficial if it is taught to children at an early age. Hence, scouting should be considered as a part of the

²¹⁷ Ibid., pp.24-26.

²¹⁸ Nüzhet Baba, "Beden Terbiyesi ve Gençlik Meselesi: İzcilik", in *Ülkü* August 1939, p.541.

education system, and the ministry can play the leading role in this issue. Similarly, with their wide network around the country, the Houses can promote scouting. Therefore, the ministry and the Houses should cooperate on this issue. In the remainder of the article Baba also discusses the costs of scouting. He argues that since scouting is a quite expensive activity, the state alone should not be responsible for the expenses. Financially able parents should also contribute to scouting because scouting has several benefits: It educates the youth, raises them as organizers, helps them learn about their country, prepares them for national defense, and promotes solidarity among them.²¹⁹ Similarly, in this article Baba searches for ways to promote physical education in Turkey. By teaching children scouting, Baba aims to equip them at an early age with the necessary physical and organizational capabilities that national defense requires. Those children who engaged in scouting at an early age would become prepared for future military assignments and internalize military discipline.

Major general Cemil Tahir Taner, the General Director of physical education, wrote an opinion piece about the People's Houses and sports clubs in the same issue of the *Ülkü*. In the beginning, he states that in addition to educating citizens about cultural and spiritual matters, the People's Houses are also responsible for improving their physical conditions. Only then the Houses can consider themselves to have successfully completed their national duty. This is why the bylaw of the Houses also instructs them to create a sports branch. However, some Houses have created their own sports clubs and started to compete with other local football clubs. Taner points out that this is not the mission of the People's Houses; and that sports branches of the Houses should not be organized as clubs. Taner notes that the Houses are expected to provide the necessary conditions and facilities for sports activities, incite local people to participate, and inspire feelings of cooperation and brotherhood, not of competition and enmity, among them.²²⁰ Also, the Law of Physical Education expects sports clubs and other physical education associations to be education institutes that increase physical capacities and morale of the youth. In this sense, the Houses and sports clubs share the same goal, and they should work in a cooperative and complimentary manner. It is their responsibility to prepare the youth for national defense through physical education. Club managers should always bear in mind those principles, and

²¹⁹ Ibid., pp.542-544.

²²⁰ Cemil Tahir Taner, "Halkevleri ve Spor Kulüpleri", in *Ülkü* August 1939, p.550.

they should act not as separate clubs, but as units of an army. The Houses should leave competitive games to clubs, and instead prepare citizens physically.²²¹

In the following pages of the same issue, the *Ülkü* publishes some sections from the activity reports of sports branches of certain People's Houses; and there is an anonymous review on those reports. The anonymous author praises certain Houses like Bergama, which have done well with respect to sports activities. On the other hand, the author criticizes sports branches of many People's Houses for only concentrating on football. Given the generally negative opinions of the ruling elite on football, this situation is ironic and illuminative of the disparity between the ideal designs of the center for sports and the actual practices of local People's Houses.

The anonymous author concludes by deridingly stating: "When our Houses realize that sports are not limited to football, they will have a huge step forward towards proper conduct of sports activities."²²² Both the opinion piece by Cemil Tahir Taner, and the following anonymous review clearly represent the expectations of the ruling elite from the People's Houses with respect to sports and physical education: The Houses should promote collective and cooperative sports activities in their locality, and restrain from competing with local football clubs because such competition might undermine feelings of solidarity and cooperation among local people. In other words, the republican elite expected sports activities to be undertaken in cooperation and harmony by as many people as possible. In my opinion, these two articles, along with the previous ones, indicate that the *raison d'être* of the sport branches of the People's Houses was to impose physical discipline upon local people.

In July 1940, Nüzhet Baba wrote an article about Turkish peasants and sports. He notes that the General Directorate of Physical Education, military schools, and other related institutions, by all available means, seek to promote sports and physical education in Turkey. However, Baba states that there had been a fear that this campaign would only be limited to cities, not being able to reach to villages. Then, he discusses whether peasants, who live in the harsh conditions of the nature and undertake difficult tasks, really need exercise and sports. He notes that peasants naturally enjoy certain advantages such as more sunlight, fresh water and air. Yet, they do not have the

²²¹ Ibid., pp.551-552.

²²² Ibid., A review written anonymously, pp.554-556.

hygienic environment of cities. Moreover, peasants only work during certain periods and seasons of the year. For the rest of the year they are usually physically inactive, which limits the harmonious development of the body. Hence, the author argues, peasants do need exercise and sports in their daily lives.²²³

Baba notes that physical education prepares people for national defense, promotes social solidarity, and helps to generate a more favorable village youth (*daha elverişli köy gençliği elde etmek*); and thus he argues that it is more crucial to promote sports in villages than in cities. He believes that teachers will play the primary role in promoting sports in villages. In general, peasants are not aware of sports except for their traditional sports such as wrestling, horseback riding, javelin throwing, and country dances; but due to long years of neglect these sports are almost forgotten. Therefore, Baba states, the government should start with reviving national sports in villages by organizing wrestling games and other competitions at special occasions, such as wedding ceremonies. He also notes that those games must be competitive so that people will become more enthusiastic about sports. As for modern sports like gymnastics, Baba suggests that it should begin with the most basic exercises, such as running, jumping, climbing, that does not require expensive equipment. In his conclusion, Baba states that these are their responsibilities and debt towards the Turkish peasants in the field of physical education, and that they should do their best, by all means possible, to realize these goals.²²⁴ In this article, we again see the willingness of the republican policy makers to expand physical education in Turkey, even into the villages, by using any means possible. Despite their lack of financial resources, facilities, and trainers; policy makers nevertheless sought to promote physical education, and to exert disciplinary power upon the population through both republican institutions like the General Directorate of Physical Education, the People's Houses, and military schools, as well as by urging village teachers to promote traditional and modern sports activities in villages.

In another article published in October 1940, Nüzhet Baba touches upon the urgent need of qualified trainers in Turkey, and makes a suggestion to establish an institute for educating trainers. He notes that the primary demographic target of physical

²²³ Nüzhet Baba, "Türk Köylüsü ve Spor", in *Ülkü* July 1940, pp.436-437.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.437-438.

education in Turkey is the youth between the ages of 15 and 20; but currently there are not enough trainers for even 35 % of this group, let alone the entire population. Therefore, Baba argues, the state needs to establish a higher institute for physical education to educate trainers. The General Directorate of Physical Education has already laid down the principles of physical education with a bylaw. However, Baba notes, there is still a need for trainers who can put those principles into practice.²²⁵ According to Baba, a trainer should have the following traits: He should be talented, virtuous, equipped with the ability to lead the youth, and have a strong character. On the other hand, the author also notes that this urgent need for trainers should not lead the government to allow prospective students who have no talents or interest in sports; the selection committee should be very careful and selective.

Then, Baba discusses the curriculum of the new institute to be established. The curriculum should not be too abstract and theoretical. Rather than aiming for an ideal and perfect sports system, the curriculum needs to be more practical, and address the needs of Turkey. Rather than bringing foreign experts into Turkey, Baba believes the government should send young and talented students to Western countries so that they can learn the proper techniques of physical education. The government should also prepare course material of the institute because currently there are not many comprehensive books on physical education in Turkey. In the conclusion, Baba argues that if Turkey initiates the establishment of the new institute now, the government will be in a much better position to implement the physical education policies once the great calamities of the WWII end.²²⁶ In general, we see that Baba aims to institutionalize physical education in Turkey by creating new institutions and coordinating their activities, training trainers, and creating course material for physical education institutions. In other words, Baba and other authors attempted to form a discourse on physical education with their writings, and they also sought to expand physical education in Turkey through coordination of non-discursive activities of institutions such as the People's Houses, the Ministry of Education, and the Directorate of Physical education.

²²⁵ Nüzhet Baba, " Bir Beden Terbiyesi Enstitüsü Esasları", in *Ülkü* October 1940, pp.123-124.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.124-127.

On July 1 1942 the *Ülkü* published a speech delivered by Mehmet Emin Erişirgil. In his speech Erişirgil talks about a youth organization project he envisaged while listening to a problem that some villages were having about irrigation channels. According to his plan, university students will gather in summer period around a few teachers who knows how to organize and lead the youth. This large group will go and set up a camp near the aforementioned villages to clean and repair the blocked irrigation channels according to a detailed plan designed by experts during the winter period. This endeavor, Erişirgil maintains, will be an opportunity for university students to do sports, work together, and a source of satisfaction from charity work. Erişirgil believes that this idea, which occurred to him as a response to a specific problem in a region, can be broadened and implemented all around the country. The government can specify certain camp regions with beds, kitchens, dining tables, and a small library etc. Students will also be provided with work uniforms. They will get up early, have breakfast together, raise the Turkish flag with a ceremony, and then go to work. Using simple hand tools like pickaxe and shovels, students will build or repair infrastructure that nearby villages require.²²⁷

Erişirgil notes that students will do this as a beneficial activity for their health because during the school year they usually use their brains alone; such camps will teach them physical discipline, strengthening their muscles and making them more enduring against challenges. They will work for an hour, take a rest for ten minutes, and then do some exercise for five minutes to work other muscles that they do not use while working. In this way, they will work for five hours until noon, then they will go back to their camp, have lunch together, and rest for one and half hour. Afterwards, they can do one of the following based on the schedule of the day: a) collective sports, b) cooperatively doing a task at the camp, c) discussing about those who have done great services to Turkey, d) a collective recreational activity such as reading and discussing a useful book or article together, and e) visiting a nearby village. In the conclusion, Erişirgil argues that such voluntary camps may spread around the country, and ten thousand youth might want to work in those camps.²²⁸ This short article is important, for it demonstrates the ideal plan of the Kemalist intellectuals for the youth in terms of physical education. Erişirgil designs a plan that will shape the daily activities of

²²⁷ Mehmet Emin Erişirgil, “Gençlik ve İş Terbiyesi”, in *Ülkü* July 1, 1942, p.1.

²²⁸ Ibid.

university students in detail, and channel their physical energy and free time into various state projects. As I mentioned in the theoretical framework section, disciplinary power aims to divide time into successive segments, and to define a definite time period for each activity. In this respect, Erişirgil's plan and daily schedule for students has a striking similarity to the prison timetable that Foucault refers to in the beginning of the *Discipline and Punish*.²²⁹

Finally, Sadi Irmak wrote an article about the relationship between sports and economic development on June 16, 1944. According to the author, modern sports are based on the understanding that body and spirit form a whole and unity, and each one should develop and improve to the fullest extent possible; thus education of the body and the mind cannot be separated. Therefore, Irmak argues that an efficient sports organization, which can provide citizens with knowledge, ideals, health, and joy; must be organized at the national level. He notes that sports are not only for the youth; everybody requires physical activity with varying degrees of intensity. Urbanization and division of labor in modern life lead people to focus on one specific activity, which in turn results in deterioration of many other skills and abilities. Thus, all people require a systematic and lifelong physical discipline and activity.²³⁰

Then, Irmak maintains that modern sports are an instrument which increases the efficiency of all sorts of labor. He notes that it is a known fact that the efficiency and productivity of industrial workers begin to increase when they exercise regularly. The same goes for agricultural workers. This is why, Irmak argues, building sports facilities for workers is a profitable investment. Workers who monotonously perform a certain task for a long time without any other physical activity are more likely to have physical deformities, higher risk of diseases, shorter life expectancy, and less efficiency. Another benefit of a national organization is to increase people's physical strength and endurance for the purpose of national defense. Irmak points out that despite all the advancement in warfare technologies, manpower still remains as the most crucial and determining factor in warfare. Lastly, Irmak argues that since each country have many disabled people, a national sports organization can also help reduce the costs of

²²⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp.6-7.

²³⁰ Sadi Irmak, "Milli Kalkınmada Sporun Rolü", in *Ülkü* June 16, 1944, p.3.

disabled people for the national economy.²³¹ In this article, we see that Irmak deploys physical education as an instrument of improving health of the population, increasing its economic productivity and efficiency, and preparing it for national defense. In other words, for the republican elite physical education had both disciplinary and regulatory (bio-political) functions.

In conclusion, the articles above indicate that bodies and physical capabilities of individuals had become an object of government policies. As we have seen, the authors were preoccupied with physical education of the Turkish population, and they designed various policies and strategies to achieve this goal. For this purpose they created and assisted various institutions, such as the Alliance of Turkish Sports Associations (later renamed Turkish Sports Institution), the General Directorate of Physical Education, the ministry of education, and the People's Houses; and they intended to coordinate their activities. Operating under huge financial restraints, the republican elite aimed to promote physical education in Turkey with inexpensive and simple methods, both traditional and modern. These methods included establishing sports facilities if possible, training sports trainers, promoting gymnastics and other modern sports, and more traditional sports like wrestling, horseback riding, javelin throwing etc. In other words, the republican elite wished to get ordinary people physically more active by using every means available.

Regardless of the ultimate success or failure of their policies and strategies, I would like to restate my argument that disciplinary reasoning was inherent in the plans, intentions, and calculations of the republican elite because, as I discussed earlier, disciplinary power refers to a series of calculated techniques, methods, and regulations carefully applied to the body in order to render it more productive and docile. As we have seen, the authors precisely desired to achieve this end. They aimed to increase the physical capacities of people by using any means possible, and to utilize the ensuing collective energy for various needs and objectives of the state such as economic development and national defense. For example, Şahin Şinasi Giray urges the People's Houses to allocate at the very least one small room for gymnastics so that local people would, instead of wasting their time in coffee shops, regularly engage in

²³¹ Ibid.

physical exercise. Similarly, Mehmet Emin Erişirgil designs a plan to channel spare time and physical energy of university students into construction projects. In other words, in the eyes of the republican policy makers no time and energy should be wasted; they rather wished to put those energies at the disposal of the state. Also, this physical education project can also be linked to the concept of bio-politics. Physical education does not only improve physical capacities of individuals; on a more general level it also complements biopower by generating a healthier population. In other words, the physical education project of the republican elite went along with their healthcare projects and campaigns against epidemics. In sum, it can be argued that their physical education project included elements from both disciplinary power and biopower at the same time.

4.3. The Issue of Population

In this part I will analyze 19 articles related to the concept of bio-politics by dividing them into two sub-categories. Articles in the first sub-category aim to produce a detailed knowledge of the population by collecting statistical data, and information about villages, and the material conditions and habits of Anatolian peasants. Articles in the second category, on the other hand, deal with the population as a whole, and treat it as an administrative problem and an object of intervention; they recommend social policies to grow the population and improve its health conditions; and also give medical advice to individuals and families on how to avoid certain diseases and epidemics. In this respect, I shall argue that the articles examined in this part relate to the concept of biopower.

The first sub-category includes seven articles. To begin with the earliest and perhaps the most important one, the article called ‘Köy Anketi’²³² was an extensive survey on villages, and published anonymously in June 1933. As the rulers of a predominantly rural society, the republican elite, in order to be able to rule effectively and to design adequate social policies, required detailed information about the conditions of villages and their inhabitants. For this purpose, the article calls on Turkish intellectuals, teachers and literate people to answer some questions about villages and peasants in regions they dwell. The subject of the survey is defined as ‘development of our

²³² Anonymous, “Köy Anketi”, in *Ülkü* June 1933, pp.362-364. For the full text of the survey please see Appendix D.

villages' (köylerimizin inkişafı). As a quite exhaustive survey it consists of 61 sections classified under five headings: general information about the village; social situation in the village; education, economic conditions, and health of peasants. Some of those sections include: the population of the village and the number of houses, natural conditions of the village and peasants (tabii halleri), its history, classification of the population in terms of nationality and language, their ways of entertainment (both collective and individual), lifestyles of women, men, and children; bigotry and superstitions among peasants, their understanding of morality, drinking and gambling habits; classification of people in terms of economic conditions (rich, middle class, poor), information about conditions of houses, rates of marriage and divorce, number of literate people and their occupations, respective vocabulary sizes of literate and illiterate persons, economic activities in the village, natural resources of the village, mortality rates, most common diseases in the village, cooking techniques, whether peasants undertake sports activities, hygiene (personal, house, and village)... The survey also asks for policy recommendations to improve the conditions in the villages and of their inhabitants, and encourages surveyors to send numeric data, maps, sketches, photographs, pencil drawings of the village, and writing samples of peasants if possible.

In and of itself, the survey epitomizes the willingness of the republican policy makers to produce a detailed knowledge of the Turkish population. In other words, this survey indicates that the republican policy makers intended to produce a medico-administrative knowledge of the population. However, the survey and the responses it received, some of which I will analyze below, do not necessarily mean that the policy makers were able to produce such a thorough knowledge of the entire population; and that was not their goal either because policy makers knew well that it was difficult to collect such an enormous data about all the Turkish villages (approximately 40,000). Therefore, they instead aimed to collect data of some villages that were highly representative of the characteristics of a geographic region. As a result, compared to the overall number of Turkish villages at the time, the number of the subsequent village monographs the survey received remained quite low. Nonetheless, along with peasantist studies and other articles on villages, the village monographs published in the *Ülkü* certainly provided the central government, policy makers, and intellectuals with some information about the villages.

In the years following its publication the survey received numerous responses from the *Ülkü* readers in the form of village monographs. For example, Osman Nuri, the teacher in the Ahırlıkuyu village of Haymana, replied to the survey in July 1934. In his response he provides detailed information about the village and the peasants, their lifestyles, habits and traditions, superstitions, economic conditions, language, literacy rate, health conditions, birth and death rates etc. He also shares a few letters written by the peasants, perhaps as sample of their vocabulary size. According to his report, the village consists of 100 houses and 500 people, whom are Tatarian immigrants. In terms of lifestyles, male peasants usually work in fields, and females take care of housework while children usually grow up in neglect and dirt.²³³ Nuri notes that the majority of women are more prone to believe in superstitions and traditional folk medicine; but some have finally come to realize that modern medicine is more effective in treating patients.

Osman Nuri notes that there are 12 wealthy families, and 40-50 middle class families in the village; the rest are poor, and there are only five households without any debt. Usury continues to be a great burden on the peasants, and keeps them in poverty. There is a primary school with one teacher, three classrooms, and 78 students. Approximately, five students graduate every year, majority of who do not continue further education. Literacy rate among the men is eighty per cent, but among the women it is less than one per cent. Most people have never been outside of their village; only some have been to Eskişehir, Ankara, or Istanbul for work or to visit their relatives. The village does not have a post office, and it hardly receives any newspapers or books. In order to increase literacy rate in the village Osman Nuri recommends opening compulsory reading rooms in the village during winter.²³⁴

The rest of his village report was published in the next issue of the *Ülkü*. He continues by stating that the average number of births per month is two, while for deaths it is one. There are 85 children between the ages of six and sixteen, but nineteen of them have not been officially registered since their births. In total, there are 80 unregistered children in the village. In addition, there are 30 widows, 6 widowers, and one harmless

²³³ Osman Nuri, "Haymana'nın Ahırlıkuyu Köyü" in *Ülkü* July 1934, p.394.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.396-400.

mentally ill person.²³⁵ In order to pave the way for the development of the Ahırlıkuyu village Osman Nuri makes a few recommendations. First, he maintains that the state should fight against usury because it severely reduces the profits of peasants, and hinders economic growth. Second, the road to Polatlı needs to be repaired, for in winter it becomes more difficult to travel from the village to the town. Third, the peasants face an integration problem due to the language barrier. As Tatarian immigrants they speak Tatar, which limits their interactions with the nearby Turkish villages and hinders their integration into the Turkish national identity and culture. Therefore, the state should implement policies that would establish Turkish as the common language. In his conclusion, Osman Nuri notes that laws should give teachers more authority to fight against ignorance, darkness, bigotry, and superstitions prevailing in villages; and teachers in return should put in much more effort and make sacrifices for this noble cause.²³⁶

In this village monograph we see that Osman Nuri, as the agent and representative of the regime in the village, provides the government with statistical data and information about the lifestyles and habits of the peasants. He shares birth and death rates, the number of unregistered children, the economic conditions of families in the village, and the literacy rate etc. In this way, the government would acquire a general knowledge about the conditions of the population, and be able to design various social policies accordingly. For instance, with the demographic data about the village, the number of unregistered children, the economic status of peasants, and their general health conditions the state would easily be able to know how many soldiers it can enroll into military service, or the amount of tax to be collected from the village, or lastly design specific healthcare policies to fight against diseases that were common in villages. In this respect, regulatory (bio-political) policies of governments require such a knowledge of a population.

Likewise, in the following village monographs authors provide a great deal of information about the villages they reside, and the peasants. The second example of the village monographs was written by Bahadır R. Dülger about the Orhaniye village, 40 km away from Ankara. Dülger notes that the village consists of 120 houses, and it

²³⁵ Osman Nuri, "Haymana'nın Ahırlıkuyu Köyü II" in *Ülkü* August 1934, p.478.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.479-480.

has 295 male and 324 female residents. The primary school in the village has three classrooms and two teachers. There are 33 first graders, 33 second graders, and 20 third graders. In the last three years 45 students graduated from the school. Among the adults around 250 people are literate, but they are about to forget how to read because they rarely read if any. There is no reading room or coffee house in the village, and it does not receive any newspapers or magazines either. A health officer visits the village monthly for vaccination, to examine the sick, and to circumcise children. Other officials that visit the village include a tax collector, and a school inspector. Dülger believes that those officials do not, in any way, assist the development of the village.

Peasants do not go to cinema or theater, and nobody shows any interest in fine arts. Moreover, they continue to believe in all kinds of superstitions. Healthwise, the peasants are generally in good condition, but they do not know how to protect themselves against diseases. The birth rate is greater than the death rate. Child death is most frequent among those younger than seven, mostly caused by pertussis. There are not any physical deformities among the village population. People in the village do not have any genetically inherited diseases, and there are not any mentally ill persons either. Individually the peasants are not hygienic, and children are lousy. The streets are covered with mud and manure. The peasants generally do not have any bad habits, and they do not commit crimes. Their daily diet includes bulgur, tarhana soup, yogurt, potatoes, cabbage, beans, and eggplants.²³⁷

Dülger notes that rich families usually have one or two horses, a couple of oxen, and two or three cows; middle class families have one to three oxen and one donkey; while poor families have either two oxen or one ox and one donkey. There are not any landless families in the village, but size and fertility of the lands vary greatly. Rich families possess larger and more fertile lands near water sources, whereas poor families have smaller and less fruitful soil. Wheat and barley are the most grown crops along with beans, eggplants, and cabbage. Dülger says that he has not seen any willingness among the peasants to improve their cultivation methods, and to diversify their products. As in other villages, cultivation methods are primitive; only five persons have plows, the rest have primitive plows (karasaban). The only tractor in the

²³⁷ Bahadır R. Dülger, "Orhaniye Köyü" in *Ülkü* May 1936, pp.210-216.

village collects dust due to the high gas prices. In total, the peasants have 30 horses, 150 donkeys, 55 cows, 230 oxen, 3000 sheep, 1500 goats, 400 ducks, 300 turkeys, and 1500 chickens. Collectively, the peasants owe the Agricultural Bank 4000 liras, but they spent this credit not on agriculture, but for their personal needs. Dülger believes that the peasants are not capable of managing their money wisely. For example, the village collectively received a sum of 30,000 liras from the government for confiscation of a nearby land, but the peasants did not use this money productively. Instead, they wasted the money for consumption.²³⁸

Another village monograph was penned by A. Süreyya İşgör about the Zihar village of Giresun in February 1937. According to the author, the village has a population of 917 women and 758 men. The primary school has one teacher and one class of 70 students. Among adults there are only 96 literate people, and only two of them graduated from middle school. The only small library in the village belongs to a family called Paçoğulları, and it is available to other peasants. The only newspaper the village receives is *Yurd*, which is read by the teacher and the muhtar alone. In addition, the village does not yet have a post office. There are no gramophones or radio in the village, the people play traditional instruments like kemanca, drum, and shrill pipe. İşgör notes that the village does not have a People's House or room, and the peasantism branches of the Giresun House or other nearby Houses have not yet visited the village to contact the peasants. Most people in the village go to nearby cities and towns to work for six months because the land in the village is not sufficient to feed the whole population. Among those who go outside of the village for work, only a few have been to a cinema or theater. People generally believe in superstitions, and apply traditional medical methods that are actually more harmful than beneficial. Those males who have been to other cities for their military service care more about the material and cultural development of the village, and share their knowledge and experience with other peasants.²³⁹

İşgör states that the peasants do not know much about sanitation and protection against diseases; mothers remain unaware of proper childcare methods. Similarly, house construction methods and materials are unsanitary. Fortunately, thanks to the

²³⁸ Ibid., pp.218-220.

²³⁹ A. Süreyya İşgör, "Giresun'un Zihar Köyü", in *Ülkü* February 1937, pp.445-448.

abundance of clean air, water, and sunshine in the village the people are robust in general. Rates of premature mortality are higher among children and young people. The birth rates exceed death rates, and the population has been growing. The people are usually tall; the average height is between 170 and 175 cm. People are quite careful about personal hygiene, but they do not pay attention to public hygiene: the streets are dirty and the village does not have a sewerage network. Cold related diseases are the most common ones in the village, but there are also some people with malaria and syphilis. There are not any doctors even in the nearest Alucra town, let alone villages. Thus, 30,000 people in the whole region depend on one single health officer for medical care. As a result, peasants rely on unhealthy, primitive, and wrong methods advised by unqualified persons, such as their neighbors, to treat diseases.²⁴⁰ They do not engage in sports activities because they view their daily labor as exercise, but for Süreyya İşgör such unsystematic activities do not yield the expected benefits of sports. Among the good habits of peasants are washing hands before and after meals, maintaining personal hygiene; but they do not take ventilation and sun lighting of rooms seriously. Nobody in the village uses toothbrushes. In order to improve the health of the peasants İşgör suggests that the relevant clauses of the Village Law should be enforced strictly in the village, and the government should educate people on health and preventive measures. In addition, if a doctor could visit the village at least once a year it would greatly improve the health of the people.

The average age of marriage ranges between 12 and 16 both for women and men; despite the efforts of authorities child marriage cannot be prevented because peasants always find a way to elude restrictions. In order to prevent this harmful practice muhtars should always be vigilant, and never tolerate it. Polygyny is not common among villagers: there are only three men with multiple wives. There is no feud in the village, and fortunately homicide occurs very rarely if any. As other Turkish villages, the Zihar is also known for its hospitality, and the peasants behave respectfully towards guests and old people. However, there is also a long-held prejudice against, and distrust towards urban people; the peasants believe that urban people always try to deceive and take advantage of them. According to İşgör, this prejudice has something to do with the old tithe, and he suggests that all possible measures should be taken to break this

²⁴⁰ Ibid., pp.447-449.

prejudice and close the gap between peasants and city dwellers. People in the village are full of patriotic and national feelings; six of them were awarded the War of Independence medal.²⁴¹

Agriculture is the primary economic activity of the peasants; there are also two blacksmiths, two tinsmiths, two carpenters, and six stonemasons. Among the most grown crops are barley, rye, potatoes, and cabbage. There is only one barely rich family in the village with an annual income of 300 liras, and 75 per cent of the population is poor. Every year more than half of them leave the village and work in other counties for about six months to earn a living, and to be able to pay their taxes. The total 2200 decares of agricultural land is divided among peasants with shares ranging from 2-3 decares to 50 decares. There are no families without any land, but with the current agricultural methods, the land is not sufficient to feed the people. Therefore, more than 10 families permanently left the village in recent years. Previously, the village was surrounded with forests, but due to lack of environmental sensibilities among the people, and long and hard winters the region has been deforested, and it may become a desert in the future. The peasants still cultivate their land with primitive and traditional methods; there are only two threshers in the whole village. Annually, they produce 25 tons of barley and 17 tons of wheat; and sometimes they have to import grain. In total, there are six horses, 207 cows, 312 oxen, 300 goats, 420 sheep, three donkeys, and more than 1000 poultry in the village. Unfortunately, there are not any agricultural cooperatives, and no attempts to establish one. The debt-ratio of the village is quite low compared to coastal villages (10-15 thousand liras), and the average debt amount ranges between 50 to 315 liras. According to İlgör, the economic conditions of the village can be improved by educating the peasants on modern and scientific methods of agriculture and animal husbandry to increase production. Otherwise, the current levels of production will not be sufficient to feed the whole village, and people will continue to live semi-nomadic lives between the village and urban centers.²⁴²

As mentioned above, in its second series the emphasis and format of the Ülkü changed. Village monographs written in this period were not an exception: they became shorter

²⁴¹ Ibid., pp.450-451.

²⁴² Ibid., pp.451-452.

(1-2 pages), and they also started to put more emphasis on folkloric aspects and traditions of village life. For example, on January 16, 1942, Avni Çakır wrote about the Aşağı Yanlar village of Çankırı. This small village consists of 30 houses and 220 inhabitants. Two-thirds of the agricultural lands in the village belong to city dwellers, and most peasants have to work as sharecroppers in these lands. The most cultivated fruit include plum, apple, and berries. This year there was a bad harvest, and only a few rich families were able to meet their needs and store some seeds for the next year. Since there is no trade or craft other than agriculture, some peasants had to go to cities and work until spring to compensate the harvest failure. The village does not meet the hygiene standards; but people are generally healthy. The biggest problem in the village is the lack of a primary school; even the much smaller Yukarı Yanlar village has its own school.²⁴³

One year later Mehmet Tuğrul wrote a short monograph on the Kelevran village of Denizli. It is a very small village with 18 houses and 52 people who are all related. They are very clannish, and do not like outsiders settling in their village. All men in the village are literate; among the women only five can read and write. All families subsist on their own land, and they are well-to-do. They grow barley, wheat, corn, chickpea, cotton, and sesame in their fields, and various vegetables in their gardens. There is no grocery store in the village, thus people go to nearby villages for shopping. Despite the campaign and great efforts of the government, the village still remains plagued with malaria. Previously, a man with tuberculosis had travelled to Istanbul for treatment, but unfortunately he passed. Now there is another man with the disease, but he refuses to go to Istanbul fearing that he would share the same fate. The village does not have a school, and children go to the neighboring Dayılar village for education. The author concludes the article by sharing the lyrics of a folk song sung by the peasants.²⁴⁴

Lastly, Avni Altın reported on the Tarhala village of Soma on January 1, 1944. The author presents a sketch of the village, and discusses the history of the village and etymology of its name at some length. According to official reports, the village was a town center 150 years ago, but in time it shrunk into a village of the burgeoning Soma

²⁴³ Avni Çakır, "Köyden Köye: Aşağı Yanlar Köyü", in *Ülkü* January 16, 1942, p.15.

²⁴⁴ Mehmet Tuğrul, "Köyden Köye: Kelevran Köyü", in *Ülkü* February 16, 1943, p.8.

district. In the late 19th century the village consisted of 500 houses; but today remains only 130 houses and 600 inhabitants. The population might have declined because of the Great War, and the endogamic traditions of the peasants. The village contains historical ruins from the Roman, Byzantium, and Seljuk times.²⁴⁵ Being a mountainous village, the land in Tarhala is not appropriate for farming. Therefore, the primary economic activity is leather trade; there is one factory and eight tanneries. Moreover, nearly every family has a tannery loom, and they sell their products in nearby markets. Poor people, on the other hand, work in coal mines in Soma. The peasants are hardworking, and also very skillful in trade, and sell shoes, fruit, ice cream, and fabric in markets and fairs. Unlike several other Turkish villages, Tarhala is a wealthy village, and many village houses are better decorated than those in cities. Avni Altmer concludes the article by describing certain traditions and dances of the peasants.²⁴⁶

As we have seen, the village monographs presented above provided the government with copious amounts of information about the health condition, economic activities and wealth, level of education, habits, and beliefs etc. of peasants. Here, I would like to underline the ‘will to knowledge’ of the policy makers. By publishing the village survey and encouraging teachers, intellectuals, and literate people to send village monographs, the *Ülkü* circles sought to constitute a detailed knowledge of the Turkish population. With such a knowledge, which is a requirement of biopower, the government would be able to intervene in demographic phenomena such as births, deaths, and epidemics at a general level, and design and implement more accurate economic policies to increase the productivity of the population. In fact, the following articles represent examples of such policy designs.

The second sub-category contains 12 articles that focus on the issue of population as a whole, dealing with questions such as: ‘How to boost the Turkish population?’, and ‘How to improve its health?’ For example, in June 1933 Dr. Zeki Nasır penned a short introductory article in which he discusses these issues. He starts by underlining the importance of the issue of population for states: a large and healthy population is the key to power and wealth. As a result, states started to pay more attention to this issue, especially after the Great War. Nasır argues that in order to guarantee population

²⁴⁵ Avni Altmer, “Soma’nın Bir Esnaf Köyü: Tarhala”, in *Ülkü* January 1, 1944, pp.7-8.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.9.

growth a state must first take measures to decrease infant mortality rates. Nasır states that Turkish women living in cities have recently started to have fewer babies. Fortunately, majority of those babies survive thanks to higher living standards and childcare knowledge of mothers in urban areas.²⁴⁷ In rural areas, on the other hand, Turkish women usually have more babies; but the infant mortality rate remains higher in villages due to poverty, unhygienic conditions, and lack of proper childcare. Therefore, Nasır suggests, the material conditions in villages should be improved, and women need to be educated on proper methods of childcare.

In addition, Nasır argues that the state should also fight against those diseases such as malaria, pox, and tuberculosis, which affect not only the current generation, but also the future ones. The author notes that it is a well-known fact that in regions plagued with malaria population gradually declines. Malaria also leads to miscarriage, premature births, and loss of sexual desire. Fortunately, campaigns against malaria in Anatolia have started to produce positive results: in malaria-endemic regions birth rates have been rising, infant mortality decreases, and the population is growing again.²⁴⁸ The pox is another disease that had long played havoc with the Anatolian population; but its influence has been decreasing thanks to pox eradication campaigns. Yet, tuberculosis still continues to kill thousands of people around the world, and governments need to wage a two-front war against it by both taking protective measures against the disease and reducing poverty. The author concludes by reemphasizing the importance of the issue of the population for the young Turkish republic, and encourages policy makers to implement the necessary economic and healthcare policies.²⁴⁹ In my opinion, this article perfectly reflects the bio-political reasoning of the republican policy makers. Nasır underlines the importance of population growth for the state; identifies negative factors that hinders population growth in Turkey and offers various social policies to eradicate them. Here I should also note that his analysis and policy suggestions were rendered possible by a statistical knowledge of the population and its trends.

²⁴⁷ Zeki Nasır, “Nüfus İşinin Tetkiki”, in *Ülkü* June 1933, p.414.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.415.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.416.

In May 1934 Prof. Dr. Fahrettin Kerim published an article on the issue of eugenics. According to Kerim, eugenics is undoubtedly a crucial matter that the Turkish republic, which has achieved numerous progressive reforms, should consider. He makes an interesting analogy between plants, animals and people that reveals how the bio-political reason works: He argues that just as Turkey expends a great deal of money on animal breeding and improvement of seeds by employing foreign experts and establishing institutes, it should also invest in protecting and improving the hereditary characteristics of the Turkish nation, which constitutes the core capital of our country, because “Today, individual has become the most profitable resource for the state.”²⁵⁰ Then, the author discusses at some length the economic burden of containment and treatment of mentally disordered people on Western governments with several examples from European countries such France, Germany, and Switzerland. Accordingly, the French government annually spends 300 million francs on mentally disordered patients; similarly in 1911 Germany spent 33 million Deutsche marks. Whereas education of a normal student costs 120-130 marks a year, education of a mentally retarded child costs 250 marks. Based on these data Kerim argues that an increase in the number of mentally disordered people puts a great burden on normal people. Governments should, and do ban marriage and reproduction of mentally disordered people for the greater good; Kerim argues that in this way the good hereditary characteristics of the nation will be preserved, and there will not be an economic burden on governments.²⁵¹

Fahrettin Kerim also warns against diseases and bad habits that deteriorate hereditary characteristics of nations. According to scientific studies, there is a correlation between alcohol consumption and number of people with psychological disorders. Kerim states that one-third of epileptics, idiots, and stupid people have alcoholic parents. Among the descendants of alcoholic people the first generation is more likely to be immoral, whereas the second generation tends to become mentally disordered.²⁵² Syphilis also has harmful effects on the hereditary characteristics of future generations, and people with the disease should not be allowed to get married until they completely recover.

²⁵⁰ Fahrettin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde (Eugenique) Meselesinin Mahiyeti”, in *Ülkü* May 1934, p.206.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p.207.

²⁵² Ibid., p.208.

According to Galton, one of the prominent eugenicists, the only way to protect and improve a race is to limit the reproductive capacities of those with genetic flaws. Since it may lead to certain psychological traumas, castration is considered as an inhumane method by eugenicists. In its stead, vasectomy and tubal ligation were advised by the International Eugenics Congress as viable alternatives that can protect a race without limiting the ability of patients to have sexual relationships. Accordingly, in 1933 Hitler passed a legislation authorizing sterilization of patients with mental illnesses, dementia, imbecility, epilepsy, and people who were born blind. In addition, this policy is implemented in certain provinces and cantons of Switzerland, Canada, Denmark, and the United States.²⁵³

The author continues by discussing the harmful outcomes of miscegenation with various examples. He notes that biracial children of white and black people in America are known to have psychological problems. Similarly, miscegenation of French and black people has produced negative outcomes. Therefore, Kerim maintains that only intermingling of those races with similar hereditary characteristics would create positive results.²⁵⁴ He also makes some recommendations on marriage. Marriages should be based more on reason than romantic feelings; any marriage based entirely on romance or on materialism is doomed to failure. Women should get married young, stay at home and take care of their children. He concludes by reemphasizing the importance of eugenics for the Turkish population policy.²⁵⁵

In my opinion, this article presents an example of social engineering *par excellence*. It may be argued that it is rather an extreme and unusual case. After all, it was written under the strong influence of an ‘international eugenics movement’, and the rising tide of Fascism and Racism in the 1930s made it possible to discuss, and in some cases even implement such ideas. The idea of a pure, perfect, and superior race even led policy makers and scientists in this period to perform extreme and inhumane experiments on subjects. Nevertheless, this article is a perfect example of how far modern (state) power can possibly go while it governs a population; and this is Foucault’s main criticism of biopower: Even though its techniques are usually

²⁵³ Ibid., p.210.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.210-211.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., pp.211-212.

deployed by states to make a population healthier and more productive, they also give states an enormous and extremely dangerous power over their populations.

Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu wrote a short article on the issue of population in May 1942. In the beginning he emphasizes the significance of population for states. Strong and affluent countries have large populations; thus all states follow policies to grow their populations. The author points out that despite the long and successive wars, poverty, famines, and epidemics the Turkish nation has managed to survive. Today, however, it needs to grow faster than any other nation to compensate for the losses it suffered in the past. Fortunately, it has been growing consistently: In 1927 Turkey had a population of 13,648,270; and now it is 17,826,697.²⁵⁶ The author hopefully anticipates that Turkey's population will exceed 50 million in a relatively short time. According to the statistics of 1940 the birth rate in Turkey is 4%; but the death rate is 2.3%. This means that the Turkish population grows at an annual rate of 1.7%. Hatipoğlu states that Turkey can achieve a higher population growth rate by increasing birth rates and decreasing death rates.

Hatipoğlu notes that the easiest way to increase birth rate is to encourage marriageable people to get married as early as possible. Fortunately, Turkish people tend to marry their children as soon as they are marriageable; but it appears that some intellectuals in big cities either get married later or avoid marriage all together. The second way to increase the birth rate is to encourage people to have more children. Hatipoğlu argues that in order to achieve the goal of a 50 million population, every Turkish family must have at least six children. Those people who avoid having children for their own comfort and pleasure should be considered as traitors by the national morality.²⁵⁷ In addition, the state needs to take pre- and after-birth care measures to decrease infant mortality rate so that not even one drop of our nation's ability to reproduce will be wasted. Therefore, the state should build maternity hospitals all around the country to take care of both children and their mothers. The author ends the article by restating his hope that Turkey will soon become a more crowded country full of healthier, more robust, and happier children.²⁵⁸ As we can see, Hatipoğlu takes the issue of population

²⁵⁶ Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu, "Nüfus Davamızın Gerçekleri ve Meseleleri", in *Ülkü* May 1, 1942, p.2.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p.3.

quite seriously, and defines it as part of the national cause, to the extent that he considers those people who do not perform their duty traitors. In his article, one can see several traces of bio-political reasoning: Hatipoğlu aims to prevent all factors hindering population growth, and encourages people to have more children. He also urges the state to take the necessary measures so that not even ‘one drop of the nation’s capacity to reproduce’ would be wasted.

1945 was an important year in terms of the issue of population. The fourth nationwide census was conducted in October, and it created excitement and expectations among the *Ülkü* writers. Right before the census Tahsin Banguoğlu wrote an article in the *Ülkü* and expressed his expectations. First, Banguoğlu explains why the Turkish population declined in the last centuries. He argues that the consistent decline in the Turkish population had three causes: the despotism of the degenerate Sultanate regime, the ensuing internal conflicts and chaos, and successive wars. The despotism of Sultans oppressed people and condemned them to turmoil, poverty, and diseases. Similarly, continuous external attacks and warfare led to the massacre of too many people, and the empire lost huge territories with large populations. As a result, Banguoğlu notes, the Turkish republic inherited a weakened, scattered, and destitute population of 12 and half million, and a war-torn country. However, the author believes that the War of Independence did not only mark the end of calamities and suffering the Turkish nation had endured; it also marked the end of the long population decline in Turkey. The mission of the new republic was to secure the borders of the country, and render it and the people prosperous because in this age being a great nation requires a large and affluent population.²⁵⁹

Then Banguoğlu states that in the republican period policy makers have followed certain policies and taken the necessary measures to prevent another great population decline. They have avoided unnecessary foreign adventures like the Second World War, tried to prevent deaths from poverty and diseases, and taken measures to increase the reproduction rate. These policies include campaigns against tuberculosis, trachoma, pox, and malaria; and financial aid and tax reduction for families with many children. Moreover, Turkish policy makers learned valuable lessons from the mistakes

²⁵⁹ Tahsin Banguoğlu, “Çok Nüfuslu Türkiye”, in *Ülkü* October 16, 1945, p.1.

of European countries. The author argues that, unlike European countries, Turkey will not allow concentration of large numbers of people in certain urban areas. The Turkish peasantry, having sufficient land and being protected by the laws, will be healthy and wealthy; will have moral values, and thus will always maintain the high population growth rate that the country requires. On the other hand, Banguoğlu also argues that the developing Turkish industry will neither lead to social antagonisms nor moral decay because Turkey has protected its working class since its birth. Therefore, increasing industrialization will not hinder the population growth in Turkey. Having fortunately avoided the destruction of the WWII, and taken the necessary measures, Banguoğlu concludes, the Turkish population will continue to grow and prosper.²⁶⁰ As other authors, Banguoğlu emphasizes the importance of having a large population for Turkey, and summarizes the policies that the government implemented for population growth.

The census results were quite encouraging: the Turkish population increased by 1,050,253 and reached a total of 18,871,202.²⁶¹ After the census Banguoğlu penned a short analysis of the results. He notes that the population was expected to exceed 19 million; but due to the effects of the WWII, it did not. Even though Turkey managed to stay out of the war, it still had negative effects on the population growth rate of Turkey. First, Turkey had to keep nearly one million young men under arms in reserve in the event that Turkey might have to enter the war. This, in return, slowed down the population growth for five years. Second, the economic conditions in Turkey deteriorated due to the war, and it also negatively affected the population growth. Nevertheless, according to the statistics, the number of metropolises and medium sized cities in Turkey doubled: Now, there are four metropolises and six medium sized cities. In his conclusion, Banguoğlu states that the census results are quite encouraging because in a period when tens of millions of people died in the war Turkey managed to grow by one million. After all, Turkey could have easily lost 3-5 million people in the WWII.²⁶² In this article, we see that Banguoğlu and other republican policy makers effectively took advantage of censuses and other statistical data, which are crucial

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p.2.

²⁶¹ Tahsin Banguoğlu, “1945 Nüfus Sayımından İlk Rakamlar”, in *Ülkü* November 1, 1945, p.11.

²⁶² Ibid.

instruments of biopower, to measure the population growth and other trends, and they used this knowledge to design future social policies.

Zeki Nasır, a recurrent author on these matters, published an article about public health in the first issue of the *Ülkü* in February 1933. In the beginning, he notes that health of an individual, a family, and a nation are all interrelated. A country's state of health relies on a variety of factors: the life expectancy, the physical strength of the people, their reproduction ability, constant improvement of their bodies and souls towards perfection, and their protection against epidemics and endemics. Nasır argues that the state of health in a country can only be promoted through improvement of sanitation and hygiene, and it requires a lot of effort and time. Therefore, it behooves the state, through laws and regulations, to protect the health of individuals and the society as a whole. State of health also depends on the economic conditions in a country. A poor nation is less likely to have a healthy population. The author makes a comparison between European countries and India. Whereas the life expectancy in European countries is 55-57 years, it is only 23 in India. This is an indication of the underdevelopment of the economy and healthcare system of India compared to European countries.²⁶³

Health education plays a crucial role in protection and promotion of health, and Nasır notes that it starts with the family. Until children reach school age they should be educated by their parents about hygiene. When they start school they will learn from their teachers. Another factor affecting health of people is criteria for marriage. Nasır argues that men and women, who will get married, should not have any diseases such as pox, tuberculosis, or malaria. Otherwise, their children will be unhealthy and weak, if they can survive the first year. Parents are responsible for the health of their children. They should take measures to protect children from smallpox, diphtheria, measles, and brain fever. Children should also be protected against bad habits such as alcohol and drugs. The energy of the youth should be channelized into sports activities which will make them healthier and keep them away from bad habits and criminal activities.²⁶⁴ In this article, Nasır emphasizes the role of the state in promoting health in a country, and aims to promote health education. Also, he urges parents to protect their children

²⁶³ Zeki Nasır, "Halk Sıhhati", in *Ülkü* February 1933, p.70.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.71-72.

against bad habits, and channel their energy into sports activities. He calls for cooperation between parents and state institutions to educate the youth about hygiene. In other words, Nasır wishes to make parents and the institution of family an integral part of the state's healthcare policy. In my opinion, all the measures that Nasır recommends reflect the bio-political reasoning that was inherent in the mindset of republican policy makers.

In another related article called “Sihhat ve İktisat”, Zeki Nasır underlines the close relationship between a healthy population and a strong economy. He notes that today all states focus on population-welfare politics (nüfus-servet siyaseti). The primary basis of the population welfare politics is health. Nasır argues that only those countries with healthy and strong populations can reap the benefits of economic development and wealth. A person with a weak body or a mental illness *cannot be a source of wealth to his/her country*. (Emphasis added) On the contrary, such persons would be a burden for they would reduce the welfare of their families and the society. For example, epidemics and other infectious diseases kill young people, and thus causes enormous levels of economic damage. Moreover, much simpler diseases such as common cold causes more economic damage than one expects. Millions of people around the world cannot go to work, or work properly because of this simple disease. It is reported that the economic losses due to this sickness amount to half a billion dollars in the United States.²⁶⁵ In this article we can clearly see how bio-political reason operates. The bio-political reason aims to decrease death rates and prevent epidemics which reduce the strength of a population, shorten the working week, and waste energy. In this respect, we see that Nasır shows interest in the health of the Turkish population in terms of its economic consequences, and he considers death of young people from the point of economic losses that such deaths inflict on the economy.

In November 1947 Hamdi Dilevurgun wrote an article in which he summarizes the Turkish healthcare policy since the establishment of the republic. He begins by noting that in today's world healthcare services constitute an integral part of social policy agenda of states. Establishment of Ministries of Health around the world is a clear indication of this trend. The concept of ‘public health’ (halk sağlığı) is at the core of

²⁶⁵ Zeki Nasır, “Sihhat ve İktisat”, in *Ülkü* December 1933, p.418.

these developments. Dilevurgun notes that traditionally medicine only dealt with treatment of individual patients who were in pain; it did not include society as a whole. Today, thanks to the concept of public health, healthcare policies have three goals: 1) Eradication of harmful environmental factors and maintenance of hygiene, 2) Establishment of a nationwide healthcare organization and treatment of patients as soon as possible, and 3) Establishment of a social security system to protect citizens against diseases, accidents, and other risks.²⁶⁶

Then, the author makes a comparison between the Ottoman period and the republican period in terms of healthcare system. He notes that in the late Ottoman period there were various efforts to establish a nationwide modern healthcare system; but due to lack of financial resources and lack of sufficient numbers of trained personnel, the limited number of medical schools to train them, and the destructive effects of long wars, these efforts could not fully produce the desired outcomes. From 1925 onwards, the republican governments have taken important steps. In 1925, a nationwide campaign against malaria was launched. Now patients with malaria are treated in public hospitals free of charge. A research institute for malaria was established in Adana, and now doctors are required to do a malaria internship during education. Today, 229 doctors and 1150 health officers who specialize in malaria treatment serve in 40 anti-malaria campaign zones consisting of 53 cities, 229 towns, and 13317 villages. Similar campaigns were launched against diseases like pox and trachoma.²⁶⁷

Dilevurgun notes that as of 1947, there are 112 public hospitals and maternity hospitals with a total capacity of 12,310 beds. 40 % of the 5000 doctors in Turkey work in public hospitals. Following the first 10-years healthcare plan of 1946, policy makers intend to establish hospitals and dispensaries around the country, send doctors and nurses to villages. More specifically, they will establish 10-beds dispensaries for every 40 villages, and 500-beds hospitals in the seven geographical regions of Turkey. They will also create a social security system that will cover working men and women, and their families. In addition, the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance publishes brochures, posters, books, and booklets to inform citizens about healthcare.²⁶⁸ Again,

²⁶⁶ Hamdi Dilevurgun, "Sağlık İşlerimiz", in *Ülkü* November 1947, p.5.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.8.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.9.

in this article we see that the government took the issue of population quite seriously, and invested in construction of hospitals and medical schools. The campaigns against epidemics, and health education campaigns, along with the other measures, present examples of the bio-political policies of the government to render the Turkish population larger and healthier.

Two years later Ali Süha Delilbaşı wrote a similar article about the healthcare policies in the republican period. He states that in today's understanding healthcare, is not only about saving lives. The point is to protect healthy people against diseases, *not to leave armies without soldiers, farms without farmers, and factories without workers.* (Emphasis added) Delilbaşı writes: "Despite the increasing industrialization of warfare and economy, the WWII made it clear that the most crucial factor has been, and will always be manpower and human intellect. *In order for these bodies to fight, these arms to work, and these brains to create; and in order to maximize the efficiency of human energies people must be healthy and strong.*"²⁶⁹ (Emphasis added) Therefore, Delilbaşı defines the target of the Ministry of Health as follows: Minimization, and if possible prevention of work time losses by protecting healthy people against diseases, healing sick people so that they can go back to work as soon as possible, and decreasing death rates.

In line with these goals, the first thing the Ministry of Health did after its establishment was to build hospitals in Ankara, Sivas, Diyarbakır, and Erzurum. Then, it launched campaigns against malaria, pox, and trachoma. Delilbaşı notes that since then the mission of the ministry can be summarized in two words: expansion and specialization. On the one hand, the ministry seeks to build more hospitals and establish a nationwide healthcare system. On the other hand, it aims to specialize and adopt the new healthcare technologies. For example, the Refik Saydam Hygiene Institute has been studying vaccinology, and thanks to its efforts Turkey now can produce her own vaccines. The author concludes the article by stating that there is much more work to do, and encourages the state and healthcare personnel to work harder.²⁷⁰ In my opinion, this article perfectly presents the bio-political reasoning of the republican policy makers and intellectuals: Bodies need to fight, arms need to work, and brains need to

²⁶⁹ Ali Süha Delilbaşı, "Cumhuriyet Devrinde Sağlık İdaresi", in *Ülkü* November 1949, p.6.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.7.

create; work time losses need to be minimized, and efficiency of human energies must be maximized. In order to achieve these goals, they designed and implemented various social policies, and created new institutions.

Lastly, there are a few more articles that I would like to briefly mention. These articles are of a more technical nature, and focus on specific diseases. The primary goal of such articles is to inform people about infectious diseases, and teach them how to protect themselves from such diseases. Therefore, I will just mention some examples without going into much detail. For example, in March 1935 Hamid Osman wrote an article on diphtheria. In the article, he explains how the disease spreads, its symptoms, and how to fight against it.²⁷¹ Similarly, Hamdi Dilevurgun wrote several articles on various diseases. In February 1947, he focused on tuberculosis which was the primary cause of death for people between the ages 15 and 35. He discusses the recent scientific developments in tuberculosis treatment in some detail, and then notes that patients with the disease should be quarantined, and rest in a place with fresh air and sunlight, and eat well.²⁷² In November 1947 Dilevurgun also wrote about cholera: how it spreads and factors that facilitate its development, its symptoms, rates of date and recovery, and the preventive measures.²⁷³ Finally, in January 1948 he wrote a lengthy article about some common winter diseases such as cold, flu, quinsy, laryngitis, bronchitis, pneumonia, and bronchopneumonia. He explains, one by one, how these diseases emerge and spread; preventive measures, and their treatment.²⁷⁴ With such articles, the authors aimed to promote health education among ordinary people.

Taken together, all the articles above give important clues to the ideas and intentions of republican intellectuals and policy makers about the Turkish population. One can see several similarities and parallels between their ideas and the bio-political reason, which has the population, with its various characteristics, trends, and regularities, as its target. First, we see that the republican policy makers sought to produce a detailed knowledge of the Turkish population through censuses, surveys, village monographs, and other statistical data. The village monographs collected information about the

²⁷¹ Hamid Osman, "Kuşpalazı-Difteri: Difterinin Halk Sıhhati için Ehemmiyeti ve Difteri ile Savaş", in *Ülkü* March 1935, pp.47-50.

²⁷² Hamdi Dilevurgun, "Veremle Savaş", in *Ülkü* February 1947, pp.17-19.

²⁷³ Hamdi Dilevurgun, "Koleradan Nasıl Korunmalı?", in *Ülkü* November 1947, pp.25-27.

²⁷⁴ Hamdi Dilevurgun, "Bazı Kış Hastalıkları", in *Ülkü* January 1948, pp.18-21.

village population, their conditions, economic activities (crops they produce, their annual production, and number of animals), life styles, habits, and culture etc. Such a knowledge of a population is a prerequisite of the modern statecraft, and various government policies rely on it as it enables policy makers to deal with the population at a more general level, and design policies to intervene in collective phenomena such as births, deaths, and epidemics.

Second, as we have seen, all authors emphasize the importance of having a large and healthy population for states; hence they encourage Turkish people to have more children, and they seek to decrease mortality rates by eradicating all harmful environmental and social factors that damage the health of the population. Admittedly, their concern for, and emphasis on population growth was, to a certain degree, related to the existential threat they felt during and in the aftermath of the WWI and the War of Independence. The continuous population decline and successive wars in the late Ottoman period, and later the imminent danger of the WWII triggered such an existential threat among the founders of the republic. Nevertheless, I argue that the willingness of the republican policy makers to grow the Turkish population, and to render it healthier and more productive cannot be explained solely by this fear of extinction. Because, as we have seen, many authors considered population growth as a prerequisite for increasing the state's economic capacities and military power; and they defined the well-being and productivity of the population as an end in itself. Therefore, the authors also sought to render the population healthier and more productive with various healthcare and social policies. For example, Zeki Nasır makes policy recommendations to the government on how to decrease infant mortality, and eradicate epidemics. In addition, he points out that even common diseases cause huge economic losses by reducing productivity of people. Likewise, Ali Süha Delilbaş defines the target of the ministry of health as minimization of work time losses so that armies will not be left without soldiers, farms without farmers, and factories without workers. Consequently, all these articles indicate that policy makers and intellectual in the early republican period sought increasing control of the biological by the state; and that bio-political reason was an integral part of their mindset.

4.4. Economic Productivity

In this part I am going to examine 16 articles from the *Ülkü* about the Turkish political economy. Having secured political independence in 1923, economic development was a priority for the republican elite. As their many counterparts in other newly established modern nation states, they wished to create a strong and self-sufficient modern national economy. Economic development was essential because it would serve both their ideals of modernization and westernization, and their more immediate political interests by increasing the legitimacy of the regime in the eyes of ordinary people. For these reasons, they designed and implemented economic policies to industrialize and modernize the Turkish economy. In the following articles the authors examine and discuss various problems in the Turkish economy, and share their own designs for economic development. The topics and issues authors discuss in the articles include a debate on industrialization vs. agricultural economy, integration of the countryside into the national economy, the role of the state in the economy and especially in industrialization; specialization and efficiency, vocational training, land reform, regulation of work environment and conditions, and social policies to protect workers and their families against accidents and diseases. I shall argue that the articles directly relate to the first dimension of governmentality which refers to policies, regulations, and institutions of government aimed to increase the economic productivity of a population. As we have seen, in the previous part authors were more concerned with biological well-being and growth of the population. The articles in this section, on the other hand, focus more on economic modernization and industrialization, as well as increasing the economic productivity and efficiency of the Turkish population.

To begin with, Nusret Kemal Köymen wrote an article about a plan he designed to improve the distribution network of the Turkish economy in May 1933. According to Köymen, the two great economic systems, namely liberalism and communism, are both flawed for different reasons. In liberalism too much competition leads to waste of huge amounts of money on advertisement, and thus prices go up; banks try to exploit consumers even more to be able to compensate costs of advertisement, and eventually there will be no economic stability. In communism, on the other hand, due to lack of profit motive officers will be indifferent, bureaucratic processes will slow down the

delivery of goods; and it will lead to loss of time, and products will either be delivered to wrong locations, or they will get spoiled.²⁷⁵

Köymen argues that the best alternative to these two flawed economic systems seems to be the retail store chains in the USA. According to Köymen, this system significantly reduces costs and facilitates delivery of goods. Thus, it can reduce prices of basic consumer goods, and create a well-functioning distribution network. The author suggests that Turkey should modify and adopt this system. Köymen admits that among the 40,000 Turkish villages perhaps 39,000 of them do not have any markets or grocery stores. Therefore, he asks: “Can we not at least built a small closet which contains some salt, sugar, olive oil, gas oil, matches, fabric, socks, shoes, paper, and envelopes in every village?”²⁷⁶ He calls these mini stores ‘public stores’ (halk dükkanları), and believes that these stores will bring several benefits to the Turkish economy and society.

First, the public stores will facilitate integration of the isolated villages into the national economy. Second, they will create a domestic market and increase the demand for those products. Third, thanks to these stores people will be able to easily access to those products which are currently difficult to obtain in villages. In other words, Kemal argues that the public stores will establish a strong link between production and consumption. Fourth, these stores will also bring civilization to villages, and enable the state to educate people and teach them the ways of modern life: Peasants will abandon their traditional frugal economic life styles, and start consuming those products which are prerequisite of a modern lifestyle. The author notes that public stores can also be a source of revenue for the state through taxation, and they can also provide the state with accurate and reliable statistical data on the national economy and consumption. With such data the state can design a good industrialization policy in line with the needs and demands of the Turkish economy, and gain a greater fiscal control.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ Nusret Kemal, “Halk Dükkanları”, in *Ülkü* May 1933, p.268-269.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p.271.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p.271.

Köymen also argues that public stores can buy products of peasants, and protect them against the tyranny of middlemen who buy their products at much lower prices. The stores will also rescue small industries, such as shoemaking and pottery, from bankruptcy and stimulate their growth. Moreover, the stores can also be instrumental for political education: Newspapers, posters, gramophones and radios can be placed in the public stores to educate peasants about the principles of the regime. The stores should be located at a central place, if possible next to the coffee shops, so that it will be possible to organize conferences and speeches for the peasants. Finally, Köymen concludes that, thanks to all those benefits, the public stores will break down the prejudices of peasants towards the state, the party, cities, and intellectuals as they will begin to appreciate the services provided by the regime.²⁷⁸ As I discussed in the third chapter, governmentality takes a population into account with respect to its relation to natural resources, and aims to increase its economic productivity. In this article, Köymen, being well aware of the disconnectedness of the countryside from the national economy, aims to integrate peasants into the economy by creating a new distribution network. In this way, Kemal hopes to hit several birds with one stone. First, he aims to increase economic production in Turkey by creating new markets through public stores. Second, he believes that peasants will change their consumption habits, and their demand for new products will grow. He also believes that the public stores will bring civilization to the countryside. In other words, Köymen designs his public stores project as an instrument of economic development, and political and cultural education of Anatolian peasants.

In July 1933, Muhlis Ethem wrote about economic organization and business management. The author begins the article by emphasizing the importance of organization in modern economies. He states that in order for businesses to work properly, and for the effective functioning and expansion of economic, administrative, and even cultural institutions, they must operate in a rational and uninterrupted manner. Unfortunately, Ethem notes, economic institutions in Turkey do not operate with maximum efficiency, and they are often at loss in terms of money, labor, and energy. Due to lack of proper economic organization and expertise, Turkish economic productivity does not rise to the desired levels. There are not sufficient numbers of

²⁷⁸ Ibid., pp.272-273.

business administrators, with the necessary expertise and skills, who can organize and run businesses on rational principles to increase efficiency, productivity, and profit maximization.²⁷⁹

Therefore, Ethem argues that Turkey should pay special attention to business administration education. He defines business administration as a scientific method used to rationally run economic enterprises and cultural organizations with minimum cost and energy, and to reach their goals as soon as possible. It deals with questions such as how much demand there is for a certain product in domestic and foreign markets; how many workers, equipment, and capital the business requires; where and when to establish the business; how, when, from where, and in what ways workforce, equipment, raw materials, and capital should be provided; and it establishes the most efficient and rational business organization possible.²⁸⁰ Division of labor, cooperation, and specialization play a crucial role in efficiency of an economic organization. Ethem points out that so many people in Turkey make great efforts and spend a lot of energy for production; but due to lack of proper organization these energies and resources (equipment, labor, and money) are wasted. Thus, he concludes that Turkey should pay special attention to reforming the education system of business administration, and train business administrators in schools.²⁸¹ In this article, Ethem seeks to increase the efficiency of the Turkish economy by minimizing loss of energies and resources through specialization, cooperation, and division of labor. In other words, he deploys business administration as a method of increasing the efficiency and productivity of the Turkish industries and labor force.

Dr. Salahattin penned an article about the current state of animal husbandry in Turkey in July 1934. In the beginning he notes that the question of animal husbandry is of particular importance for Turkey for the following reasons: First of all, 64 per cent of the lands in Turkey is available to be used as pasture; but only 4.8 percent of the lands are used for agriculture. This indicates the economic potential of animal husbandry in Turkey compared to agriculture. Second, the Turkish peasantry usually make a loss from agriculture, and their agricultural activities alone are not sufficient for a living. It

²⁷⁹ Muhlis Ethem, "İktisadi Teşkilatlanma, İşletme İktisadı", in *Ülkü* July 1933, p.432.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p.433.

²⁸¹ Ibid., p.435.

is only through animal husbandry that they can make some money. Third, the author notes that export of animal products annually brings 20-30 million liras into Turkey, and he shares one table of the number of animals in Turkey, and another table of the revenue animal products annually generate.²⁸² Fourth, Dr. Salahattin argues that traditionally animal husbandry has been the only economic activity that has protected Anatolian villages against food shortages and starvation. In fact, if a peasant loses his animals he loses his most important means of production and subsistence; and he is doomed. Peasants are able to obtain financial means to pay their taxes and for other expenses only by selling animal products. Moreover, animals also play a crucial role in national defense. In sum, animal husbandry complements agriculture, has various economic benefits, and importance for national defense. Therefore, the author writes: “One of the primary national duties is to increase national wealth by rendering the grass, which grows on the huge Anatolian pastures, economically more valuable; by turning it into animals, wool, milk, and meat that have much more economic value.”²⁸³

Dr. Salahattin argues that industrialization and animal husbandry in fact go hand in hand. Industrialization creates a domestic market/demand for animal products. Growing cities and populations need to be supplied with meat, milk, eggs, oil etc. Also, the leather trade industry supports animal husbandry. Republican governments have done a lot to promote animal husbandry in Turkey; but the author admits that this is a long-term and difficult task: It is a matter of culture and knowledge. Most peasants in Turkey still use primitive techniques and methods for animal husbandry. In order to improve animal husbandry, Salahattin argues, the village question should be resolved. The state should establish huge animal farms to both increase production, and to educate peasants about the modern methods of animal husbandry. Luckily, this huge project of promoting animal husbandry does not require, unlike industrialization, import of expensive machinery or employment of highly-paid engineers. The author concludes the article by anticipating a bright future for animal husbandry in Turkey: “Once the importance of animal husbandry is fully grasped, and modern/rational methods are adopted, Turkish animal husbandry will thrive.”²⁸⁴ In this article, we see that Dr. Salahattin, in line with governmentality, takes the peasantry into account in

²⁸² Dr. Salahattin, “Türkiye’de Hayvancılık”, in *Ülkü* July 1934, p.369.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.370.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.371.

their relation to wealth, animals, and natural resources such as grass; and aims to increase the productivity of the peasantry by educating them about modern methods of agriculture.

In April 1935 an anonymous article was published on the Turkish industrialization process. The author argues that it is possible to divide the industrialization process in Turkey into two periods: The period of liberalism, and the period of planned economy. Then, the article provides a general overview of the Turkish industrialization policy and plans for future. It also summarizes the annual production of various industries. According to the statistical data, between 1928 and 1933 the cotton industry grew 30 percent; the wool industry 31 percent, the silk industry 49 percent; the cement industry 70 percent, the leather trade industry 8 percent; and the sugar industry 19 percent. 60 percent of all factories in Turkey are located in Istanbul, Bursa, Izmir, and Balikesir.²⁸⁵

The author notes that despite these growth rates, the pace of industrialization is still rather slow because the private capital in Turkey remains too weak. The weakness of the private capital on the one hand, and the desire to establish a strong national industry as soon as possible on the other, led the state to directly intervene in the industrialization issue. According to the first five-year industrialization program of 1934, the state decided to invest in industries the raw material of which is already produced or available in Turkey. These industries include: textile, mining, cellulose, ceramic, and chemistry. Following the five-year plan, five cotton and textile factories are being established at the moment, and these factories will produce the 80 percent of Turkey's textile needs. Similarly, more factories for other industries are in the process of establishment. In conclusion the author is hopeful that these steps will make Turkey the leading industrial nation of the Middle East.²⁸⁶

Another anonymous article about industrialization was published in February 1936. The author notes that for centuries Turkey had been neglected, poor, and backward. Until the War of Independence the country had been a semi-colony, and socially dormant. The great leader did not only win the war, but he also liberated Turkey from capitulations. Unfortunately, the author states, those who undertook the mission of

²⁸⁵ Anonymous, "Türkiye'nin Sanayileşme İş'i", in *Ülkü* April 1935, p.89.

²⁸⁶Ibid., pp.90-92.

rebuilding Turkey in its darkest hour, additionally had to fight against the effects of the Great Depression. In the face of these difficulties policy makers took some important measures. The first step was to raise tariffs, and preservation of the value of lira. The anonymous author argues that in an industrially and agriculturally underdeveloped country like Turkey, free trade would lead to destruction of the national economy. Second, it was also evident that in such a country economic development could not be achieved by the efforts of individual entrepreneurs alone. Therefore, the state decided to take responsibility and invest in certain sectors which could not be afforded by the weak private capital. Third, since a random industrialization uncoordinated with agricultural development would be harmful to the economy, the state created a planned and coordinated development program.²⁸⁷

The author challenges the argument that industrialization of Turkey will negatively affect the 75 percent of the population whose primary economic activity is agriculture. Then, he lists the benefits of industrialization for the agricultural sectors. First, opening of new factories will support production of certain agricultural products, such as cotton, and generate more income for their producers. Second, some agricultural products which are currently not produced in Turkey due to lack of domestic demand and an inability to import them, will be produced in Turkey and consumed as raw material for new industries. In this way, the author argues, more people will find employment in agricultural sectors with higher pays. Third, factories will also bring civilization to the locality they were built in. With new factories in their regions people will start to develop economically and culturally, and their life standards will rise. Fourth, those people, who currently cannot find employment in agricultural sectors due to overproduction and protectionist policies of other countries, will have employment opportunities in the new industrial sectors. Fifth, the author has observed an enthusiasm and sympathy among ordinary people for industrialization. In locations where new factories were built people seem happy and optimistic; and they think well of the regime and revolutions. The author concludes that for all these reasons industrialization will be highly beneficial to Turkey.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Anonymous, "Türkiye'nin Endüstrileşme Davası", in *Ülkü* Februray 1936, pp.417-418.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.419-420.

In March 1936 Nusret Köymen wrote another article in which he contributed to the debate about the path Turkish industrialization should follow, and shared his reflections on the issue. By 1936 the first five-year industrialization plan was successfully carried out. At that moment the second one was being formulated, and there were discussions about its direction. The main question was whether Turkey should focus on agriculture or industrialization. Köymen analyzes this issue, and argues that Turkey should establish, rather than a sharp contrast between cities and countryside or agriculture and industry, a decentralized industry in villages across the country. In this way, he maintains, Turkey will be able to bypass economic, social, and other problems that industrialization and urbanization have created in European countries. The author believes that a sharp division between industrial cities and agricultural villages would be harmful to Turkey.²⁸⁹

Nusret Kemal Köymen supports his proposition with the case studies of the USA and Japan. The first village factories were established in the USA. Especially, after the Great Depression this idea gained momentum with the guidance of Henry Ford. Similarly, Japanese peasants both engage in agriculture and work in factories because agricultural lands alone cannot support a family. In the USA the population of large cities have declined by 11 percent between 1919 and 1925. Likewise, in the period between 1924 and 1930 the number of village factories increased by 10 percent. Most of these factories use raw materials, such as cotton, wood, and leather, produced in nearby villages. These factories help a great deal to the economic development of villages as they pay peasants regular salaries during seasons in which there is no agricultural production. Moreover, Köymen argues that with these factories villages will be integrated into modern life: Radios, books, magazines, phones, higher salaries, more and better products, cheaper electricity, better roads and hospital buildings, and a better healthcare system. Peasants will be able to access all these technological advantages of modern life, and their life standards will rise.²⁹⁰

Then, Köymen represents a guideline for establishment of village factories. First, the state should avoid creating a division and antagonism between cities and villages, or industry and agriculture. Second, Turkey should not follow the ‘big factory’ trend

²⁸⁹ Nusret Kemal, “Sanayileşmemiz Üzerinde Düşünceler”, in *Ülkü* March 1936, pp.16-17.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.18.

which is also fading away in its motherland the USA. Third, factories should be established in regions rich with the necessary raw materials and peasant labor force, or in unpopulated regions which contain the raw materials. In such unpopulated regions the state can establish model villages and bring peasants from other regions to settle down. Fourth, all villages in Turkey should be examined in terms of industrial feasibility. Fifth, village crafts like carpet business, carpentry, and pottery should be reorganized and modernized. Sixth, consumption cooperatives and chain stores should be established to regulate distribution of goods. Seventh, the state should build roads and establish electricity infrastructure in the designated industrial regions. Eighth, the state should supply factories with fuel oil. Ninth, the state should search for alternative agricultural products, such as paper made of cornstalk and furfural, which might be produced more cheaply. And finally, village workers should be shareholders of the factories, even if with small shares, so that they will not become proletariats and their personal interest and fate will be directly tied to those of the factories.²⁹¹

Later Köymen lists the possible benefits of the village factories for Turkey if established. First of all; land, raw materials, labor force, and energy will be much cheaper. Second, harmful events like strikes, fires, robbery, and diseases will be less likely to occur in villages. Third, those decentralized factories will naturally be more secure against air bombardments during wars. Fourth, their maintenance costs will be much lower when the factories remain inactive. Fifth, the factories will not need so many permanent workers; but when there emerges a need for extra labor force it will be easier to find them. Sixth, there will be a natural local market for the products factories produce, and peasants will be able to access those goods at cheaper prices without any intermediaries. Lastly, during economic crises workers will be able to, unlike cities, survive without payments by cultivating their lands, and thus they will not have to leave factory regions. In his conclusion, Köymen states his belief that thanks to this model, which is based on the peasantist views of the Turkish republic, Turkey will not repeat the mistakes Western countries made, and this system will be a model for the whole world.²⁹² In my opinion, along with his ‘public stores’ project, Nusret Kemal’s plan for village factories indicates his willingness to integrate peasants into the national economy, and to increase their economic production. By establishing

²⁹¹ Ibid., pp.21-22.

²⁹² Ibid., p.22.

factories in villages he aims to reduce labor costs, and utilize peasants' spare time during winter for industrial production.

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the foundation of the republic Kemal Ünal penned a detailed report on the Turkish economic development in fifteen years. The statistical data in the article indicate that the state took numerous measures to increase economic production in Turkey. The article analyzes the economy sector by sector: Trade, mining, industry, finance, agriculture. Starting with trade, Ünal notes that from 1924 to 1929 Turkey had a negative balance of trade. From 1930 onwards exports have exceeded imports, and national wealth no longer leaves Turkey. The sum total capital of national companies, excluding banks and cooperatives, has increased from 61 million liras to 148 million liras in 15 years. Before 1923 there were only 11 banks with a total capital of 46, 6 million liras. Since then, 32 new banks have been established, and their total capital amounts to 284 million liras.²⁹³

Ünal notes that the state also nationalized the mines owned by foreign companies, and repaired and modernized the already existing, both active and inactive, ones. As a result, Turkey finally started to extract its own copper and other important minerals. From 1923 to 1937 the coal production increased from 597 thousand tons to 2.3 million tons. Similarly, chrome production increased from 3405 tons to 192 thousand tons. The Institute of Mineral Search and Exploration continues to search for oil fields in Turkey. As for industry, the author makes a comparison between the Ottoman period and the republican period. In 1915 there were 264 industrial enterprises, 14,060 workers, and an annual production worth of 7,570,000 liras. As of 1938, there are 1394 enterprises, 100,598 workers, and annual production worth of 285,008,000 liras. In addition to encouraging and subsidizing private enterprises, the state also invests in sectors which the weak private capital cannot afford, or sectors that are crucial for national defense. Following the fourth five-year industrialization program, the state is going to establish more factories around Turkey: A coal dock in the Black Sea region, another dock in Trabzon, the Sirkeci-Haydarpaşa ferryboat, powerhouses in Zonguldak and Kütahya, and several others.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Kemal Ünal, "Cumhuriyetin Onbeş Yılında Ekonomi", in *Ülkü* November 1938, p.218.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.219-220.

With respect to finance, Ünal states that the budget during the 15 years have been well-balanced. In 1924 the state had a budget of 140 million liras, which gradually increased to 229 million in 1929. The Great Depression damaged the budget; but from 1933 onwards it started to increase again: In 1936 it was 212 million, 230 in 1937, and 250 million in 1938. In the republican period the share of industry, agriculture, and public works in the budget has been much greater compared to earlier periods. In the 15 years the state allocated 485 million liras: 369 million for railroads, 23 million for banks as capital, 38 million for industrialization, 11.5 for marine works, and 38.5 for the formation of monopolies.²⁹⁵ Speaking of railroads, when the republic was established, Ünal writes, the 4087 kilometers long railroads in Turkey were owned by foreign companies. Over the years the majority of these railroads have been nationalized. At the same time, the state has built new railroads: In the first ten years the Ankara-Kayseri-Sivas-Samsun, Kütahya-Balıkesir, Ulukışla-Bogazkopru, Irmak-Çankırı, and Fevzipaşa-Diyarbakır railroads, 2012 kilometers long in total, were built. In the last 5 years the state built the Malatya-Diyarbakır, Çankırı-Filyos- Zonguldak, Afyon-Karakuyu, Sivas-Malatya, and Çetinkaya-Erzincan railroads which are 1963 kilometers long in total. In sum, the state now controls and operates railroads longer than 6700 kilometers. Similarly, the state placed emphasis on the roads in Turkey. In 1923 the roads consisted of 21000 kilometers. In the fifteen years it increased to 39000 kilometers. In addition, 7000 kilometers long broken roads were repaired, and 84 bridges were built around the country.²⁹⁶

Lastly, Ünal notes that since the majority of the Turkish population are farmers, agriculture is the largest and most important sector of the economy. Being well aware of this fact, the state took the necessary measures to improve this sector. First, the tithe tax was annulled, and peasants were set free from this cruel medieval tax. Second, the state provided peasants with land, credit, and agricultural equipment to increase their productivity and economic power. The state also established higher institutions of education for scientific study of agriculture. In addition, other schools in Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, and Adana were established to educate technical personnel who will apply modern agricultural methods. In order to improve the quality of seeds, the state built seed improvement stations in Ankara, Adapazarı, Yeşilköy, Eskişehir, Kayseri,

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p.221.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., pp.221-222.

and Erzurum. As a result, now these stations annually allocate two million kilograms of seeds to peasants. Thanks to seed improvement, the production of wheat increased to the extent that Turkey can now export it. Likewise, the state pays special attention to improvement of animal husbandry. Stables were founded in Karacabey, Çifteler, Sultansuyu, and Çukurova to improve the horse and bull races in Turkey. Similarly, the state established sheep breeding centers so that Turkey can produce its own merino wool. The state also launched a campaign against animal diseases. Various animal plagues had killed 27,541 animals around Turkey and caused a huge economic loss of 1,377,050 liras. The majority of these diseases were eradicated by 1932, and thus only 166 animals were killed by diseases in that year.²⁹⁷

On November 1st 1941 İsmet İnönü delivered a speech on the opening session of the Grand National Assembly. In his speech İnönü, among many other topics, also touched upon the economic issues in Turkey. On this occasion, several writers penned short opinion pieces, based on İnönü's speech, about specific sectors and issues in the Turkish economy. Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu wrote about agriculture and the land issue in Turkey. In his first article he emphasizes the importance of increasing and diversifying agricultural production.²⁹⁸ In the second article he notes that because of the population increase and division of property through inheritance, so many peasants do not own any land. Therefore, land reform, as İnönü pointed out in his speech, remains one of the primary goals of the government. Hatipoğlu also suggests that the state should provide peasants with modern agricultural equipment. Thanks to the land reform and modern equipment, agricultural lands will not remain uncultivated; and previously landless peasants will be integrated into the national economy and increase economic production.²⁹⁹

In the same issue of the *Ülkü Samet* Ağaoğlu wrote a short article called 'Köylü ve Tezgah'. He argues that equipping peasants with looms will have several benefits for economy and national defense. Once provided with looms, peasants will be able to produce goods during seasons, such as winter, in which there is no agricultural production. Second, Ağaoğlu writes, large factories will be easy targets for enemy

²⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.224-228.

²⁹⁸ Dr. Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu, "Ziraat İşlerimiz" in *Ülkü* November 16, 1941, pp.4-5.

²⁹⁹ Dr. Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu, "Toprak Davamız", in *Ülkü* November 16, 1941, pp.5-6.

warplanes during a possible war. If factories are destroyed or incapacitated by bombardment, national economy will suffer a great deal. With looms, however, production process will be distributed across the country, and peasants will continue to supply crucial materials and goods, such as clothes, during war. Looms will also give peasants their economic freedom.³⁰⁰

In the following pages of the same issue Saffetin Pınar wrote about regulation of working conditions of workers. He states that in 1941 the government passed a regulation called ‘Workplace Safety and Preservation of Workers’ Health’. Similarly, once the law of insurance for workers is legislated, they will be insured against accidents and diseases; and thus they will be free of any concerns about their future. Pınar argues that in this way workers will be more motivated, and the productive forces in Turkey will grow stronger. Thus Pınar concludes that just as well-maintained and taken care of machines produce more efficiently; a labor force that is well-fed, insured and protected against accidents and diseases will be more productive and efficient.³⁰¹ Lastly, in the next issue of the *Ülkü* Nurettin Boyman wrote about vocational and technical education in Turkey. He maintains that mechanization in itself is not sufficient for increasing economic production. Turkey also needs to educate technical personnel and specialists who can use, repair, and build machines. For this purpose, the state should establish schools for vocational and technical education. Boyman also suggests that the state can organize mobile courses to teach villagers how to use machines properly in agriculture.³⁰² In these articles we can see that the authors make policy suggestions to increase the economic productivity of the various segments (peasants and industrial workers) of the population by giving them land and equipment, vocational training, and insuring them against accidents in the workplace. All these policy suggestions share similarities with the modern governmental rationality aiming to increase the productivity of a population in their relation to natural resources and other factors.

One year later Ratip Yüceuluğ wrote a report on various sectors of the Turkish economy. At the beginning of the report the author states that the new republic

³⁰⁰ Samet Ağaoğlu, “Köylü ve Tezgah”, in *Ülkü* November 16, 1941, pp.7-8.

³⁰¹ Saffetin Pınar, “İşçi Hayatının Tanzimlenmesi”, in *Ülkü* November 16, 1941, pp. 8-9.

³⁰² Nurettin Boyman, “Mesleki ve Teknik Öğretim İşlerimiz”, in *Ülkü* December 1, 1941, pp.3-4.

inherited really bad economic conditions from the Ottoman Empire. At the time Turkey had to fight long and successive wars, had almost no industry, prices of agricultural products skyrocketed due to speculation, and wheat had to be imported just because of the inability to transport the homemade wheat across the country. In short, Turkey had become a colony in terms of economy. However, the author notes that in the republican period the state have taken several measures to achieve economic independence. In the agricultural sector the state annulled the tithe tax; encouraged establishment of agricultural cooperatives to provide cheaper and easily accessible credit to farmers. Also, the state established higher education institutions, sample farms, and seed improvement stations; and published booklets, brochures, and posters to propagate correct cultivation methods to villagers. Other measures to boost agricultural production included: Increasing mechanization of agriculture, land reform, improvement and expansion of irrigation canals, use of fertilizers, construction of large granaries for storage etc. As a result, agricultural production has greatly increased in the last 25 years.³⁰³

Second, Yüceuluğ summarizes the developments in animal husbandry. He notes that almost half of the lands in Turkey are pastures available for animal husbandry. Therefore, animal husbandry has been an important source of income for Turkey. The republican government has taken the necessary measures to increase the number and quality of animals in Turkey. It established bacteriology and serum institutes in Pendik, Mardin, Erzincan, Ankara, and Istanbul; schools to train blacksmiths and animal health officials; breeding centers and artificial insemination institutes. Thanks to these measures animal husbandry in Turkey developed: In 1934 there were 34.6 million livestock in Turkey. By 1939 this number increased by 53 percent, reaching to 53.2 million.³⁰⁴

As for industry, Yüceuluğ notes that in 1927 the government passed the law for stimulation of industry, and in 1929 it imposed high tariffs on foreign industrial products to protect the Turkish industry. As a result, 890 factories were established by private capital between 1926 and 1932. However, only two of those factories were big; the rest were rather small enterprises. Therefore, the state undertook the issue of

³⁰³ Ratip Yüceuluğ, "Rakamlarla Türkiye Ekonomisi", in *Ülkü* November 1, 1942, p.2.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.3.

industrialization, and created the Sumer bank with an initial capital of 20 million liras to establish new factories. This institution played an important role in Turkish industrialization. Previously, sugar was imported; now Turkey can produce 65 percent of her sugar consumption. The author states that once the other three factories are completed in the near future, Turkey will become completely self-sufficient in sugar production. With respect to the textile industry, in addition to the already existing factories in Adana, Mersin, Bakırköy, and Izmit; the state built two weaving factories in Kayseri and Nazilli, one spinning factory in Bursa, one sack factory in Tire, and an artificial silk factory in Gemlik. Also, a paper factory in Izmit, a glass factory in Paşabahçe, a canned fish factory in Paşalimanı, and an alcohol factory in Tekirdag were built. At the moment industrialization process continues according to the four-year plan that was laid out in 1938. In the conclusion Yüceuluğ notes that one-third of the Turkish industry is located in Istanbul, 10 percent in Izmir, 18 percent in Bursa, 7 percent in Balıkesir, and the rest are located in other cities. In general, the dependence of Turkey on foreign goods (especially in food and textiles) has declined with the establishment of all those factories.³⁰⁵

In the same issue of the Ülkü Samet Ağaoğlu wrote another article about the industrialization process in Turkey. As usual, he first describes this process at some length. Then, he argues that since 1939 industrialization has slowed down due to the effects of the WWII; but it is still going on. Ağaoğlu also discusses some problems he detected in the industrialization process. First, he states that the criteria of being considered an industrial firm as defined in the law for encouragement of industry is too low and simple. Due to this criteria any business that has a few machines, and employs at least 3 workers is considered as an industrial enterprise. This, in return, indirectly prevents establishment of larger factories because entrepreneurs, who can easily benefit from the above mentioned law with their small enterprises, do not wish to create larger ones that will probably cost more money. Second, Ağaoğlu points out that the measures that have been taken to educate technical personnel is far from sufficient. Thus, unskilled or unspecialized people are granted authority to run industrial firms or outlets as there are not enough trained personnel. Third, it seems that decisions for factory locations were not always entirely based on economic

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p.3.

considerations and factors; other factors may have influenced the judgement of policy makers. And finally, Ağaoğlu claims that the government did not fully pay attention to the social effects of industrialization: The relationship between employers and employees was left unattended. The author argues that a regime that outlaws strikes and protests should be able to provide workers with the rights that they would otherwise get through strikes.³⁰⁶

In October 1945 Halil Fikret Kanad wrote an article in which he discusses the negative effects of laziness and unemployment on individuals and the society as a whole. He argues that unemployment, laziness, and reluctance to work can be observed among both the poor and the rich. If a person remains unemployed for a long time he will lose his willingness to work, and succumb to alcoholism, vagabondism, and misery. They also cause their families to live in poverty. This is why most bad families are located in poor neighborhoods. Unemployment and laziness occur the most in cities. Eventually, unemployed poor people start to feel hatred towards those who have better lives, the society, and the state. They will not fear any authority, disregard the laws, and engage in criminal activities like robbery, murder, and scams. However, Kanad notes that laziness is not always the only cause of unemployment. Some people are willing to work; but they cannot find jobs. In such cases their bad behavior becomes inevitable, and the society have no choice but to tolerate it because for a hungry person morality and virtues do not mean anything. Therefore, the society should provide such people with their basic needs such as food and shelter. This is why so many nations have started to deal with such social issues. One of the primary duties of a state is to organize the economy accordingly, and provide those who are willing to work with jobs, food, and shelter.³⁰⁷

Rich people are also lazy and reluctant to work. They usually live off the interest their capital generates. Despite their apparent differences, the author argues, they share several negative traits with the poor, unemployed, and lazy people: immorality, hedonism, escapism, melancholy, and bad temper. Rich, lazy, and unoccupied people do not have self-discipline, they only follow their desires and instincts. They do not have determination and willpower to complete a certain task. More than its negative

³⁰⁶ Samet Ağaoğlu, “Türkiye’de Endüstri”, in *Ülkü* November 1, 1942, pp.6-9.

³⁰⁷ Halil Fikret Kanad, “İşsizlik, Tembellik ve Zararları”, in *Ülkü* October 1, 1945, p.3.

effects on individuals, laziness and reluctance to work also affect the society. Because of lazy people, who live as free riders, many other people starve and live outside in the cold. In this sense, laziness is not different than begging. Lazy people are, Kanad writes, in fact parasites, harmful to the society. Unfortunately, Turkey also has too many lazy people. Also, many people who actually wish to work and provide for themselves cannot do so because of the underdevelopment of the economy. Consequently, lazy people and actual unemployed people negatively affect the Turkish society. Kanad hopes that their numbers will decline as the economy develops further.³⁰⁸

On the 22nd anniversary of the foundation of the republic Mümtaz Faik Fenik wrote an article about the socioeconomic policies of the state. At the beginning he refers to a point Atatürk once made: The greatness of a country is no longer measured by the size of its territory; but by the development and welfare of its people. The author points out that the definition of ‘hero’ has changed. A hero is no longer someone who conquers vast territories by his sword; he is the one who contributes to the progress and development of his country. Then, Fenik notes that the republican government continued to implement policies for development of Turkey even during the bloodshed and destruction of the WWII. It is true that the war hindered economic growth and construction of public works to a certain extent; but the state mobilized all resources and instruments possible to enhance the quality of citizens. The nationwide campaign for primary education was the first of many ensuing steps. This campaign has accelerated in recent years. Eventually, each village is going to have a primary school, and all children will learn how to read and write; and they will learn about their country and the world. Educators do not only disseminate knowledge in the strict sense; they also teach people manners and a healthy life style. Put differently, they are the missionaries of civilization in the remotest corners of the country.³⁰⁹

Second, the land reform law was legislated in 1945. Fenik argues that the law in itself is an evidence of the fact that peasants are the true owners and masters of the nation. With this law the Turkish peasantry will now only work for their own welfare, not for some big land owners. Similarly, with the establishment of the Ministry of Labor and

³⁰⁸ Ibid., p.4.

³⁰⁹ Mümtaz Faik Fenik, “Toprakça Değil Milletçe Büyüme”, in *Ülkü* November 1, 1945, p.8.

the social insurance law, the working conditions of workers have been regulated by the state. Fenik notes that these are important steps taken to protect the welfare of workers in a country where rapid industrialization has created a large working class. Moreover, the state has launched a general healthcare campaign across the whole country. On the one hand, the state wages a war against ignorance, and on the other hand there is a war against microbes and diseases.

Mines and forests in Turkey are now administered rationally. Copper mines in Ergani and Murgul are fully operational. The coal mine in Zonguldak is now in a position to meet national demand for coal and even export it to some degree. Fenik notes, however, that despite all these positive developments, the inflation, having skyrocketed during the WWII, still continues to affect people's everyday lives. Yet the author believes that Turkey should continue to tighten its belt because nobody knows whether another great war will occur in the near future. Also, scarcities may cause some troubles in daily life; but if Turkey starts importing foreign goods, which are mostly unnecessary luxuries, people will probably lead a pleasant life style for 5-6 years. However, once Turkey's resources are depleted, Fenik points out, people will face even worse economic conditions. Therefore, in his conclusion Fenik advises people to be frugal, and suggests that Turkey should reinvest the national savings in industry until it actually reaches high levels of economic prosperity.³¹⁰

Finally, in 1945 Vedat Dicleli wrote an article on social policy and the role of the state. He argues that the responsibilities of a state goes far beyond providing internal and external security, and maintaining justice. In addition to political security, a state should also provide its citizens with economic welfare and social security. Each state should, in accordance with its national and social structure, design a social policy that will mitigate the historical class and professional antagonisms, protect the health of citizens, improve their knowledge, and raise their living standards by creating job opportunities.³¹¹

Dicleli argues that currently the issues of Turkish social policy include: Increasing the productivity and efficiency of the Turkish labor force and its protection, cultural

³¹⁰ Ibid., p.9.

³¹¹ Vedat Dicleli, "Devlet İdaresinde Sosyal Politika", in *Ülkü* December 1, 1945, p.7.

development of people, and social health policy. The issue of productivity, efficiency, and protection of the labor force was going to be resolved by the 1936 Labor Law; but due to the extraordinary circumstances of the WWII certain clauses of the law- such as those concerning child labor, night shifts, and weekend holidays- could not be enforced. The two primary concerns of the government during this period were national security and protection of Turkish industries. With the end of the war, the state resumed the implementation of its labor policy. The Ministry of Labor was established, and the government passed a law for compulsory social insurance against industrial accidents and occupational diseases, and a maternity insurance for pregnant women. Having created the legal and institutional structure for the social policy, Dicleli argues, now it is time to apply these policies.³¹²

Dicle maintains that since peasants comprise the majority of the Turkish population, improving their life standards is one of the primary tenets of Turkish social policy. The Land Reform Law of 1945 was the result of such a concern. The state ought to provide peasants with land and agricultural equipment. It should also support peasants by establishing minimum food price policy to prevent food prices from falling below a certain threshold. In addition to increasing the income of peasants, the government should also raise their life standards and increase their demand for new products; encourage them to abandon their primitive and frugal life styles and to adopt a modern life style. Cultural development of citizens is also important for Turkish social policy goals because it strengthens political unity, increases economic productivity, and promotes the health of the population.³¹³ The third issue is a comprehensive social health policy. Today the aim of medicine is not only to treat individual patients, but to protect the whole society against diseases. Living together and sharing a common fate require that health policies cover all citizens. Patients with an infectious disease will not pose a threat only to their families, but to the society as a whole. In his conclusion Dicleli argues that the state should address these three social issues by establishing an equitable tax system.³¹⁴

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid., p.8

³¹⁴ Ibid.

In concluding this section I would like to underline the parallels between the ideas and projects of the authors for economic development and the modern governmental rationality, or governmentality. We can see some traces of this modern governmental rationality, for example, in the article by Mümtaz Faik Fenik where he argues that the greatness of a country is no longer measured by the size of its territory; but by the development and welfare of its citizens. In other words, with the modern governmental rationality territory loses its primary position, and becomes one of the factors that modern policy makers need to take into account. Population, on the other hand, comes to the fore, and increasing its productive capacities becomes one of the main objectives of policy makers. In order to achieve this objective, modern policy makers take population into account in its relation to other things such as wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, customs, habits etc.

In the articles above we can see several examples of this rationality. For example, Dr. Salahattin takes the Turkish population into account with its relation to the territory and animals, and argues that the national wealth should be increased by rendering the grass on the vast Anatolian pastures economically more valuable through animal husbandry. Similarly, Şevket Raşit Hatipoğlu notes that with the land reform previously landless peasants will be integrated into the national economy, lands will not remain uncultivated, and economic production will increase. Third, Nusret Kemal, with his 'public stores' and 'village industries' projects aims to integrate villages into the national economy, establish a strong link with production and consumption, increase the productivity of peasants, and replace their traditionally frugal consumption habits with modern ones. Also, Samet Ağaoğlu proposes to equip peasants with looms so that they can produce certain industrial products during winter when agricultural production pauses. In other words, with their ideas of village industries and distributing looms among peasants, republican intellectuals aimed to accelerate integration of peasants into the national economy. They also wished to utilize the spare time of peasants for cheaper industrial production. Lastly, in the reports written by Kemal Ünal and Ratip Yüceuluğ on the Turkish economy, we see that the state took various measures and implemented economic policies to facilitate the industrialization process, to modernize agriculture and animal husbandry, and to increase overall economic production by teaching ordinary people modern production

methods. In sum, the articles indicate that republican policy makers adopted the modern government rationality, and implemented economic policies accordingly to achieve economic development.

4.5. The Village Question and Folk Education: Disciplining Souls and Shaping Tastes

In the previous section I analyzed articles pertaining to political economy and the first dimension of governmentality. Now in this last part I am going to analyze 15 articles that relate to the second dimension of governmentality which can best be summarized as ‘conduct of conduct’. As I discussed earlier, this form of modern power does not rely on coercion, and it operates by educating desires, and configuring habits, aspirations, and beliefs. In this respect, I am going to demonstrate how the republican intellectuals and policy makers intended to transform lifestyles, personalities, beliefs, and ideas of the Turkish peasantry through folk education (*halk terbiyesi*). ‘The Village Question’, as the republican intellectuals defined it, was an integral, yet problematic part of the republican modernization project. Despite the successive revolutions and radical transformations in the superstructure of the country, the republican regime could hardly touch the everyday lives of ordinary people. In other words, the revolutions had not taken root in the society, and the new regime could not muster the support it expected from the ordinary people. For this reason, the new regime needed to create a modern society by transforming the traditional Anatolian peasantry, which constituted the majority of the population, into ‘modern Turkish citizens’ through folk education.

This folk education project was designed by the republican policy makers to complement formal education because the latter only focused on children studying at schools, and it was progressing more slowly than expected. The policy makers, however, wished to see rapid results, and thus they decided to include adults in the process. The folk education project consisted of three main components: political education and indoctrination, practical courses to teach peasants modern production methods, and aesthetic education to transform the aesthetic tastes and lifestyles of peasants. With political education and indoctrination the republican elite aimed to gain popular support for the regime by teaching its principles to the ordinary people, showing them its benefits, and protecting them against harmful and reactionary

political ideologies. In addition, the policy makers also wished to give ordinary people a scientific and rational worldview that is free of religious dogmas and superstitions. Practical courses, on the other hand, were designed to integrate peasants into the modern economy and life by teaching them modern methods of agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as other subjects such as house building, hygiene, protection against diseases etc. Lastly, with aesthetic education the policy makers desired to inspire in peasants an appreciation of Western music, theater, painting, operas; and to replace their traditional lifestyles with a modern one.

The republican intellectuals, being well aware of the fact that the total material and cultural transformation of the countryside was beyond the financial capacity of the state, conferred responsibility on village teachers and designated them as the main agents of the folk education project. As we shall see below, young, revolutionary, and idealist village teachers were expected to instruct and lead peasants, and transform their traditional mindsets. The other instruments of folk education included, but were not limited to, literacy courses, courses on agriculture and animal husbandry, vocational courses, conferences on various subjects³¹⁵, art exhibitions, theater, concerts, cinema, posters, brochures, books and booklets, puppet shows etc. In addition, the People's Houses constituted one of the primary pillars of this folk education project by offering their members a variety of courses such as music, theater, painting, sculpture etc. The Houses were to create a sociocultural environment, or a possible field of action, in their localities in which individuals could freely choose and engage in any activities they enjoyed, discover their talents and interests, develop an appreciation for modern forms of art and aesthetics, and realize their full potential as individuals. In other words, the People's Houses was designed to serve as a cultural space for formation of subjectivities through 'conduct of conduct'.

Intellectually, the folk education project was heavily influenced by the peasantist movement in Turkey that was pioneered by Nusret Kemal Köymen. Advocates of the peasantist movement believed that a village based social reorganization could offer solutions to the problems caused by industrialization and urbanization. With an idealized image of villages and peasants in mind, the peasantists wished to reverse the

³¹⁵ See the People's Houses Conference List in the Illustrative Materials.

hierarchy between the city and the village in favor of the latter; and to establish the village as a primary independent socioeconomic and cultural unit. They claimed that as a predominantly rural country, Turkey's development and modernization depended, not on the decline of, but on the development of villages. For the peasantists, education and cultural awakening of the peasants was the key to modernization and development of Turkey. In this respect, they considered folk education as a panacea for the problems of Turkey. In the following articles some authors define the principles and objectives of the peasantist movement, and they offer guidelines for folk education. On the other hand, the other articles focus on more specific issues such as aesthetic education, painting courses, music courses etc. At the end of this part I will provide a general overview and analysis of the articles as usual.

Beginning with an article published in November 1933, Ali Galip compares the life conditions of the Turkish peasantry before and after the establishment of the republic. He starts by stating that peasants constitute three-fourths of the Turkish population. Right after this statement, he repeats the famous saying: "Peasants are the real owners of this country."³¹⁶ According to Ali Galip, peasants are the backbone of the Turkish economy. They not only feed themselves by producing various agricultural and animal products, but they also provide cities with vital resources. Moreover, they provide the majority of the state's tax revenue, and they are the major source of recruits for the army.³¹⁷ Ali Galip goes on to emphasize the industriousness and purity of the Turkish peasants. They work relentlessly during winter and summer in fields to earn their livelihood. Galip also notes that the peasants are usually ignorant, but they are also very well-intentioned. Unfortunately, Galip notes, before the establishment of the republic Turkish peasants had been exploited by several actors, who took advantage of their ignorance and innocence by using both legal authority and sheer violence. These actors include thieves, bandits, gangs, and soldiers that deserted the army and looted products of peasants; and tax collectors, *mültezims*, and creditors who charged exceptionally high interest rates.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Ali Galip, "Köylü", in *Ülkü* November 1933, p.326.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid., pp.327-331.

Galip points out that fortunately the republican regime has rescued the Turkish peasants from those exploiters, and provided a safer environment for them. The government also abolished the aşar tax, and it aims to introduce a land reform to provide landless peasants with land. Moreover, the government also provides them with cheap credit through the Bank of Agriculture. The government also makes sure that prices of agricultural products do not decline too much by controlling the prices, and subsidizes farmers. All these improvements in the lives of peasants were achieved by the republican regime. Ali Galip concludes that the government will continue to take all necessary measures to increase the agricultural production of, and hence the life standards of the Turkish peasantry, who are the real owners and masters of the country.³¹⁹ In my opinion, this article summarizes the paradoxical views of the republican intellectuals on the Turkish peasantry. On the one hand, Ali Galip idealizes the peasants as the ‘real masters of this country’, and emphasizes their industriousness. On the other hand, however, Galip states that the peasants are ignorant and gullible. In this way, Galip positions the republican regime as the savior of the peasantry by underlining the legal reforms and measures that the government introduced to improve their conditions. However, Galip does not take into account how effective such reforms and measures were in transforming social relations in villages in practice.

In July 1933 Mehmet Saffet wrote an article to define peasantism. He gives an idealized and romanticized picture of the Turkish peasantry by saying that despite having been suppressed under the despotism of the Sultanate, peasants have defended our country and they preserve our national character, hence they are the real owners of this country. Therefore, these people deserve to have higher living standards. Saving the peasants is the ultimate goal of peasantism, as well as being one of the fundamental steps on the way to modernization. In order to achieve this goal, Saffet argues, Turkey needs to compensate for the centuries-long sociocultural and economic stagnation. Development of villages consist of two interrelated steps: cultural development and economic development. The former refers to cultural advancement of ordinary people by way of raising their intellectual, social, aesthetic, and health levels. The latter, on the other hand, obviously refers to improvement of the material conditions of people.³²⁰

³¹⁹Ibid., p.332.

³²⁰ Mehmet Saffet, “Köycülük Nedir?”, in *Ülkü* July 1933, pp.422-423.

Then Saffet summarizes the sociocultural and economic conditions in Turkey. There are approximately 40,000 villages with a total population over ten million, which constitutes two-thirds of the entire Turkish population. Saffet notes that unfortunately 90 per cent of the peasants remain illiterate. They also live under the harmful influence of several religious superstitions; fatalism and scholastic mentality remains predominant among the peasants. Moreover, certain preachers intentionally spread counterrevolutionary propaganda in villages. Saffet argues that such ideas should be replaced by a scientific outlook that frees people from religious superstitions, and enables them to think independently. Yet, the author also believes in the commonsense and intelligence of the Turkish peasants by noting that they are usually able to know right from wrong. Therefore, Saffet assumes that raising the cultural level of the peasants, despite the counterrevolutionary propaganda of some preachers, should not be too difficult. Revolutionary education of ordinary people should teach them their great history and our role in the history of civilization, the great Turkish heroes and epics, the evils of the Sultanate, benefits and importance of the republican regime for Turkey, the difficult conditions under which the war of independence was won etc. The government should secure the entrenchment of the regime through promotion of a national consciousness among the people via speeches, writings, posters, movies, theater plays etc. Saffet argues that the Turkish revolution is based on the principle of popular sovereignty; but until peasants, who constitute the majority of the people, realize this point, it will not be firmly established, and will remain vulnerable to the dangerous influence of wrong political movements. Through this revolutionary education peasants will learn their national duties, and the pertaining laws.³²¹

Saffet maintains that in addition to this education about the principles of the regime, the peasants also need guidance in other areas. For example, the government should teach them how to protect themselves against diseases and proper methods of treatment, the importance of hygiene, and how to build their homes according to the basic health standards. Similarly, social recreational activities are almost non-existent in villages, and aesthetic sentiments of the peasants remain uneducated. Most peasants spend their time idly in coffee houses. Instead, they could spend their time improving the infrastructure of their houses. Saffet believes that in essence Turkish peasants are

³²¹ Ibid., pp.424-425.

not lazy; but they need guidance (irşat). Turks have almost forgotten recreational activities due to religious influences. A life without such activities and some fun becomes dull and colorless, people would have no desire to work. Therefore, Saffet argues that the government should revive the traditional Turkish recreational activities such as javelin throwing, wrestling, dances, and races in villages.³²²

Then the author goes on to describe the economic conditions in Turkey. He notes that Turkey has been going through an industrialization process. In his opinion, Turkey must industrialize; but not at the expense of agriculture. In contrast, Saffet argues that both sectors should go hand in hand, and agricultural production in Turkey should be increased. For this goal the government should educate peasants about the modern methods of agriculture such as vaccination of trees, seed improvement methods, measures against pest insects, milking, beekeeping, and animal husbandry. Saffet has no doubt that if peasants learn these methods agricultural production of Turkey would increase by tenfold. He also suggests that agricultural cooperatives can both teach peasants these methods in practice, and protect them against exploitative brokers.³²³

The main agent that Saffet envisages for all these socio-economic and cultural transformations is, of course, the skilled and idealist village teacher. According to him, as the most intellectual persons in villages, and given their constant presence there, village teachers have the responsibility to instruct and lead peasants. Therefore, Saffet argues that training village teachers is one of the most crucial issues. He suggests that initially the government can train talented middle school graduates and send them to villages as teachers. In the long run, however, teachers need to be trained at village teachers' training schools. Students who enroll at these schools should know that they will be serving in villages as teachers for the rest of their lives. Then, Saffet describes a curriculum program for such teachers' training schools, and argues that education of prospective village teachers should be based on the following subjects, ideas, and principles:

- 1) Village teachers should learn the causes of our national calamities in the past (such as bad administration, autocracy, religious superstitions, hostility towards science;

³²² Ibid., pp.425-426.

³²³ Ibid., p.427.

teachers should also learn the contrast between the scholastic worldview and the scientific world view).

- 2) They should learn why folk education is important for republican regimes, and the crucial role they will play in Turkey's development as teachers; and that raising the economic and cultural levels of people actually leads to development of the entire nation; the characteristics of the Turkish regime, and what it means to be a good citizen.
- 3) Teachers should be presented with the methods and achievements of Germans as a successful example of folk education.
- 4) The program needs to be based on practice, and village teachers will practice leadership in villages.
- 5) Teachers will learn our national epics, folklore, great examples of Turkish literature and poems; they will also learn about Turkish history, the great civilizations our nation has created, and our place in the world history.
- 6) The program will take advantage of music, national theater plays and cinema.
- 7) The program will teach prospective teachers that the true happiness in life cannot be attained through money or material pleasures; it lies in nothing but serving the society.
- 8) Teachers should also learn the principles of national idealism represented by Kant, Fichte, and Hegel in the 19th century.

Teachers will also learn, via practice in fields and shops, methods of vaccination, seed improvement, increasing agricultural productivity and conserving crops, house building; and how to establish and run trade cooperatives etc. Saffet argues that the government should select prospective village teachers among the village youth aged between 15 and 18; and the graduates will be sent back to their own villages to work as teachers. He concludes by saying that instructors of the village teachers' schools should be idealist and revolutionary.³²⁴ In my opinion, Saffet's article represents the expectations of the republican elite from village teachers. Saffet designates village teachers as the primary agents of social, cultural, and economic transformation of Anatolian villages and the peasantry. In fact, his proposition to open training schools for village teachers, along with other similar propositions, may have inspired the

³²⁴Ibid., pp.428-430.

establishment of the Village Institutes in 1940. However, it should also be noted that their expectations from village teachers were naïve and too idealist because it was too difficult, if not impossible, for a village teacher alone to carry out the total transformation and modernization of a village and its inhabitants. Therefore, it appears that, in the face of economic challenges and limits, the republican intellectuals opted for a seemingly easy, voluntarist, and idealist solution by conferring all responsibility to 'idealist' and 'enthusiastic' village teachers.

In June 1933 Nusret Kemal published an article called “Köy Seferberliğine Doğru”. In this article he establishes the goals and principles of peasantist studies, and problematizes villages as a national issue that needs to be taken care of. He states that only three thousand villages, among the 40,000 Turkish villages, have schools, post offices, and stores. Eleven million people live in villages, and only two per cent of them are literate. Even the vocabulary of the most intelligent peasants does not probably exceed 500 words. Since the social and spiritual level of the country is so low, the economic level remains low as well.³²⁵ However, he also suggests that naturally Turkey is in a very good position: it has the best climate in the world, and it has abundant amounts of natural resources. Therefore, Nusret believes that if they can educate people, teach them the ways of modern economy, and raise their cultural level, they will be able to rapidly modernize Turkey. For this purpose Kemal proposes a six step plan:

- 1) To increase the income of peasants, and to teach them their role in the national economy.
- 2) To raise the social level of peasants (morality, community life, cooperation, ideals, the joy of working, good habits, and recreation etc.)
- 3) To raise peasants as citizens who understand the regime and their duties, and perform them.
- 4) To raise peasants as people free from religious superstitions, with a scientific outlook, large-minded, and mature persons.
- 5) To raise peasants as Turks who possess the spiritual traits of their race, and loyal to the Turkish traditions.

³²⁵ Nusret Kemal, “Köy Seferberliğine Doğru”, in *Ülkü* June 1933, p.355.

- 6) To improve the physical and spiritual traits of peasants through selective mating (evlilikte istifa) and physical discipline/training.³²⁶

Later Kemal argues that at the moment the state cannot afford physical transformation of all the Turkish villages due to lack of financial resources. Therefore, the state should selectively invest in those regions, such as coastal regions in the Western and Southern Anatolia, which can develop more easily. Moreover, due to the lack of financial resources to transform material conditions in villages, education of peasants becomes even more crucial. The state should carefully pick talented and intelligent children from villages, and invest in their education. The state also should encourage young people to attend schools by incentives for them such as tax reduction and shorter periods of military service. Kemal strongly argues that discovering young talents is highly crucial because so many talented and intelligent young people, who can do great services to their country, waste their time and energy in the spiritual aridity of their villages.³²⁷ Teachers can play a crucial role in this mission and they are expected to make sacrifices for this cause. Then, Kemal also gives a long list of other possible instruments for folk education: Newspapers published for villages, posters, gramophone, radio, mobile cinemas, theaters, and libraries; bookshelves for each village, mobile courses on various topics (agriculture, domestic economy, house building, health, history, economy etc.), competitive sports games, entertainment activities, puppet shows, conferences, travelling midwives, doctors, and dentists; public stores, trips between villages and cities to strengthen the relationship between the two etc. Kemal concludes by inviting all intellectuals, teachers, and literate people to respond to the survey on villages published in the same issue of the *Ülkü*.³²⁸

Nusret Kemal penned another article in October 1934 to discuss the philosophical tenets of peasantry. First of all, he argues that, as the earliest and most natural form of social organization- in fact, as old as the family- the village predates the huge metropolitan cities of today. On the other hand, modern cities, which rely on villages for food and other raw materials, only date back to 100 years or so. Kemal states that originally cities grew out of unification of villages, and they actually exist to provide

³²⁶ Ibid., p.357.

³²⁷ Ibid., p.359.

³²⁸ Ibid., pp.361-362.

villages with administrative, economic, and other services. Kemal maintains that, in that sense, there are no contradictions between villages and cities. In today's world, however, cities are considered more important than villages, and they exercise various powers over the countryside. Cities dominate cultural, administrative, and economic instruments at the expense of villages, and use these instruments to exploit them. Moreover, the materialist and determinist worldview predominant in cities predict that villages will disappear as a result of mechanization and rationalization of agriculture.³²⁹

However, Nusret Kemal points out that urbanization also comes with several negative effects. Due to growing urbanization, industrialization, and ever detailed division of labor ordinary people in cities will lose their autonomy and become only a cog in the machine as these processes lead to a huge bureaucracy, technocracy, and hierarchy. Moreover, the recent Great Depression and drought have deeply shaken the metropolises, and created a longing for villages and the scent of soil among their inhabitants. In cities the majority of ordinary people have no economic security, and urban areas are plagued with high risk of unemployment and even starvation, higher crime rates and more vices due to the uncontrollability of the crowded and intricate urban populations. Other negative effects of urbanization include weaker family bonds, noise, and air pollution. City dwellers usually complain about all these conditions, and according to Köymen, they will never be fully independent and honest democratic citizens because they depend on economic and social relations in cities. Class antagonisms in cities lead to conflicts, and hence weaken social solidarity. Lastly, costs and maintenance of city infrastructure, such as roads, waterworks, phone, electricity, and transportation; increases expenses and tax rates, which makes living in cities highly expensive compared to living in villages.³³⁰

Nevertheless, despite all these problems of urbanization, Kemal does not suggest to abandon cities all together. He rather argues that the village, not the city, should become the starting and reference point in all policy making processes. In other words, Kemal proposes to reverse the hierarchy between the city and the village in favor of the latter. According to the peasantist outlook, the village is a blueprint of a society. It

³²⁹ Nusret Kemal, "Köycülük Esasları", in *Ülkü* October 1934, pp.146-148.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.149-150.

should not be considered of secondary importance, or as a source of raw materials; it should rather be taken as a primary and self-sufficient socioeconomic unit that produces the most vital materials such as food, and trades its surplus with neighboring villages to obtain other materials it requires to reach a higher cultural level. Kemal claims that natural, social, and economic calamities cannot shake villages. In this idealized village of peasantism everybody owns their own land and houses, and enjoy full economic independence; it can take care of its cultural, social, economic, administrative, and civic matters on its own without any assistance from the state. It only requires state assistance for building roads and railroads, security, administration, healthcare, education, and national defense. In exchange for these services, peasants pay taxes, and male peasants serve in the military.³³¹

According to Nusret Kemal, one of the reasons of Japan's economic success lies in its reliance on village industries. Village industries derive their biggest advantage from the fact that they do not employ 'workers' in the urban sense. Since all members of a peasant family work in their spare time, there will be no extra expenses for food or accommodation; and there will neither be bosses nor workers. Kemal also points out that village industries does not necessarily produce handmade products; industrial machines can be transported to villages. He also notes that in such a system urban industries should adapt their production to the products and raw materials of the nearby villages so that both can work harmoniously. Kemal also replies to two possible criticisms against the peasantist worldview. First, some critiques may argue that a village based agriculture would diminish food production and lead to scarcity and hunger. To that criticism Nusret responds by reminding that in the past small farming was usually able to feed the entire world, and it can no doubt continue to do so. Second, other critiques may argue that the deep rooted conservatism of peasants may slow down or maybe even prevent economic development and technological adaptation. For Kemal, conservatism in itself is not necessarily bad; in fact conservatism and commonsense of the peasants may preserve national culture and traditions, and compensate for the impulsiveness and frivolity of cities. Thus, the author believes that if peasants get rid of ignorance and bigotry, conservatism itself would not lead to any negative outcomes. In concluding, Nusret maintains that the primary goal of

³³¹ Ibid., p.150.

peasantism is to form economically self-sufficient and independent peasant families. Such families will be able to resist attempts of economic exploitation by the local rich, and they will be able to cast their votes freely as free citizens would do. Existence of such self-sufficient and independent families is a precondition of for the establishment of a true democratic system in a country.

In another article published in September 1933, Nusret Kemal discusses a peasantist project. In the beginning he points out that even in the industrialized countries there is a movement 'towards the village'. These countries have realized that, in order to achieve social, economic, and political stability, they need a peasant class that is economically self-sufficient and capable of feeding the whole country. In this sense, as many foreign observers note, Turkey stands in a quite favorable position: The exploitative urbanization has not taken roots in Turkey, the majority of its population work in production and service sectors, and there is no huge imbalance between production and consumption. Moreover, the peasantry has been improving culturally, and its growing needs and demands for various products creates great opportunities for Turkish industries. Furthermore, a newly carried out revolution has removed all barriers for progress, and the government, with all its powers, seeks to raise the material (civilizational) and cultural levels of Turkey. Yet, Nusret also admits that, despite its great achievements in the first decade, the republican regime has a great deal of work to do because it inherited Turkey from the ancient regime in ruins.³³²

Then Kemal makes a distinction between civilization and culture, and argues that material and spiritual lives of people needs to improve simultaneously. Civilization refers to the material and technological basis of modern life, whereas culture refers to national characteristics and culture of a nation. According to Kemal, raising the civilizational level of Turkey includes building schools, post offices, dispensaries, kindergartens, shops, better houses in villages; improving the general health conditions of the peasants, connecting villages to the center with roads; increasing productivity by adopting modern techniques, forming production and consumption cooperatives, equipping every village with one radio, sending books and newspapers as well as travelling theater groups and cinemas to villages. For these goals, Kemal proposes two

³³² Nusret Kemal, "Bir Köycülük Projesi Tecrübesi", in *Ülkü* September, 1933, p.118.

interrelated and complimentary projects: public stores and training village leaders (köy rehberleri). He argues that village leaders will educate peasants through public stores in villages, and teach them techniques of modern economy, how to maintain hygiene and protect their health. Adjacent to public stores there will be a library, a classroom for lectures and meetings, and a gymnastic room. In general, village leaders will teach people to become conscious citizens who are beneficial to their community, society, and country. Village leaders will also work for the improvement of the Turkish race by making sure that healthy and smart people marry each other, and that physically or mentally unhealthy people refrain from marriage. In this way, Kemal believes, village leaders will raise both the economic and cultural levels of the peasants at the same time. However, Kemal also admits that, at the moment, it is materially impossible to build 40,000 public stores and raise that many village leaders in Turkey.³³³

Then Nusret Kemal focuses on the question of training village leaders. He argues that initially it would be better to establish a training school in Istanbul, and to send graduate village leaders to nearby coastal villages. The subjects prospective village leaders should study at training schools include: sciences, health protection with basic medical knowledge, methods for improving the race, philosophy of civilization, general and Turkish geography, world history, Turkish history (ancient Turkish civilizations and the history of the republic), folk literature, biographies of great men, village economy and public stores, accounting, psychology and pedagogy, history of religion and morality, sociology, secular ethics, philosophy of state (comparison of the Turkish popular democracy to other regimes such as fascism, communism, racism, constitutional monarchy, and federal democracy), principles of the Turkish regime and why it is the best system for Turkey, principles of village education and examples from the practices of other countries, the village law and the other related laws, practical courses such as village architecture and house designing, painting, masonry, pottery, carpentry, ironworking, repairing machines, weaving, tailoring, cooking and nutrition, vegetable and fruit growing, beekeeping, poultry husbandry, dairying, fishing, sailing, horseback riding, sports such as boxing, wrestling, marksmanship etc.³³⁴

³³³ Ibid., pp.119-121.

³³⁴ Ibid., pp.123-124.

Kemal also suggests some measures to make village leadership attractive to young people such as a good salary, social rights and benefits, opportunities for higher education in foreign countries for successful teachers, free transportation and tickets for theaters and movies, a certain discount for products produced by public factories, and a share of the public store in the village. At the end of the article Kemal touches upon the issue of financing these projects. He admits that they require a lot of money to initiate and maintain. He argues that, to a certain extent, the İş Bank and the Agricultural Bank may fund these projects. The rest can be financed from the state treasury. Once established, however, public stores can finance themselves if given certain revenue sources such as a monopoly over book, newspaper, gramophone, records, radio, stamp, and movie sales. Yet, they will initially require financial support from the state. Lastly, Kemal suggests to establish an association of folk education and public stores to coordinate and oversee these projects.³³⁵

In July 1933 Hilmi A. Malik penned an article about village schools. He argues that the awakening of the peasants depends on the schools that the republican regime will open in villages, and also on a curriculum carefully prepared by knowledgeable and experienced persons. The goals of this education program include elimination of ignorance, superstitions, poverty, and diseases in villages; increasing capabilities of the peasants and productivity of land; and in this way increasing the welfare of the peasantry and the entire nation. The fact that approximately 10.5 million people in Turkey subsist on agriculture reveals the importance of agricultural sector both for the Turkish economy and society. The author states that at the moment it is not possible to build a school in every village because the state neither has the financial resources nor sufficient number of teachers. Thus, the ministry of education plans to build boarding schools in the middle of juxtaposed villages; but the majority of the villages in Turkey are widely dispersed. Malik believes that if well-to-do peasants share the construction expenses of schools, peasants may become more interested in schools. He also points out that the three-year schools are inefficient, and do not produce the desired results because most peasant children attend to school only for two years, after which their parents force them to work in fields. Thus, Malik argues that the

³³⁵ Ibid., pp.124-125.

government should increase the period of study to four years, and peasant children should start school at an earlier age, six or maybe even five.³³⁶

According to Malik, the first and most important step in this project is training village teachers, and preparing a good curriculum for village schools. These schools are expected to teach peasants new methods of agriculture, improving livestock, various hand crafts, importance of creating a national agriculture, precautions to take against animal diseases, planting and taking care of trees, and importance of solidarity and cooperation among peasants. Likewise, village schools have a responsibility to protect health of peasants, teaching them how to maintain personal and public hygiene, and precautions against diseases and epidemics. The author also notes that when put into practice this ideal program may be slightly revised to meet the specific needs of a region, and characteristics of each village should also be taken into account. In this way, Malik concludes, village schools will certainly increase productivity and welfare of villages.³³⁷

In March 1933 Fazıl Ahmet wrote an article about aesthetic education. The author starts with two definitions of the word ‘terbiye’ (education/discipline). First, it refers to those activities that aim to make people the most beneficial both for themselves and the society. Second, it can also be defined as an activity to develop physical, intellectual, and moral capabilities of people to the fullest extent possible.³³⁸ According to the author, terbiye works through two mechanisms: First automation of behavior of individuals; and second replacing instinctive reactions of people with acquired behavior. Ahmet argues that aesthetic education is a necessity in the modern world, and it may play a great role in ‘terbiye’. Aesthetic education may have two different effects, one positive and one negative. First, engagement in fine arts can lead one to temporarily forget his daily struggles, difficulties, and miseries; and hence people can dedicate themselves to a greater cause. Aesthetic education also fosters humility, generosity, and altruism. On the other hand, an excessive engagement in fine arts may result in alienation and loss of touch with reality and real life. Therefore, Ahmet argues, aesthetic education should go hand in hand with science and moral

³³⁶ Hilmi A. Malik, “Köyde Mektep, in *Ülkü* July 1933, pp.481-482.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.483-484.

³³⁸ Fazıl Ahmet, “Bedii Terbiye”, in *Ülkü* March 1933, p.128.

education. An unsupervised aesthetic education may improve aesthetic skills at the expense of other vital skills. In his conclusion, Ahmet notes that family, schools, buildings, streets, towns, and cities we inhabit; cinema, theater, fine art museums, and even nature itself can be great instruments for aesthetic education. We should teach children that simplicity, rather than pretension, has more aesthetic value.³³⁹

In the same issue of the *Ülkü* Hamit Zübeyr penned an article to discuss instruments of folk education. In the beginning he states that Anatolian villages, which now appear so quiet, have witnessed so many calamities and storms such as long and recurring wars, epidemics, drought, anarchy, and neglect. Thus, village graveyards are larger than the actual village in many parts of Anatolia. However, Turkey needs tens of thousands flourishing villages with millions of happy citizens living in prosperity. Zübeyr believes that the only way to achieve this goal lies in folk education, which he defines as the activity of fusing various groups of people living in Turkey with different dialects and religions into one social body and nation, and educating their spirits by shaping ideas, senses, and desires of individuals according to the national ideal. Schools alone cannot achieve these goals. Folk education does not only consist of educating people about certain academic subjects; rather its primary goal is to incite in people a permanent desire for progress, self-development, and improvement. According to Zübeyr, instruments of such a folk education include: books, speech, visual images, music, movies, and radio.³⁴⁰

First, books are a great source of knowledge that one can study at any time or place without relying on an instructor or mentor. However, ordinary people in Turkey may still need guidance to find appropriate and useful books to read. Second, Zübeyr points out that speech may be more effective than writing for it is more passionate and vivid. Since the majority of people in Turkey still remain illiterate, speeches and conferences will continue to be one of the primary instruments of propagating ideas. Third, visual images are more realistic and solid compared to speeches. Drawings, lines, colors, and perspectives give viewers a sense of reality, and they make abstract ideas more concrete. Thanks to visual images, ordinary people can understand the essence of an issue more easily than learning it from a book. Therefore, Zübeyr argues that instead

³³⁹ Ibid., pp.133-135.

³⁴⁰ Hamit Zübeyr, "Halk Terbiyesi Vasıtaları", in *Ülkü* March 1933, pp.152-153.

of waiting for millions of people to learn how to read, we should take advantage of visual images for education. Let us say, we wish to launch a campaign against tuberculosis or alcoholism; or teach people how to build a house, or how to increase economic production. By printing large posters and pictures, and distributing them around the country the government can educate people about these issues.³⁴¹

Music, on the other hand, leads to emotional development, and gives pleasure to listeners; thus it can help incite nationalist feelings among people. In Turkey, according to the author, the government needs to improve ordinary people's music taste slowly, beginning with musical pieces that they can understand and enjoy. Singing in chorus is highly important because it does not only improve music culture of people, but it also promotes collectivism by making people follow commands of a leader, and uniting people around a common cause.³⁴² As for cinema, Zübeyr suggests that it makes it possible to educate a large group of people. Movies enable governments to teach people various subjects (how-to-dos), and show them various parts of the world. Thus, the state should sponsor building of movie libraries in classrooms in the future.³⁴³

Lastly, Zübeyr argues that the radio may have a huge effect in the cultural sphere, similar to that of the printing press. In fact, radio can function as a university for ordinary people. With the radio it becomes possible to learn about world news sooner than reading them in newspapers. It also enables statesmen, professors, and artists to reach to large numbers of people all at once. Isolated and inward-oriented villages and towns can take huge advantage of the radio to learn about the world; it can broaden their horizon. For example, farmers can increase their productivity and protect their products from bad weather by listening to weather forecasts on radio. Zübeyr argues that the government needs to take two crucial measures to take full advantage of the radio in folk education. First, it needs to make radios available and affordable for peasants. Second, the government should also create a special radio station for peasants because they neither enjoy nor listen to those programs and music created for city dwellers and upper classes. Such a special radio station for peasants should entirely

³⁴¹ Ibid., p.155.

³⁴² Ibid., p.157.

³⁴³ Ibid., pp.157-158.

focus on their needs, tastes, and life styles. The author admits that at this point it is not possible for everyone to own their own radios; but the People's Houses and other institutions should make their radios available to ordinary people. Zübeyr concludes his article by stating that it requires a great deal of effort and hard work to *shape souls of peasants, improve their bodies*, increase their income, incite patriotic feelings in them, and to convince them that the government works for their benefit. (Emphasis added) Thus the government should employ the above mentioned instruments of adult education to facilitate this process.³⁴⁴

In August 1933 Nusret Kemal wrote an article about folk/adult education. Referring to the Great Depression, he argues that the world has been going through another huge crisis and turmoil. However, Kemal believes that periods of crisis can also present opportunities for social reorganization and renewal. Kemal maintains that education, and especially adult education, is the best remedy for the current troubles of the humanity. Education, in general, has as its main goal to induce minds to think systematically. Adult education, on the other hand, refers to all educational activities that aim to teach people, who are physiologically and psychologically mature, how to think systematically on their own, and how to deal with various situations they may face in life. Adult education should always take into consideration the specific characteristics and culture of a country. According to Kemal, adult education in Turkey should have two main objectives: First, teaching people ordinary people the principles of the republican regime so that they will deeply realize the importance of the Turkish revolution, and support it wholeheartedly. Kemal notes that survival of a regime relies on the popular support it receives. Second, adult education should increase the income and living standards of the people. In his conclusion, Kemal reiterates that the holiest mission of adult education in Turkey is to teach Turkish people their national identity and culture so that they will cooperate with each other, and work harmoniously for the development of Turkey.³⁴⁵

Osman Halit wrote an article about folk education in November 1933. In the article he makes a distinction between a people and a nation. The former simply refers to all people living in a country. Halit argues that once these people unite with each other

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Nusret Kemal, "Halk Terbiyesi", in *Ülkü* August 1933, pp.16-20.

and reach to a cultural harmony, we call them a nation. The primary goal of folk education is to transform such masses into a nation. In general, folk education refers to improvement of every Turkish citizen in terms of culture, knowledge, economy, morality, and politics. More specifically, it refers to the activity of equipping all male and female citizens above school age with reading ability and other necessary skills and know-how they need to learn to be successful in business and life. According to the author, during the Ottoman period people were reduced to a position of subjects who paid taxes and served in the military under the control of the palace and madrassas. Transforming these people into conscious republican citizens is one of the primary goals of the Turkish revolution and democracy. Instead of people who pray for rain in times of drought; Halit argues, we wish to see people, believing in science and nature with a willingness to control it, who would bring water into their village through irrigation channels from distant locations. Currently, only 8 % of the whole population can read, the rest remains illiterate. The alphabet reform of 1928 was a great step forward; but there remains a lot of work to do. In his conclusion, Halit argues that the state should mobilize all its resources and institutions to resolve this issue.³⁴⁶

In the same issue *Ülkü* published the inaugural speech of Kazım Pasha, the governor of Izmir, at the opening ceremony of the agricultural course for village teachers. Kazım Pasha states that such courses will be beneficial for Turkish economy. Having learned modern methods of agriculture and animal husbandry, village teachers will educate children in villages and their fathers as well. In this way, peasants will learn how to increase their agricultural production, to protect their crops against pest insects, and to improve seeds and animals. Currently, the majority of the peasants in Turkey do not know modern agricultural techniques; they remain unaware of animal diseases and pest insects to the extent that when their animals die from simple diseases they believe that it was the will of God. Kazım Pasha notes that teachers will also teach peasants methods of beekeeping, poultry husbandry, fruit growing, and rabbit raising. The government also establishes centers for improving animals (horses, donkeys, cows etc.) which will serve peasants. In his conclusion, Kazım Pasha congratulates village teachers, underlines the important role they will play in Turkey's development, and encourages them to work harder.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ Osman Halit, "Cumhuriyette Halk Terbiyesi, in *Ülkü* November 1933, pp.289-293.

³⁴⁷ Kazım Paşa, "Ziraat Kursları", in *Ülkü* November 1933, pp.321-325.

In January 1934 painter Ali Sami wrote an article about painting lessons in village schools. He states that in the past teachers used wrong teaching methods that alienated children from school. Today, they apply more constructive methods so that children will start to like school. Sami argues that painting lessons are one of the primary instruments that will lead first graders to like school. Unfortunately, due to bigotry and neglect, peasants in Turkey do not know much about, and thus not appreciate paintings. Villagers could hardly see any paintings or photographs in the past. Now, the author contends, the best way to incite an interest among peasants for painting is to place importance to painting lessons in village schools, and to open painting museums in cities and towns. Ali Sami believes that, despite their lack of knowledge of, and interest in painting; there may be many potentially talented painters among peasants waiting to be discovered. Therefore, in village schools teachers should first present various pictures and paintings to children so that children will start to like and enjoy painting. These classes should not bore students; they should be fun and organized as a game. Then, students may start to draw simple figures that they can understand and draw easily. Teachers should not expect too much from such novice drawings. Yet, they should still look for exceptional talents. In case they find talented students, teachers should encourage them to continue drawing and painting. Teacher can also teach students to make simple sculptures with clay.³⁴⁸

In May 1934 Halil Bedi penned article about the relationship between folk education and opera. He argues that opera is the most expensive; but also the most influential instrument of folk education as it combines several forms of art such as drama, literature, music, and dance. Therefore, opera can be useful for familiarizing ordinary people with all these art forms; it can play a great role especially in introducing Western music to the Turkish people. Opera will change people's taste and understanding of music. However, the author also argues that opera in Turkey has to have a national character, at least initially. Translations or adaptations of Western operas at this point may be counterproductive because ordinary people cannot yet appreciate them. Turkish people are still accustomed to traditional Turkish music, and they will not like Western music. Therefore, Turkey should produce its own national operas with national rhythms and music to slowly familiarize people with opera.

³⁴⁸ Ali Sami, "Köy Mekteplerinde Resim Dersleri", in *Ülkü* January 1934, pp.463-466.

People at this point cannot appreciate works of Wagner or Beethoven. Turkish operas should derive their stories and scenarios from Turkish history, mythology, and life. The state should order composers to write such operas. Soon, a theater academy will open in Turkey, and it will have its first graduates in 3 years. Until then Turkey should create a national opera repertoire that can be immediately performed when we have graduates from the academy.³⁴⁹

In September 1935 Münir Hayri wrote a short article about puppet shows and their value for folk education. He notes that in the 20th century propaganda has gained even more importance, and nations all around the world have established ministries of propaganda. As an instrument of propaganda puppet shows have three advantages. First, organizing puppet shows does not require much money or many personnel; but shows can reach to a great number of people. Second, puppet shows enables one to introduce various topics, from the simplest to the most complex ones, in such a way that anyone can easily understand them. Third, puppet shows are beneficial for the artistic development of children. Countries like Germany and France have already deployed puppet shows as an instrument of child education. Münir Hayri believes that, with some effort and reorganization, the puppet show tradition in Turkey can be revived and used for folk education. He suggests to begin with repairing an old and deteriorating puppet theater building in Istanbul so that the nearby People's Houses can start to organize puppet shows there.³⁵⁰

Finally, in March 1939 M.R. Kösemihal wrote an article about the music activities in the People's Houses, and some measures that the Houses should take to promote music successfully in their localities. The author argues that, in order to be successful in this area, the Houses require financial resources, expertise, a good program, and centralized administration and supervision. First of all, the central administration of the Houses should agree, in principle, to allocate 60 % of their fine arts budgets solely for music because it is an expensive activity. Second, if the Houses only rely on local and amateur musicians in their music activities, there will probably arise a great difference in quality between, let us say, a musical piece produced by the Izmir House, and that of the Diyarbakır House. Therefore, Kösemihal maintains that at least the

³⁴⁹ Halil Bedi, "Halk Terbiyesi ve Operalar", in *Ülkü* May 1934, pp.202-205.

³⁵⁰ Münir Hayri, "Halk Eğitim Yolu- Kukla Tiyatrosu", in *Ülkü* September 1935, pp.70-72.

Houses located in big cities should hire expert musicians to be able to maintain a certain musical standard. These musicians should also be able to teach when necessary. Third, Kösemihal believes that so far musical pieces produced by the People's Houses, with the exceptions of Istanbul and Ankara Houses, have rarely, if any, surpassed the level of an amateur show in quality. Yet, the author contends that the primary goal of the Houses is not to organize amateur music shows, but to serve as a preliminary conservatory to teach children classical music at a basic level, and give them a proper ear training. In other words, the Houses should incite a love of classical music in children. Fourth, the Houses should also collect folk songs in their locality, and create compilations. In the conclusion, Kösemihal restates the responsibility of the Houses to spread high quality music (classical music) around the country.³⁵¹

In concluding this section, I would like to restate my argument that republican policy makers and intellectuals aimed to transform the Anatolian peasants into modern Turkish citizens through conduct of conduct; by educating their desires and configuring their habits, aspirations, and beliefs. Through their folk education project policy makers sought to reconfigure habits, beliefs, and tastes of ordinary people. Here, it bears repeating that the folk education project to transform the countryside extended beyond mere ideological indoctrination. Rather, republican policy makers and intellectuals wished to make ordinary people, the majority of whom were peasants, adopt new behaviors, habits, and tastes through aesthetic education.

In order to substantiate this claim I have examined ideas of the policy makers about folk education. For instance, Hamit Zübeyr's definition of folk education provide some evidence to support this argument. Zübeyr defines folk education as the activity of fusing different groups of people into one social body and nation by shaping ideas, senses, and desires of individuals according to the national ideals. He also states that the primary goal of folk education is to incite in people a permanent desire for progress, self-development, and improvement. For this purpose, he suggests that the government should use several instruments of folk education such as books, speeches, visual images, music, movies, and radio. Similarly, Fazıl Ahmet's definition of 'terbiye' is worthy of note. He defines 'terbiye' as an activity to develop physical, intellectual, and

³⁵¹ M.R. Kösemihal, "Halkevleri'nde Musiki", in *Ülkü* March 1939, pp.67-70.

moral capabilities of people to the fullest extent possible. In my opinion, few other sentences could summarize the objectives of modern governmental rationality so well. Ahmet also argues that aesthetic education should be deployed as an instrument of ‘terbiye’.

In my opinion, these articles indicate that the republican policy makers and intellectuals wished to deploy folk education as an instrument to transform the lifestyles, beliefs, habits, and tastes of ordinary people in Turkey. Therefore, it can be argued that whereas the authors in the first section of this chapter aimed to discipline bodies of individuals through physical education, the authors in this section were concerned with disciplining their souls and shaping their tastes through conduct of conduct. In other words, as a whole, the republican elite, as the founders of a modern nation state who adopted modern governmental rationality, wished to *shape bodies, souls, and minds* of ordinary people through ‘disciplinary power’, ‘biopower’, and ‘governmentality’.

CONCLUSION

In this study I have analyzed writings and speeches of leading republican intellectuals and policy makers in the *Ülkü* magazine through a Foucauldian perspective. My main argument is that as rulers of a newly established modern nation state who adopted modern governmental rationality, the republican elite intended to transform and shape the Turkish population by utilizing the three technologies of modern power (disciplinary power, biopower, and governmentality). The People's Houses, along with other education institutions such as the ministry of education and the Village Institutes, were designed by the republican elite as a socio-cultural venue where these technologies of modern power would jointly operate upon the local population. In order to support my argument I zeroed in on their writings in the *Ülkü* magazine, and examined their ideas, intentions, and policy designs about physical education, the issue of population, political economy, and folk education.

The articles about physical education demonstrate that the republican policy makers and intellectuals were quite preoccupied with physical education of the Turkish population. They aimed to create a national sports culture in which ordinary people would voluntarily engage in sports like gymnastics and adopt physical exercise as a part of their daily routine. In their writings policy makers and intellectuals held the People's Houses responsible for spreading this culture among ordinary people. The sports branches of the Houses were responsible for promoting sports like gymnastics, swimming, wrestling, javeling throwing etc. Moreover, some *Ülkü* authors advised the People's Houses to cooperate with institutions like the General Directorate of Physical Education and the Ministry of Education for promoting sports in Turkey. This task of the Houses to promote a sports culture in their region indicates that the People's Houses were designed by the republican elite as the local implementer of disciplinary power.

The articles about the issue of population indicate that the republican policy makers and intellectuals took the issue of population quite seriously and they strived for growing the Turkish population and making it stronger. In their writings the *Ülkü*

authors identified the factors that hindered population growth in Turkey, such as epidemics, high infant mortality rates, lack of sanitation and proper healthcare etc. The authors also made various suggestions to make the Turkish population healthier. They urged the government to launch campaigns against epidemics and bad habits, to build hospitals around the country, to take special care of mothers and their babies after birth, to vaccinate school children etc. The People's Houses were tasked with educating ordinary people about the hygiene and healthcare, to have the sick people in villages examined during village excursions and provide them with medicine, to provide social assistance to the poor etc. In addition, the Houses were expected to cooperate with the Ministry of Health and assist the ministry in its operations. All these activities and responsibilities indicate that the People's Houses were designed as a local implementer of the bio-political policies of the government.

The articles about political economy form the third category. In these articles the Ülkü authors focused on issues such as industrialization vs. agricultural economy, urbanization vs. countryside, how to increase economic production in Turkey, how to integrate peasants into the newly emerging national economy, how to make them more productive and efficient, how to alter their consumption habits etc. The authors presented various ideas and plans to make the Turkish economy and labor force more productive. The role of the People's Houses was to offer courses to ordinary people on various subjects such as how to read and write, modern farming methods, animal husbandry, gardening, how to install, use, and repair machines; handicrafts, accounting, foreign languages etc. The goal of these courses was to integrate ordinary people into modern economy and to equip them with the necessary skills and know-how that the modern economy requires. In this way, the productivity and efficiency of the Turkish labor force would increase. All these policies indicate that the republican elite adopted governmentality, which takes a population into account in terms of its economic productivity and use of natural resources.

The last category consists of articles about folk education. In those articles the authors aimed to transform the traditional Anatolian peasantry into modern Turkish citizens through 'conduct of conduct'. They deployed folk education as an instrument to educate the desires of ordinary people, to reconfigure their habits, aspirations and beliefs. The folk education project included both political education and aesthetic

education. The political education would teach ordinary people the principles of the new regime and make them adopt republican values. On the other hand, aesthetic education would inspire among ordinary people a love and appreciation for the Western music, theater, painting, and fine arts. In this way, the folk education project aimed to transform the lifestyles and worldviews of ordinary people through ‘conduct of conduct’. The People’s Houses had responsibility of organizing courses on fine arts, Western music and theater so that ordinary people could, as free subjects without facing any coercion, would choose any subject that interested them, and discover their latent skills and realize their true potential.

In conclusion, I hold the opinion that the goals of the People’s Houses project extended beyond mere ‘ideological indoctrination’ or ‘control over minds’. On the contrary, I argue that this project was designed by the republican elite to increase their control over the Turkish population. I hope that my analysis of the articles in the *Ülkü* magazine provides some evidence to support my research hypothesis. Also I hope that this study can make a humble contribution to the critical literature on the People’s Houses, and help us deepen our understanding of these institutions which played a crucial role in the early republican period.

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APPENDICES

A. A Table For Recording House Members And Activities

Kurulan şubelerin isimleri.....	Eve kayıtlı esasın meleklerinin göre sayışı.....							Mülhazat.....
	Avukat	Mülhazat	Ticaret	İçişleri	Gözetim	Diğer	Toplam	
Diğer, Deriş, Müberrat.....								
Gözetim şubeleri.....								
Ticaret.....								
Spor.....								
İhtimal yardım.....								
Balk dârehaneleri ve kütüphaneler.....								
Kütüphane ve neşriyat.....								
Köyler.....								
Mize ve Sergi.....								
Bir sene zarfında halk evlerinde kaç umumî halk toplantısı yapılmış ve kaç kişi bulunmuştur ?								
Kaç umumî konferans, konuşma, toplantı verilmiş ve gösterilmiştir? Dinleyenler ve seyircilerin sayısı?								
Balkevinizin kütüphanesi mevcuttur/mevcutdur?								
1 -Kitap mevcudur?								
2 -Bir sene zarfında kitap tura mecmua okuyularının sayısı?								

..... Balkevi reisi

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B. The List of Conferences at the Beyoğlu House (1937-8)

HALKEVLEPİ HABERLERİ

471

Beyoğlu Halkevi Konferans Serisi

Tarih	G ü n	Saat	Konferans Mevzuu	Konferans Veren Adı
12.10.937	Salı	18.30	Adabı Muâşeret Seri 3	B. Semih Mümtaz
19.10.937	Salı	18.30	Şekspir	Öğretmen B. Kâzım Sevinç
26.10.937	Salı	18.30	Türk Şiirinde ahenk te- kâmülü	Edip B. İsmail Habip
2.11.937	Salı	18.30	Yeni Fizik	Prof. B. Salih Murat
6.11.937	Cumartesi	20.30	Adabı Muâşeret Seri	B. Semih Mümtaz
9.11.937	Salı	18.30	Herkes n felsefesi	Muharrir B. Peyami Sefa
16.11.937	Salı	18.30	Osman Gaz'nın nesebi	B. İsmail Hami Danişmend
20.11.937	Cumartesi	20.30	Millî gelir	İnhisarlar Başmürakibi B. Feyzi Alada
23.11.937	Salı	18.30	İktisadî Doktrinler	Prof. B. Şükrü Baban
27.11.937	Cumartesi	20.30	Kooperatifçilik	Prof. B. Suphi Nuri İleri
30.11.937	Salı	18.30	Türkiyede para mes'eleleri	Prof. B. Muhlis Ete
7.52.937	Salı	18.30	Meşhur ilim ve fen adamları	Prof. B. Salih Murat
11.12.937	Cumartesi	20.30	Garp ve Şark Musikis	B. Aziz Çorlu
14.12.937	Salı	18.00	Nedim	Öğretmen B. Halit Fahri
18.12.937	Cumartesi	20.30	Umumî kültürel tekâmül çerçevesi içinde cerrahî	Dr. Operatör B. Fahri Arel
21.12.937	Salı	18.30	Aynıştayn nazariyesi	Prof. B. Kerim
25.12.937	Cumartesi	20.30	Millî İktisat	B. Ahmet Hamdi Başar
28.12.938	Salı	18.30	Tarih ve Edebiyatta Türk Güzelliği	Bayan Nazan Danişmend
4.1. 938	Salı	18.30	Hititler	Ordinaryüs Prof. B. Bossert
8.1. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Bayrağa saygı vazifesi	Muharrir B. Feridun Osman
11.1. 938	Salı	18.30	Ormanlarımız	Prof. B. Tevfik Ali
15.1. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Türk Denizciliği	Muharrir B. Abidin Dâ- ver Dav'er
18.1. 938	Salı	18.30	İrk nedir	B. İsmail Hami Danişmend
22.1. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Hatıralar	Saylav B. Selim Sırrı Tarcan
25.1. 938	Salı	10.30	Adabı Muâşeret Seri 5	B. Semih Mümtaz
29.1. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Halkçılık	Avukat B. Mustafa Tunalı Muharrir B. Şevket Sü- reyya
1.2. 938	Salı	18.30	Türk İnkilâbı	Muharrir B. İhsan Arif
5.2. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Gazetecilik	Gökpinar
8.2. 938	Salı	18.30	Anadolu'nun Jeofizik te- şekkülleri	Prof. B. Hamit Nafiz
12.2. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Spor	Muharrir B. Burhan Felek

Tarih	G ü n	Saat	Konferans Mevzuu	Konferans Veren Adı
15.2. 938	Salı	18.30	Yecüc ve Mecüc	B. İsmail Hami Danişmend
19.2. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Vitamin	Prof. B. Sedat
22.2. 938	Salı	18.30	Anadolu'da Jeofizik tetik- kat	K. rasathanesi Ş. M. B. Osman Sipahi
26.2. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Tarihî ve içtimaî bahis	Muharrir B. Omer Rıza
1.3. 938	Salı	18.30	Edebî	Şair B. Mithat Cemal
5.3. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Eski ve yeni devirde askerlik	B. Ekrem Tur
8.3. 938	Salı	18.30	Hint ve Avrupa	B. İsmail Hami Danişmend
12.3. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Tiyatro hatıraları	Sanatkâr B. İ. Galip
15.3. 938	Salı	18.30	Buhranlar	B. Ahmet Hamdi Başar
19.3. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Sinir hastalıkları	Dr. B. Hüseyin Kenan
22.3. 938	Salı	18.30	Edebî	Edip B. İsmail Habip Konservatuar müdürü B. Yusuf Ziya
26.3. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Halk türküleri ve musikisi	Prof. B. Hilmi Ziya
29.3. 938	Salı	18.30	Türk Felsefesi	B. Ahmet Hamdi Başar
2.4. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Şark ve Garp	B. Agâh Sırrı Levend
5.4. 938	Salı	18.30	Edebiyata dair Cerrahinin imkânları ve hududu	Dr. Operatör B. Fahri Arel
9.4. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Makineleşme ve neticeleri	Prof. B. Münir
12.4. 938	Salı	18.30	Orta oyun ve karagöz	Muharrir B. Refik Ahmet Sevengil
16.4. 939	Cumartesi	20.30	Süğjesion ve otosüğjesio- nun hayat ve terbiyedeki tesirleri	B. Ahmet Selim Arik
19.4. 938	Salı	18.30	Terbiye	Öğretmen B. Reşit Kaynar
23.4. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Ekonomi bakımından şehir	Prof. B. Vehbi Sarıdal
26.4. 938	Salı	18.30	Adabı Muâşeret Seri 6	B. Semih Mümtaz
30.4. 938	Cumartesi	20.30	Tevfik Fikret	Şair Bayan Şükûfe Nihal Başar
3.5. 938	Salı	18.30	Felsefi	Prof. B. Şekip
10.5. 938	Salı	18.30	Felekiyata dair	Prof. B. Fatih
17.5. 938	Salı	18.30	Türk riyazizecileri	Prof. B. Salih Murat
24.5. 938	Salı	18.30	Bedreddin Simavî	Prof. B. Şemsettin

Not : 1 — Salı günlerine tesadüf eden konferanslar, Evin Tepebaşı'daki merkez binasında verilmektedir.

2 — Cumartesi günlerine tesadüf eden konferanslar, Beyoğlu'nda Nuru-ruziya sokağında Parti binasındaki Evin temsil salonunda verilmektedir.



KÖY ANKETİ

ÜLKÜ bu sayısından itibaren bütün memleket münevverlerine hitap ederek bir anket açıyor. Anketin mevzuu, iki kelime ile, "köylerimizin inkişafı,, dır. Bu büyüklüğü nisbetinde az işlenmiş bir mevzudur.. 355 inci sayıfada başlıyan Nusret Kemal Beyin "Köy seferberliğine doğru,, yazısında mevzu ortaya konulmuştur. Bu yazıdaki fikirler, ancak fikirdir; bunlar hükümler ve neticeler olmaktan ziyade üzerinde düşünülecek, işlenecek, münakaşa edilecek başlangıçlar, meselelerdir.

Bu sene biraz geçikmiş olan yaz aylarına büyük bir iştiyakla kapalı havadan, kapalı hayattan bezmiş olarak giriyoruz. Muallim veya talebe iseniz üç ay tatiliniz var, memur veya serbest meslek adamı iseniz bir dinlenme zamanınız var. Dinlenmek için gidilecek en iyi yazlık, ucuzluğu, şehirden farklılığı, açıklığı, adamlarının saflığı, yiyeceğinin temizliği bakımlarından, köyledir. Köyde geçireceğiniz birkaç hafta ile, aynı zamanda, memleketinizi asıl cephesinden görmüş, tanımış olacaksınız. Bu tanımayı daha faydalı yapmak için gördüklerinizi ve gördüklerinizin size düşündürdüğü şeyleri ÜLKÜ nün anketine yazınız. Maamafih ankete iştirak etmek için muhakkak bu yaz köye gitmek şart değildir. An-

ket için gönderilecek yazının, veya resmin, köyü alâkalandıran bir mevzu üzerinde olmasından başka hiç bir şart yoktur. Ankete köyde çalışma, köy için çalışma ülküsünü telkin edecek hikâye ve şiirlerle de iştirak edebilirsiniz. Anket bir müsabaka da değildir, kimseye verilecek bir hediye de yoktur; kazanılacak şey bu büyük ülkü işine ortak olmak zevkidir. Kâğıt üzerine koyacağımız bir müşahede veya tetkik, bir kroki, bir karakalem resim, bir fotoğraf, ileri süreceğiniz bir fikir, telkin edeceğimiz bir heyecan yapılacak büyük yapının bir tuğlası, bir çivisi, belki de bir direği, bir temel taşı olacaktır.

Bu anketi ÜLKÜ yü okumıyan arkadaşlarınıza da anlatınız, bütün muhitinizde yayınız ve her münevveri iştirake teşvik ediniz.

Ankete yazılacak cevapların kâğıdın bir tarafına, seyrek satırla yazılmasını ve gelen malzemenin sınıflanmasını mümkün kılmak için kâğıdın başında şu malûmatın verilmesini rica ederiz:

Ankete iştirak edenin adresi, ismi, doğduğu yer ve tarih.

Son mektebi ve bildigi yabancı dil.

- Mesleği.*
Halkevine yazılı ise hangi şubede olduğu.
Türkiyenin nerelerinde ve ne kadar bulunduğu.
Yabancı memlekete bulunduysa nerelerde ve ne kadar bulunduğu.
Şimdiye kadar bulunduğu köyler (varsa).
Bu ankete iştirak için tetkik ettiği köy (varsa), kazası, vilâyeti, ticarî istasyonu ve limanı (yahut iktisaden bağlı olduğu merkez.)
- Bir köy tetkikinde malûmat toplanmasında ve toplanan malûmatın sınıflanmasında faydası olabilecek bir tetkik bölümleri taslağı veriyoruz:
- A — Köy hakkında umumî malûmat:**
- 1 — Köyün kaç evli ve nüfuslu olduğu,
 - 2 — Tabii halleri,
 - 3 — Tarihi,
 - 4 — Nüfusunun milliyet dil ve muhaceret itibariyle sınıflanması.
- B — İçtimâî vaziyet:**
- 1 — Eğlence şekilleri (tek ve toplu),
 - 2 — Kadın hayatı,
 - 3 — Erkek hayatı,
 - 4 — Çocuk hayatı,
 - 5 — Taassup ve batıl itikatlar,
 - 6 — Ahlâk telâkkileri,
 - 7 — İçki ve kumar,
 - 8 — Zengin, orta halli ve fakir
- 9 — Borçların sayısı ve borçların cinsi, neden yapılı oldukları,
- 10 — Evlerin dahilî tertibatı,
- 11 — Kullanılan eşya listesi ve sayısı,
- 12 — Evlenme ve boşanma vakaları,
- 13 — Hükûmetle olan işlerin nasıl takip edildiği,
- 14 — Köyün dışarıda olan mensupları, ne yaptıkları ve köyleriyle bağları derecesi,
- 15 — Komşu köylerle münasebeti,
- 16 — İnkişafı için tedbirler (ne yapılıyor, ne yapılmalı),
- C — Maarif vaziyeti:**
- 1 — Mektebi (varsa) kaç sınıflı,
 - 2 — Talebe ve her sene vasatî mezun sayısı,
 - 3 — Mezunların bugünkü halleri,
 - 4 — Muallimin ehliyeti,
 - 5 — Muallimin mektep dışındaki faaliyeti,
 - 6 — Okur yazar sayısı,
 - 7 — Tahsil görmüşler varsa tahsillerinin derecesi ve meşguliyetleri,
 - 8 — Seyahat etmiş (memleket içinde veya dışında) varsa nelerde, niçin buldukları, hiç köy dışına çıkmamış olanların sayısı ve yaşları,
 - 9 — Gazete ve kitap gelir mi,
 - 10 — Posta var mı ve muhabere vaziyeti,
 - 11 — Mektup ve arzuhallerini kim yazar (nünuneler),
 - 12 — Halk dersaneleri mezunları, ne zaman mezun oldukları ve bir terakki gösterip göstermedikleri,
 - 13 — Köylülerin kullandıkları kelime sayısı (erkek, kadın, okumuş, okumamış itibariyle),
 - 14 — İnkişaf tedbirleri (ne yapılıyor, ne yapılmalı),

Ç — İktisadî vaziyet:

- 1 — Köyde geçim yolları,
- 2 — Azamî, asgarî ve vasatî gelir.
- 3 — Köyün tabii servetleri,
- 4 — Yapı malzemesi,
- 5 — Komşu köylerle ve bağlı olduğu iktisadî merkezler (varsa yabancı memleketlerle) münasebeti,
- 6 — Ziraat bilgisi, pulluk, ve saire, at, öküz, tavuk sayısı, tohum islahı, toprak dinlendirme, gübreleme, sulama vaziyetleri,
- 7 — Dükkân varsa senelik alış verışı ve neler sattığı,
- 8 — Köyün dışarıda olan mensuplarının iktisadî vaziyeti,
- 9 — İnkişaf tedbirleri (ne yapılıyor, ne yapılmalı),

D — Sıhhi vaziyet:

- 1 — Köyün yeri,
- 2 — Köylülerin umumî sıhhati,
- 3 — Sıhhate zararlı itiyat ve meşgaleler,
- 4 — Meskenler,

- 5 — Yiyecek, içecek, giyecek,
- 6 — En çok görülen hastalıklar,
- 7 — Tedavi usulleri,
- 8 — Kuyular ve lâğamlar,
- 9 — Çocuk doğum ve ölümü,
- 10 — Ölüm hastalıkları,
- 11 — Frengi ve belsoğukluğu,
- 12 — Beden ve ruh illetleri ve sebepleri,
- 13 — Yemek pişirme usulleri,
- 14 — Doktor olup olmadığı,
- 15 — Dişler ve vücudun umumî kemik teşekkülü,
- 16 — Spor yapılıp yapılmadığı,
- 17 — Temizlik (ferdî temizlik, ev temizliği, köy temizliği),
- 18 — İslah tedbirleri (ne yapılıyor ve ne yapılmalı).

Bu tetkikler yapılırken toplanan malûmatın mümkün olduğu kadar müspet vakalara, vaziyete göre rakama istinat ettirilmesi lâzımdır. Köy tetkiklerinde krokilerin, karakalem resimlerin, fotoğrafların çok büyük değeri vardır.



E. The Youth Football Team of the Yukarı Beyçayırı House (1938)



F. Photographs From the First Amateur Photo and Picture Exhibition of the Ankara House (1940)

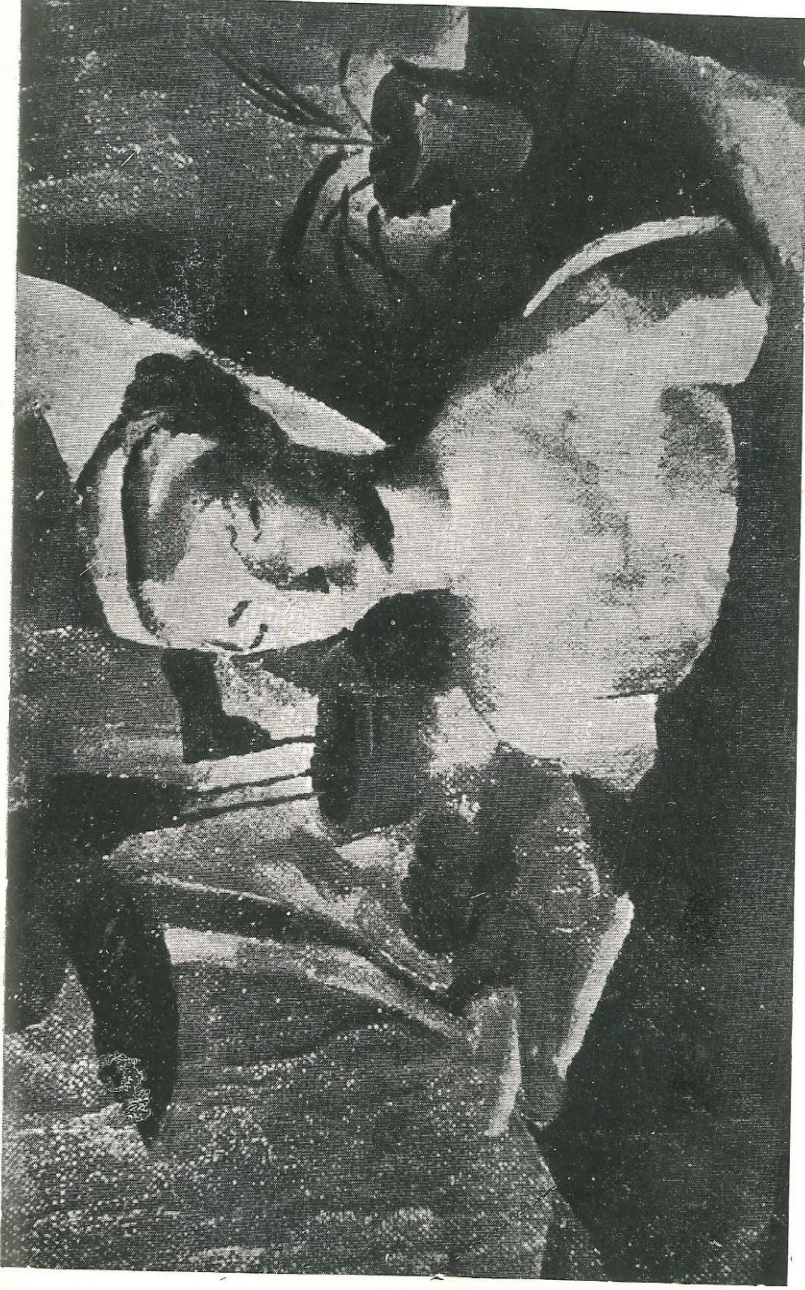


Millî Şef Halkevleri Birinci Amator Kısım ve Fotoğraf Sergisinde — 5. Haziran, 1940
Üçü — Sayı 89

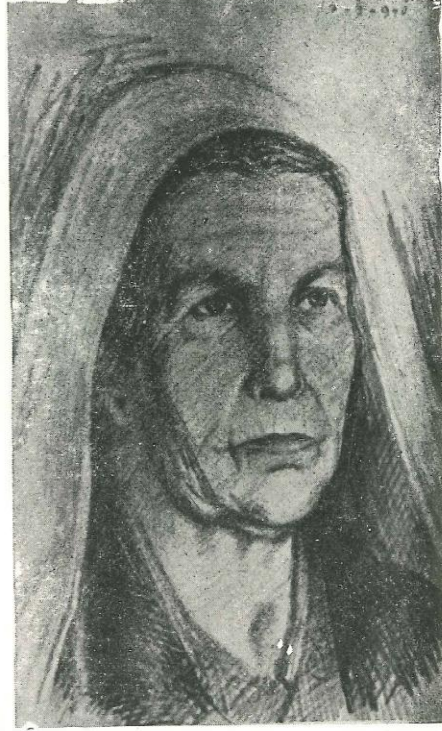
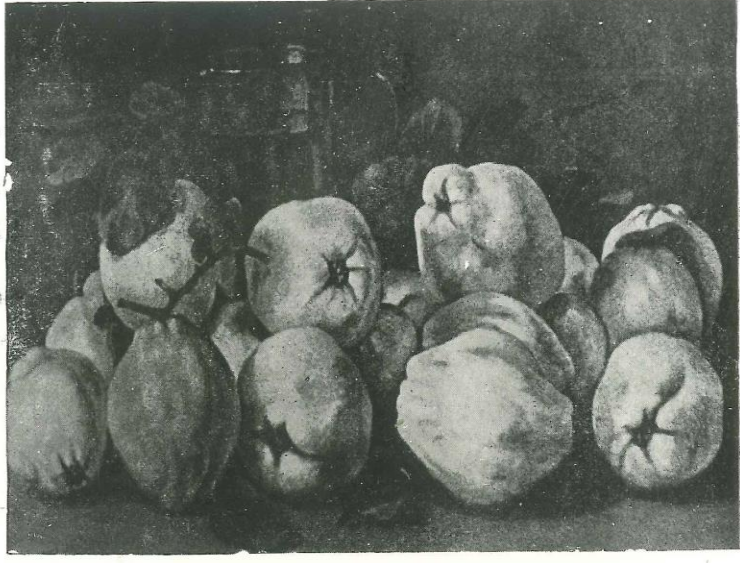


Başvekil Dr. B. Kelik Saydam ve C. H. P. Genel Sekreteri Dr. B. Fikri Tüzer Halkevleri Birinci Amatör Resim ve Fotoğraf Sergisinin açılışında — 22. Mayıs. 1940

Amatör Resim ve Fotoğraf Sergisinin açılışında — 22. Mayıs, 1940



Halkevleri Birinci Resim ve Fotoğraf Sergisinde (A) Grubu birincisi: Büstlü naturmort — Şile
Halkevi'nden TURGUT.



Yukarıda: Halkevleri Birinci Resim ve Fotoğraf Sergisinin
(A) Grubu dördüncüsü: Ayvalar. — Aydın Halkevi'nden
FUAD MENSİ. Aşağıda: (B) Grubu üçüncüsü: Kadın
Portresi. — Denizli Halkevi'nden CEVDET OKLAY