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ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY  
THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE  
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

THE STATE THEATRE IN TURKISH NATION BUILDING: A CONTENT ANALYSIS  
ON TURKISH PLAYSRIPTS

PhD THESIS

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ON TURKISH PLAYSRIPTS

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Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences

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## PLAGIARISM PAGE

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## ABSTRACT

### THE STATE THEATRE IN TURKISH NATION BUILDING: A CONTENT ANALYSIS ON TURKISH PLAYSRIPTS

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Identity building is a project to rebuild the cultural heritage, history and the vision of the nation states. After the First World War, young Turkey starts a cultural change after the pioneering of the elites. This change has a vision of “Westernization” and nation building. The State Theater of Turkey is an institution for meeting these purposes founded during the period of transition to democracy; repealing one-party government which is not a sudden process. Therefore, it is possible to see the vision of nation building and the eagerness of Westernization in the repertory of the State Theater still. Yet the institution is used as a nation’s showcase during the convergence to the West block after the Second World War. In this study, I cover the repertory of the State Theater from the foundation of the institution (1949) until the first military intervention (1960). I support the research by using discourse analysis at first section to analyze the context referring identity; referring the meaning rather than words. This study finds out that as expected the nation building process in Turkish Republic continues in the 1950s with a variety, rather than havin one-dimensional indoctrination of certain national identity.

Keywords: State Theater, playscripts, identity building, nation state, nationalism

**ÖZET**  
**TÜRK KİMLİK İNŞASINDA DEVLET TİYATROSU: TÜRKÇE SENARYOLAR**  
**ÜZERİNE BİR İÇERİK ANALİZİ**

AKAR, Başak

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Kimlik inşa süreci kültürel mirası, tarihi ve ulus devletin vizyonunun yeniden inşası anlamına gelir. I. Dünya Savaşı'nın ardından, genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti elitlerin önderliğinde bu bağlamda bir kültürel dönüşüm başlatmıştır. Bu dönüşüm “Batılılaşma” ve ulus inşasını içerir. Türkiye'deki Devlet Tiyatrosu bu amaçları karşılamak amacıyla tek parti döneminin kapandığı demokrasiye geçiş sürecinde kurulmuş bir kurumdur. Bu sebeple, ulus kimlik inşa sürecinin vizyonundaki değişimi ve Batılılaşma algısını Devlet Tiyatrosu repertuarından izlemek mümkündür. Kurum, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra kurulmuş ve Batı blokuna yaklaşma konusunda bir vitrin görevi üstlenmiştir. Bu çalışma, kuruluşundan (1949) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihindeki ilk darbeye kadar (1960) Devlet Tiyatrosu repertuarını ele kapsamaktadır. Araştırma, söylem analizi ile desteklenmekte, kelime temelli bir içerik analizinden ziyade anlam odaklı bir bakış açısıyla 1950li yıllarda ulus kimlik inşası incelenmektedir. Bu çalışmada, 1950li yılların demokratikleşme sürecine olan katkısı bağlamında tek boyutlu bir kimlik inşa süreci yerine çok boyutlu ve çeşitlilik içeren çoğul projelerin varlığı üzerinde durulmaktadır. Çalışma, bu önermeyi destekleyecek bulgulara ulaşmış, 1950li yıllarda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kimlik inşa sürecinin çeşitlilik kazanarak devam ettiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Keywords: State Theater, playscripts, identity building, nation state, nationalism

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## INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the relationship between the Turkish national identity and the repertory of the State Theater, and how it has shaped by the power relations through the 1950s. Main question of this study is “How was Turkish national identity building constructed in the 1950s by the help of the repertory of the State Theater?”. And the subsidiary questions of the study with regards to this main concern are: “How is history imagined in Turkish national identity building in the playscripts?”, “How is family imagined in Turkish national identity building in the playscripts?”, “How is space imagined in Turkish national identity building in the playscripts?”

Main argument of this thesis is, Turkish national identity building process is a multidimensional project in the 1950s under the effect of multiparty regime, unlike the one-dimensional enforcement of a certain national identity in the 1920s and the 1930s during the one party government. In the 1950s, identity building is multi-dimensional because it also includes religion, state, narrative and national identity as component of Turkish national identity, rather than having one-dimensional nationalistic ideology. This variety provides a perception of a secular Muslim national identity in the 1950s, distinct from what the early Republican period suggested, after transition to the multiparty regime. This irreversible shift provided diversity in projects and transforms secular Turkish identity into secular Muslim identity, which also involves a Muslim side while not giving up on its secular part. Turkish national identity building process is a multidimensional project in the 1950s under the effect of multiparty regime, unlike the one-dimensional enforcement of a certain national identity in the 1920s and the 1930s during the single party regime. Turkish identity is framed as “secular Muslim” national identity in the 1950s, as opposed to what the early Republican period imposed. History is constructed mutually in opposition to “the other,” with an historical sameness based on Turkish-Muslim identity. Family is imagined as the micro-nation in Turkish national identity building reinforcing national patriarchal patterns with an indecisive swing between being

modern and traditional. Space is imagined in the cities with a fear of excessive modernization with losing the essence of Turkishness that lies in village life.

2012 was the peak year of the debates over the status of the State Theater in Turkey. The government was holding the debates on the high expenditures of the institution and opening a reform package by claiming that none of the developed democracies had their own artistic institutions. On the other hand, many artists rejected these claims by giving many instances from European theaters and their funding strategies by emphasizing the autonomous structure of the State Theater. This autonomy was giving the artists the opportunity to even criticize the government.

While watching the heated debates on televisions, I got some chances to visit some actors and actresses at the backstage of the State Theater in Ankara. This way, not only I was given their opinions about the reform initiatives of the government but also the feeling related the political tension of identity search within the institution. Most of the time, artists agreed on a necessity of having an opponent attitude by theater's nature, however stuck between the explicit rules, including dramaturgy and directory strategies, and their expectations. However none could agree on their political identity for what they represent within the State Theater.

I started to read about the history of the State Theater and then in order to progress, I started learning more about the emergence of the modern theater in Turkey, to figure out the institutional roots and political relations with the state Turkey. I didn't know that this little pleasure reading would allow me asking bigger questions and put me in a way to search for the confusion of identity in Turkey.

While thinking that founding an artistic institution which is even popular in contemporary Turkey could not be just a historical coincidence, I ran to the State Theater's main building in the center of Ankara, Ulus; to have an idea about their institutional perspective towards the plays that were performed. I met the dramaturgy team there, and they let me take an official list of the playscripts, starting from 1949 then allowed me get into the archives. First I thought seeing the numbers of the playscripts, and the names would have told me the political story behind the preferences, however then I started to think how could I trace the change in the perspectives of national identity and explain how it has transformed.

After asking these questions to myself about the construction of Turkish identity and the State Theater, I started reviewing the literature. The first classification of the literature is framed according to themes: history, family, and space. The studies under history theme could be divided as the ones which focus on early republican period (Başbuğ 2013; Bingöl 2009; Ersanlı 2013; Toprak 2003), the ones deal with the 1940s and mid-1950s (Brockett 2011; Yıldırım 2014), the ones which cover the multiparty regime (Akıncı 2010; Erkoç 1995). There are historical studies that focus on a broader historical period to have a historical comparative approach (İnce 2012; Kancı 2007).

The literature showed me that there were main issues in Turkish national identity such as Westernization, the feeling of backwardness, Islam, etc. The more I read, the later the confusion drop me back in history, until the first modernization movements in Ottoman Empire. I found out that both the intellectuals and the artists were trying to find a solution for their country's "backwardness" as well as answering the question "who 'we' were." I could get satisfactory answers with much academic research until the 1950s. However what I felt was walking on an empty space when I asked the same questions for the 1950s; the years when Turkey met a permanent multiparty regime with a transforming world outside and inside. By chance, I figured out that the foundation of the State Theater in 1949, overlapped with this historical period and decided to check whether the State Theater could be a tool to illuminate the perception of Turkish national identity building in the 1950s.

Choosing the State Theater as the representative institution for national identity building meant a necessity to check the playscripts that were performed and became narratives when it touched the audience. I had the opportunity to check many studies to question the power of the narratives to reflect the identity formations. First I read Murat Belge's Genesis (Belge 2009) as he talks about the 'Big Narrative of Turkishness' in the pioneering works of Turkish authors. Being Turkish was a thing for the authors and prideful side of it affected the imaginations of Turkishness and created a roof narrative, which Murat Belge calls it "the big narrative of Turkishness."

Then I ran into a very significant work of Azade Seyhan's about Turkish literature and the formation of modern national identities. In her study, Seyhan (Seyhan 2008) asserts that narratives are powerful enough to "respond to the universal human need for identification

or affiliation with a clan, a community a religious or ethnic group, or a state.” Additionally, as she claims narratives feed the collective remembrance in a community, as well as the feeling of continuity between the old and future generations. By using a common language and carrying a common sense of memory through generations, they become the agents and contributors of identity formations.

The decline of the old empires allowed different perceptions of history to come to surface through the use of narratives by diverse communities. “Their conflicting memories turn coexistence into turmoil and violence” by Azade Seyhan’s words (Seyhan 2008) found themselves fractured into multiple nation states which would use nationalism to build their new national identities and connect the various communities within their territory to nation states as administrative units. Since there is not a single historical narrative throughout the world with regards to the same historical events, one cannot expect to run into a single historical concern even in the same space and time. The perceptions through history change according to the authors’ concerns, experiences and the historical era.

In Turkish case of nation building, there are numerous specimens of scientific explorations that focus on the early years of the Republican period, in which pointed out that the founding official ideology is one dimensional in the context of a secular “identity of the Turkish nation.” Less scholar focus on where the nation grows who the defined nation is and when the nation emerges separately. Most of the academic studies focus on the 1920s and 1930s to observe the ideological concerns of the Republican elite over people. Also in the literature, it is assumed that the effect of Kemalism and the ideological manoeuvres sustained in later decades. These studies interpret language, theater, alphabet reform, education to cover as the instruments of nationalism in Turkey (Başbuğ 2013; Bingöl 2004a, 2004b, 2009; İnce 2012; Yılmaz 2011). Numerous studies discuss the breaking point of Kemalism such as Çınar (2010); Kancı (2007); Keyman and Kancı (2014). However, transition to multiparty regime and the government change must have an impact in national identity building perspective in terms of diversifying the projections.

Few scholars theoretically and historically keep their interest in 1940s and 1950s. For instance, Brockett kept a different track from the other scholars by exploring Turkish national identity through local newspapers, and he brings his work until the mid-1950s from the 1940s (Brockett 2011). His main argument is that Turkish identity is not only a



secular national identity, but as derived from local newspapers, it is also religious. His study provides an important projection to my study. But though, he can't escape his curiosity over the first years of the establishment, yet he is aware of the superior power of the local newspapers to the national newspapers to reach out the local people and voice out their reactions. His study encouraged me to study on the years of institutionalization of Turkish national identity in the 1950s, in order the smooth the flow out between the early years of the proclamation of the republic and the multiparty regime. Still, history has become the general subject of curiosity over the years, yet his examination leave absences of knowledge for the space and the body unit of the Turkish national identity, rather he focuses on the place of the religion in the identity. Therefore, I will pursue his perspective in this sense to provide a better understanding to the place of Islam that had a nationalist aspect by illuminating the projects of Turkish national identity building in the 1950s.

Some scholars who take a broader historical range such as citizenship and identity building (İnce 2012), through years until today, secularism in modern Turkey (Çınar 2008, 2010). They even though acknowledge that modernism in the 1950s but omit the change in the 1950s. These studies are outstanding, but they could not allow me to get a profound examination over the 1950s Turkish nation building perspectives.

HISTORY			
Early Republican Period	1940s-1950s	Multiparty Regime	Broader Historical Perspective
Ersanlı (2013) Bingöl (2009) Toprak (2003) Başbuğ (2013)	Brockett (2011), Yıldırım (2014)	Erkoç (1995) Akıncı (2010)	İnce (2012), Kancı (2007) Copeaux (2016)

**Figure 1 Literature in the Context of History Theme**

On the other hand, numerous studies mainly focus on the theme family (Akar, Döm, and Güngör 2015; Kancı 2007; Kancı and Altınay 2007; Kandiyoti 2004, 2013; McDermott Harmancı 2016; Şener n.d.; Sirman 2005). Thirdly, the studies which cover the spatial organization of nationalism and national identities look a few (Bozdoğan 2012; Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997; Büyükarman 2008; Çınar 2008; Çınar and Bender 2007; Mardin 1973; Nalbantoğlu Baydar 1997; Roy 2006). When I tried to find studies that cover all three themes were very few (Bingöl and Pakiş 2016; Çınar 2005).

FAMILY
Akar, Öz Döm and Güngör (2015)
Kancı (2007)
Kancı and Altınay (2007)
Kandiyoti (2004)
Kandiyoti (2013)
McDermott Harmancı (2016)
Şener (n.d.)
Sirman (2005)

**Figure 2 Literature in the Context of Family Theme**

SPACE
Bozdoğan (2012)
Bozdoğan and Kasaba (1997)
Büyükarman (2008)
Çınar (2008)
Çınar and Bender (2007)
Mardin (1973)
Nalbantoğlu Baydar (1997)
Roy (2006)

**Figure 3 Literature in the Context of Space Theme**

What usually calls attention about these studies was their single dimension to study about. Two studies that were conducted to put all of the three thematical aspects of nationalism and national identities also had single dimension. For instance, Alev Çınar's (Çınar 2005) study focuses on how religion and its representations took place in the public space while trying to reveal the transformation of the public gaze in years. Furthermore, the study conducted by Yılmaz Bingöl and Ahmet Pakiş (Bingöl and Pakiş 2016) focuses solely on the difference between Anatolianism and pan-Turkism, which can be considered under narrative and national identity aspect. Therefore, a wholistic approach that would take not only three themes: history, family, space; but also three basic dimestions which complement national identity: religion, state, narrative and national identity.

In this perspective, I scanned the literature and divided it into three under religion, state, narrative and national identity. I saw that Bingöl and Pakiş (2016); Çınar (2005); M. Çınar and Gencel Sezgin (2013); Göle (1996); Mardin (1971); Özdalga (2014) focused on the relation between nationalism, national identity, and religion. On the one hand, Akı (1968); Atabaki (2007); Bingöl (2004a,2004b); Roy (2006); Yılmaz (2011) dealt with the role of the state within nationalism and national identity building. State uses its numerous tools, such as alphabet, language policy, theater, spatial organization of the public sphere, etc. to

spread its power relations during nation building process. Yet none covers how the state is represented in a national identity building. Aside from religion and state, third complementary part of a national identity emerges as narrative and national identity. Numerous studies covered how Turkish narrative and national identity is made and these constitute a significant proportion of the literature (Ahıska 2003; Belivermiş and Eğribel 2012; Bingöl 2004a, 2004b, Çınar 2008, 2010; Ergin 2008; Ertuğrul 2009; Göle 2010; Kadioğlu and Keyman 2011; Kancı 2007; Karacabey n.d.; S. Karahasanoğlu and Skoog 2009; Kebeli 2007; Seyhan 2008; Tekelioğlu 1996; Toprak 2002b)

Religion	State	Narrative and National Identity
Mardin (1971) Bingöl & Pakiş (2016) Özdalga (2014) M. Çınar & Sezgin (2013) Çınar (2005) Göle (1996)	Bingöl (2004a) Bingöl (2004b) Yılmaz (2011) Akı (1968) Roy (2006) Atabaki (2007)	Seyhan (2008) Kadioğlu & Keyman (2011) Göle (2010) Toprak (2002) Ahıska (2003) Ergin (2008) Çınar (2010) Çınar (2008) Ertuğrul (2009) Tekelioğlu (1996) Karahasanoğlu & Skoog (2005) Belivermiş & Eğribel (2012) Karacabey (n.d.) Kebeli (2007) Bingöl (2004a) Bingöl (2004b) Kancı (2007) Yıldız (2004)

**Figure 4 The Literature that Deals with the Interrelations of Religion, State, Narrative and National Identity with National Identity**

The contribution of this study to the literature lies in the analysis of the State Theater repertory between 1949-1960, through the lens of history, family and space themes in a multidimensional approach (by examining religion, state, narrative and national identity) in order to define the Turkish nation. Also, this study is an application of an interdisciplinary method for cultural studies and national identity building which focuses on the 1950s Turkish national identity building.

Literature review indicates that many studies (Kadioğlu and Keyman 2011, Keyman and Kancı 2014) assume that the 1950s are the continuity of the early Republican Period in terms of perception of national identity. The one which argue that there might be a slight difference in the perception of nation building, it ends up with arguing this is not enough to

consider it as a significant transformation. For instance, Kancı (2007) argues that even though Islam is restored in the 1950s, that did not provided a fundamental change in the perception of nation building. Yet, I argue that due to the political changes such as transition to the multiparty regime, approaching to the Western block and many other domestic political events in the wake of World War Two in the 1950s must have created a significant change in the perception of Turkish nation building process.

Secondly, this shift is visible through the playscripts of the State Theater. Kancı (2007), Başbuğ (2013) argue that the early Republican era attempted to create an identity divested from the Muslim and Ottoman aspects (Kancı 2007, 107). 1920s and 1930s were the years that Turkish national identity was imposed as it included a sudden cut from Ottoman and Islamic heritage because of the secular anxieties. Başbuğ (2013) puts it through the playscripts of the Theater of People's Houses. This structure had an organic tie with the Republican People's Party and worked as a tool to impose the perspective of nationalism of the party and the government during the single party regime. Yet, this institutions stage has been transformed to the State Theater's first stage of Implementation as a transition period of being an organ of the party, to the institution linked to the state. This link was an attempt to the indoctrination of the national identity, rather than a unilateral imposition. Yet, the dramaturgy strategies could not reflect the one single party's approach, rather it reflected a way of understanding and imagining the Turkishness in the 1950s.

After scanning my material that I got from the State Theater archives, the religious cues called my attention, and I went back to the research of Başbuğ's on the People's Houses playscripts to make a comparison with what she found out. There was no inclination of religious identity as opposed to what I got from my first reading. Her work was not the only one which figured out the secular nature of Turkishness that was imagined in the Early Republican Era, but Yıldız (2004), Copeaux (2016) further argue that Turkish national identity was defined as ethno-secular in the early Republican era. Especially Yıldız (2004) discusses with his evidences that the frame of Turkishness was drawn with ethnic features. He disputes the Ziya Gökalp's understanding of nationalism that puts Islam to the secondary place as Yıldız suggests that Turkish nationalism in early Republican Era had ethnosecular tendencies (Yıldız 2004, 19) Turkish nationalism with the contribution of Ziya Gökalp (Gökalp 1963) though, elaborates Turkishness as the first unit of Turkish nation but perceives religion as a social fact which has echoes on both

individual and social lives. On the other hand, in the 1950s, I argue that my study that focuses on the 1950s reveal that this frame has changed due to the horrifying experiences of World War Two in Europe. In the 1950s, a roll-back towards Ziya Gökalp's perception of nationalism that was experienced with the return of the religion in a secular frame.

The method I applied in this study is called Critical Discourse Analysis. The objective of this approach is to reveal the discursive structures of the dominance and power relations, to give social phenomenon a better understanding. (T. A. van Dijk 1993). What the approach means by the dominance and power is basically "the control of one group over another" that is institutionalized and hierarchically organized (T. A. van Dijk 1993, 254–55).

In accordance with the methods, I used two categories to cover the material. First category divides the playscripts into two as local playscripts and translated playscripts. The local playscripts become an eye to how the local playwrights see Turkish national identity and construct the feeling of sameness and the difference, whereas the translations' focal point is how the sense of sameness and the difference in the imagination of "the other" of Turkishness. According to the Critical Discourse Analysis, the 'self' is not only constructed one-sidedly but also mutually in opposition to the "historical others," "familial others," "spatial others." Therefore "the other" identity of Turkish identity gain importance and it becomes visible through the translated playscripts. Second category separates adults' playscripts from children's playscripts. Adults' playscripts put the imagined Turkish identity onto the stage for the adults, whereas the children's plays target the future generations of Turkish nation to display Turkishness to the young Turks.



**Figure 5 Distribution of the Translated Playscripts on the World Map<sup>1</sup>**

Methods also have an interdisciplinary attitude. This study borrows Gerard Genette's literature based narrative discourse analysis (Genette 1980). Also, the study analyzes the space of the narratives, the playscripts in this study, narration and characters by searching meanings with regards to the national identity building. Also Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak's approach that they developed while analyzing the Austrian national identity formation through mutual dialogues within conversations is benefitted. They look how Austrian national identity constructed through narratives and language. Yet, what they look is not only how the narration forms and shapes a national identity and its discursive construction while also checking how the audience forms and processes this construction and contributes to the national identity building process. This mutual construction is applied as the reciprocal construction of the national and narrative identities through the playscripts of the State Theater by using the translated playscripts. The weakest part of this slight difference of application of this approach has been my impossibility of reaching out the audience of the sample plays, and getting feedbacks to control how they processed the

<sup>1</sup> For the World map visuals: <https://thumbs.dreamstime.com/z/world-map-five-continent-colourful-illustration-white-background-38719517.jpg>

images of Turkishness and “the other” on the stage. National identity discourse analysis incorporates political sciences and linguistics and looks at the worlds of meanings through the construction of the feeling of sameness and the difference.

I also benefitted from Alev Çınar’s thematization in her study (Çınar 2005). She uses three themes that are introduced as body, space and time. She examines the representations and transformation of secularism and identities in the public sphere by checking the bodies, as the body of the national identities that are displayed in the public sphere; spaces as the imagined spaces of the identities and nation, and finally time, as the historical understanding that is showed up in the public sphere. So what she calls time I call history, body is called family, and finally, space is equivalent to what I call space in this study again. Her approach is also an interdisciplinary one which intermingles with political science, linguistics. There are slight differences in how I define these themes by the help of nationalism studies. History theme refers to the question “When did the nation emerge?”, family theme searches for answers to the question “Who is the nation?” and how it is defined?, and thirdly space theme refers to the question “Where is the nation?”.

I drew the sample of the research in the repertory fort his study focuses on how the repertory picture the Turkish identity. The study takes the seasons between 1949-1960 into account according to the plays’ ability to connect with the audience and the frequency of encoding. If a play was not staged but taken to the dramaturgy list, then it is not counted as a part of the sample for its lack of connection with the audience. Also if the first reading of a playscript finished without an encoding, that meant it does not have any representative power with regards to the Turkish national identity building.

The historical playscripts are;

	<b>Local playscripts</b>
Adult	Fatih, (Nazım Kurşunlu) Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti (Reşat Nuri Güntekin) Gılgamesh (Orhan Asena) Üçüncü Selim (Celal Esat Arseven) Hürrem Sultan (Orhan Asena)
Children’s	Oyuncak (Hakkı Bigeç)

**Figure 6 Plays by Local Playwrights**

	<b>Translated playscripts</b>	
Adult	Ancient Greek Subtheme	Elektra (Sophokles)
	Birth of Europe Subtheme	The Dead Queen (Henry de Montherlant) Don Carlos (Frederich von Schiller) Maria Stuart (Frederich von Schiller) The Crucible (Arthur Miller)
	World War II Subtheme	The Robbers (Frederich von Schiller) Anne Frank (Albert Hackett and Frances Goodrich)
Children's	Little Columbus (Jacop Lorey) Little Mozart (Jacop Lorey)	

**Figure 7 Translated Playscripts**

The familial playscripts

	<b>Local playscripts</b>
Adult	Eski Şarkı (Reşat Nuri Güntekin) Branda Bezi (Nazım Kurşunlu) Akif Bey (Namık Kemal) Finten (Abdülhak Hamid) Bu Gece Başka Gece (Reşat Nuri Güntekin) Tablodaki Adam (Cevat Fehmi Başkut) Harput'ta Bir Amerikalı (Cevat Fehmi Başkut) Çemberler (Çetin Altan)
Children's	Deniz'in Mektubu (Sevil Dinçer)

**Figure 8 Plays by Local Playwrights**

	<b>Translated playscripts</b>
Adult	The Deceits of Scapin (Moliere) Peer Gynt (Henrik Ibsen) The Gaby (Georges Feydeau) The Mourning Family (Brannislav Nusic) On the Same Pillow (Jean de Hartog) Wooden Pots (Edmund Morris)
Children's	Blue Bird (Maurice Maeterlinck)

**Figure 9 Translated Playscripts**

Finally, the spatial playscripts are;

	<b>Local playscripts</b>
Adult	Küçük Şehir (Cevat Fehmi Başkut) Köşebaşı (Ahmet Kutsi Tecer) Çığ (Nazım Kurşunlu) Güneşte On Kişi (Turgut Özakman)
Children's	Kara Boncuk (Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın)

**Figure 10 Plays by Local Playwrights**



	<b>Translated playscripts</b>
Adult	She Stoops to Conquer (Oliver Goldsmith) Teahouse of the August Moon (Vern Sneider, John Patric) The Traffic Ticket (Paolo Levi)
Children's	Three Sacks of Lies (Margarethe Cordes)

**Figure 11 Translated Playscripts**

“Analysis involves what is commonly termed coding, taking raw data and raising it to a conceptual level.” (Strauss and Corbin 2008, 66). I read the playscripts by the help of an identity coding chart. I derived this identity coding chart by reading 156 playscripts. After reading the material, I saw that religion, state, narrative and national identities were the most common topics that dialogues were using while building a sense of sameness and difference. This flexible view comes from the necessity to go towards a grounded theory to help me understanding my sample better while developing the research’s own path (Charmaz 2006)<sup>2</sup>. Reading and developing the theory by the aid of my material put subcodings forward; such as the duality of Muslimhood and Christianity under religion. On the other hand, while literature called my attention to the patriarchy and loyalty to the state under the representations of the state, reading and letting grounded theory to take the lead provided two other subcodes: Revolutions of Atatürk and the bureaucrats. Narrative and national identity had five subcodes likewise: narrative identity, national identity, emergence of nationalism, symbolic cues, Eastern-Western swing. This chart looks at how religion, state, narrative and national identities are represented through the playscripts in the context of construction of the feeling of sameness and the difference. So the identity coding system looks for the representative codings of “us” versus “them” as Muslimhood and Christianity under religion. Whereas patriarchy, loyalty to the state, revolutions of Atatürk and the typology of bureaucrats are the items under the state. Finally, the study covers the representations of narrative and national identity, emergence of nationalism, symbolic cues with regards to nationalism and national identity such as flag, homeland, ethnicity; and the oscillation of the Turkish identity between being Eastern and Western.

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<sup>22</sup> What is very useful about the grounded theory is to be able to develop the study’s own pathways which fit into the subject and the sample(Charmaz 2006). Charmaz’s (2006) and Strauss and Corbin (2008)’ books were my guide in writing memos and while coding. This does not mean that I have not used the literature while building this path, yet both literature review and the playscripts build it reciprocally with ties. This mutual interrelation can be seen in the chart I give as the map of the construction of the coding system in appendices A.

IDENTITY CODING SYSTEM	
1. Religion ("us" versus "them")	Muslimhood
	Christianity
2. State ("us" versus "them")	Patriotism, Patriarchy
	Loyalty to the State
	Revolutions of Atatürk
	Bureaucrates
3. Narrative and National Identity ("us" versus "them")	Narrative Identity
	National Identity
	Emergence of Nationalism
	Symbolic Cues (homeland, flag, ethnicity, etc.)
	Eastern-Western swing

**Figure 12 Identity Coding System**

To give an example to how I applied this bouquet of methods can be seen below. Coding System gives three basic codes: religion, state, narrative and national identity. While reading I code the meanings regarding these codes, and I call the cue/cues that include or give the meaning in the context of national identity building, a coded segment.

Example for a Coded Segment: (gotten from the original piece)

Haşa! Sümme haşa! Biz müslüman oğlu  
müslümanız... Bize Sultan Selim Nizamı Cedid'i  
kabul ettiremedi! Napolyon şapka mı giydirecek?

Then, considering that this is a religion code, I check the feeling of sameness, which is based upon Muslimhood (in III. Selim) (Arseven 1999).

- «Us» : Muslimhood

“To speak on the Frankish applications on **Muslim**; if what they have done is beneficial for humanity and valid through civilization, **we** need to apply them without hesitation...” (Arseven 1999, 24). The bold words show the reference to how “us” is set up and confirmed as Muslim.

- The Difference: Christianity (in, III. Selim)
- «Them» : Europeans, non-Muslims

Within the same cue, the construction of “the other” is visible: “To speak on the **Frankish** applications on Muslim; if what **they** have done is beneficial for humanity and valid through **civilization**, we need to apply them without hesitation...” (Arseven 1999, 24). The

bold “they” refers to the “Frankish” and that one civilization that “they” developed. This also indicates the swing of Turkish identity between being Eastern and Western identity. This is a good example of overlapping codes for narrative and national identity and religion at the same time.

I use MaxQda 11. Software (Cleverbridge Company, Berlin) to process and classify my data easily. I do the same processes for each coding under religion, state, national and narrative identity separately. However, MaxQda helps me to visualize and examine the overlapping codings.

Conceptual Framework is drawn around the concepts that this study needs and the literature review regarding nation building suggests.

This study defines nations as modern mental constructs of transformed minds by modernization and industrialization. Nations are discursively constructed for the market through mass education, ended up with creating high culture (Gellner 2013). Gellner defines nationalism as a political principle that provide an accordance between the political and the national unit (Gellner 1983). Therefore once the administrative unit and the political unit have both a national base and once defined in modern terms, nationalism arises. Nationalism needs a nation to become a principle, therefore transforms the common culture of the collectives into a nationalist system of ideas, way of communicating and behaving with the feeling of sameness. This sameness can feed nationalism if only multiple people recognize themselves as a part of the same nation. Yet, recognition of multiple individuals as members of a nation with shared duties and a sign system does not explain the process of transition to the age of nationalism. A radical change in the production mechanisms with industrialization brought about new necessities and also transformed the intellectual world of the society. New industrial market needs new occupational branches, which can only be provided by mass education that is supported by the state. The mass education that is under control of the state, which is the legitimate mechanism of enforcement, draws a certain sign system automatically in the framework of the necessities. The sign system that is shared by the educated has an output that is called high culture. Although Gellner and Benedict Anderson do not share the same stance, Anderson’s contribution to the literature with nations as the imagined communities (B. Anderson 2006) cannot be ignored. This sign system is spread through numerous ways

among people, such as education, newspapers, maps or museums as well as the historical narratives. However, this study is not concerned with what the people processed through this common national sign system, rather how it is diffused in high culture. Nevertheless, Anderson's claim as nations are imagined communities, and they are imagined with limitations, draw the line between "us" and "them" while showing the borders of the high culture as well.

In Turkish case of nation building, Gellner's theoretization is strong enough to explain the emergence of high culture starting in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman modernization. However, Gellner's assertions do not touch upon why and how a contradiction of being stuck between Western modernization and tradition occurred in Turkish nationalism. Even though his way of theorizing nationalism and high culture explains how the modern Turkish elite emerged, it does not focus on why and how nationalisms other than the Western European ones set their feeling of sameness on their authenticity against the West. Partha Chatterjee calls attention to this contradiction. Chatterjee's explanation on how post-colonial nationalisms, more specifically modern India, take the West as a model for modernization but also project their national uniqueness (Partha Chatterjee 1993). This insight also illuminates the Turkish case of nationalism that is stuck between being Eastern and Western with contradictions although Turkey was not colonized.

Most of the studies in the field focused in the early Republican Era's nationalist ideology. There are numerous specimens of scientific explorations that focus on the early years of the Republican period, in which pointed out that the founding official ideology is one dimensional in the context of a secular "identity of the Turkish nation." Less scholar focus on where the nation grows who the defined nation is and when the nation emerges separately. Most of the academic studies focus on the 1920s and 1930s to observe the ideological concerns of the Republican elite over people. Also in the literature, it is assumed that the effect of Kemalism and the ideological manoeuvres sustained in later decades. These studies interpret language, theater, alphabet reform, education to cover as the instruments of nationalism in Turkey (Başbuğ 2013; Bingöl 2004a, 2004b, 2009; İnce 2012; Yılmaz 2011). There are numerous studies that discuss the breaking point of Kemalism such as (Çınar 2010; Kancı 2007; Keyman and Kancı 2014) However, transition to multiparty regime, and the government change.

Few scholars theoretically and historically keep their interest in 1940s and 1950s. For instance, Brockett kept a different track from the other scholars by exploring Turkish national identity through local newspapers, and he brings his work until the mid 1950s from the 1940s (Brockett 2011). His main argument is that Turkish identity is not only a secular national identity, but as derived from local newspapers, it is also religious. His study provides an important projection to my study. But though, he can't escape his curiosity over the first years of the establishment, yet he is aware of the superior power of the local newspapers to the national newspapers to reach out the local people and voice out their reactions. His study encouraged me to study on the years of institutionalization of Turkish national identity in the 1950s, in order the smooth the flow out between the early years of the proclamation of the republic and the multiparty regime. Still, history has become the general subject of curiosity over the years, yet his examination leave absences of knowledge for the space and the body unit of the Turkish national identity, rather he focuses on the place of the religion in the identity. Therefore, I will pursue his perspective in this sense to provide a better understanding to the place of Islam that had a nationalist aspect by illuminating the projects of Turkish national identity building in the 1950s.

Some scholars deal with a broader historical range with single concept such as citizenship and identity building (İnce 2012), through years until today, secularism in modern Turkey (Çınar 2010, 2008). Even though these studies acknowledge that modernism in the 1950s but omit the change in the 1950s and they are outstanding, they could not allow me to get a profound examination over the 1950s Turkish nation building perspectives.

To apply this way of thinking to the case of Turkey, Turkish modernization and the attempts of industrialization to catch up with the Western technological improvements goes back until the era of *Tanzimat*<sup>3</sup>. Modernization process begins with the need for a new stratum that would meet the needs of the new occupational branches. Modern military, medical and bureaucratic schools, and shortly after school of arts, in Ottoman Empire were opened in order to meet the modern needs of the market. Gellner asserts that Turkey is an unique example for such nation building projects and needs to be explored

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<sup>3</sup> *Tanzimat*, is the period of new regulations to rejuvenate the weakened Ottoman Empire in the 19.th century, begins with Tanzimat Fermanı in 1839. It is accepted as the most significant turning point in the century in terms of intellectual, economic and political transformations, led to the Westernization. The transforming land regime in Ottoman Empire ends up with the recognition of the right of the property by Tanzimat. The Notion of state of law is another aspect of Tanzimat Era to indicate the European effect (İnalçık 1941).

profoundly because Turkey's modernization starts with inner dynamics, initiation of Westernization despite the feeling of rivalry with the West after Tanzimat era. Transformation of the imperial market to the modern market lets high culture to emerge, which is highly influenced by the West. Literature and arts take important role to introduce European culture by translation, overwhelmingly European literary works. Theater pieces that are imported, adopted or rewritten hold significant amount of these pieces.

The proclamation of the Republic, or then the transition to the multiparty regime did not cease the tradition of translating Western literary arts that had begun in Tanzimat Era. Translations, particularly that are borrowed, adapted or partially made suitable for Turkish social life, come from Europe heavily. These plays had chances to demonstrate Western understanding of history, Western life style and imaginary of space. However, in time, Western projection inclusively European enlarged its projection by putting American authors in the repertory. Getting inspiration from many studies in the field encouraged me to focus on theater while allowing me to ask more questions about national identity building in Turkey in detail. The State Theater particularly holds an exceptional place for its organic relation with the state in the Republic of Turkey. The State Theater has a dramaturgy list that is checked and supported by the state apparatus nevertheless it is counted as an autonomous institution according to its founding law. Its target audience is the elites of the young Republic of Turkey in Ankara, who can be counted as a part of the high culture.

Several scholarly works demonstrate the power of performances<sup>4</sup> and performative arts<sup>5</sup> when they are related to the politics, particularly national identity formations. This power

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<sup>4</sup> Laura Adams projects Uzbekistan's national parades in an anthropological perspective in the context of official ideology (Adams 2010). She calls attention to the involvement of the state in the performative celebrations and public rituals during national holidays in Uzbekistan. Uzbekistan is a very good example for Uzbek national state's national ideological discourse to build a nation. Classification of the parades, songs, and the performances as well as interpretation of the given days off for the civil servants to show up in those parades contributes to the knowledge with regards to ideological responses of the Uzbek people for the nationalism and nation building initiatives. A special conference issue in 2012 was launched by ASEN under the title: "Forging the Nation: Performance and Ritual in the (Re)production of Nation". I have benefitted so much from this issue, particularly from (Cesari 2012; Hemple 2012; Kuever 2012; Mock 2012) with their power of envisioning. In addition to those studies, Florentina C. Andreescu was another author that inspired me as this study focuses on how the nation can be legitimized with cinematic nationhood by the help of constructing common fantasies in the case of Romania (Andreescu 2012).

has become my departure point in this thesis. The political power of the theater in Turkey starts with Namık Kemal's "*Vatan Yahut Silistre*" (Homeland or Silistra) and the remarkable reactions of the audience in 1873<sup>6</sup>, and this performance is accepted as the beginning of the modern theater's relationship with politics in Tanzimat Period. Elif Dicle Başbuğ's (Başbuğ 2013) study on the theaters of People's Houses points out the nationalist partizan ideology of the early Republican period in single party era to unearth the state's ideological use of party apparatus, as she refers to Louis Althusser's conceptualization of state's ideological apparatus.

On the other hand, Seyhan (2008) suggests that novels, literary arts in a broader sense provide the readers a sense of belonging in a nation. No doubt that theater does this in a stronger manner with its performative power. Adding performance into this suggestion would only render theater to duplicate its power on the audience. Especially if one imagines that theaters have been a mass messaging opportunity for the artists, they use the chance of conveying their messages in a visual base as well with a voice alive. Performative power of the theater overarches the literature, drama, voice, demonstration of the consciously directed, strongly conveyed messages, creating a common language as well as a common sense.

When theaters of the People's Houses remained political and traditional, in a transforming political climate after World War II, the sounds of diversity and a trend of having a high qualified theater became visible in the 1940s. Academic theater initiatives emerged with the foundation of the State Conservatory. Conservatory had its first performances in the People's Houses stages. It was then transformed into Tatbikat Theater in 1947. With the German theater prominent: Carl Ebert's<sup>7</sup> efforts, the theater in Turkey had a Western,

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<sup>5</sup> For more details about the theater as a part of semiotics see (Aston and Savona 1991; Melton 2001; Pao 2010; Pavis 1996); for more information about how the politics and public is affected by the performative arts see (Melton 2001; Pao 2010).

<sup>6</sup> "The Premier of *Vatan yâhud Silistre* at Gedik Pasha Theater on April 1, 1873 has become a significant event. The audience that filled the theater shouted at loud "Long live our homeland! Long live Kemal! Long live Kemal" and overflowed to the streets. Furthermore, a convoy moved forward in order to see Namık Kemal, whom they could not find, and congratulate him at midnight with the lights in hands, passed over the Bridge of Unkapani, turned up at the administrative office of the newspaper in Galatasaray. They left a message to Namık Kemal when they could not find him there either, that mentions their appreciation and congratulations for letting them experience extraordinary feelings." (Akün n.d., 368)

<sup>7</sup> The Tatbikat Theater and so the State Theater split their ways with the People's Houses that were guided by the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*) and its official ideology under One Party rule. The

academic performative face and this track was also kept by latter pioneers of Turkish Theater such as Muhsin Ertuğrul (Çelik 2013).

There are three themes that nationalisms are interested while building a nation: history, family, and space. The literature is based upon searching for answers to three basic questions in relation to these three themes. First question is “Why is the “making [of] history” important for National Identity Building?” The answer is abstract<sup>8</sup> but mainly given by Jonathan Friedman (1992) history is the «past» of the nation, and it is imagined and remade by the help of narratives to construct the past of a nation to connect past with now and the future. Second question is: Why is the “making [of] the family” important for National Identity Building? Family is understood as the “body” of the nation as Nükhet Sirman conceptualize it under “familial citizenship” (Sirman 2005). Final basic question “Why is the “making [of] the space” important for National Identity Building?” is responded by Benedict Anderson (B. Anderson 2006) while arguing the significance of the map which contributes to the national consciousness<sup>9</sup>. Space draws the «territory» of the nation and mentions its nation state’s borders of sovereignty.

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claim of the conservatory and the State Theater was to produce more academic and qualified plays, including Western literary works, starting from 1949 with Carl EBERT. Carl EBERT, (1887-1980). Theater artist in Berlin City Opera. After criticizing Hitler regime, he was fired. After years spent in Argentina and Britain, he was invited to Turkey as a counselor of the newly established conservatory in Ankara in 1936. He was employed by the Turkish government for 9 years on contract, administrating the State Conservatory and the Tatbikat Theater. Before the emergence of the Western styled theater and foundation of the State Theater institutionally, theater has been embraced in the context of improvisational theater (*tuluat*) and light comedy (*orta oyunu*) throughout Anatolia. The theater of Tanzimat Reform Era and Darulbedayi bring into prominence to the theater politically and visionally (Akı 1968). However, Republican identity building process in theater first takes place at the People’s Houses (Turkish institution for public education and spreading kemalism) (Yazgan 2012). Yet, Tatbikat Theatre and State Theater have claimed to be more academy based. They reflected and promoted Western literary works and play an active role on the new republican “Turkish citizen” identity institutionally, not by only the support of the government but also with the support of related undersecreteriat, competing with the foreigner theaters as well as representing the new identity abroad. The State Theater in Turkey is established under the presidency of İsmet İnönü. During the depressing atmosphere of the World War Two, Carl Ebert from Germany was charged to establish the Tatbikat Theater<sup>7</sup> then transform into te State Theater. And the involvement of the Ankara public; especially the university students and the public servants to the events was rather high (Tartan 1997). Moreover, the State Theater performs in the other cities with a loyal audience.

<sup>8</sup> For more information about the different perceptions with regards to “when did nation emerge?” one can check (Özkırımlı 2010) for a critical introduction. Primordialists, modernists and ethnosymbolists suggest different arguments about how antique the nation is.

<sup>9</sup> Benedict Anderson (Anderson 2006) also argues that the sovereignty of this collective identity and consciousness needed borders. It does not matter how expanded it is in minds but seeing the borders, helps imagining “our lands”. This can also be considered as a matter of creating a feeling of sameness and difference.



This study takes the State Theater as the signifier of the representations of nation building process for the 1950s in Turkey because, arts, particularly literature and theater, have an important role in reinforcing a collective remembrance in terms of inheritance of culture. Moreover, the dialogues and the cues within the pieces work to create the feeling of sameness among the members of a nation who share the same system of communication. The interrelation between national identity building and the State Theater in Turkey relies on the organic bond between the state and the institution. The artists and the workers of the State Theater have been civil servants (Karlı 2013). Due to its repertory, the State Theater is seen as a massive transmitter of high culture for the Turkish national identity building project, when television and the other visual technologies were not spread throughout Turkey. There was a great interest by the Ankaran audience in watching theater performances. Such an interest that, once before the opening of the State Theater, İstanbul City Theater (Darülbedayi) visits Ankara for a performance, a confluence had occurred. This confluence ended up with broken chairs and a postponing of the play (Tartan 1997). Teoman Yazgan mentions the couple of transition years of Tatbikat Theater to the State Theater as the years in which Ankaran audience developed a passion of theater (Yazgan 2012, 65). These performances were also supported spiritually by the President İsmet İnönü and the ministers. He used to attend the plays in person with his wife and used to congratulate Muhsin Ertuğrul, the manager of the State Theater of the period and the artists in the aftermath of the performances (Tartan 1997). However, the civil servants and the artists around Muhsin Ertuğrul mentions that he would not be likely to get involved in personal touch with any politicians, and when he had the chance, he would reject the offers and suggestions<sup>10</sup>. Yet, the people that were running around to service for the theater of the

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<sup>10</sup> It is said to be the same when Muhsin Ertuğrul was working for Darülbedayi as well. "Let's go back to 1927, 20 years before the foundation of the Küçük Tiyatro. Refik Ahmet (Sevengil) talks: 'İstanbul Mayor, Muhittin Üstündağ wanted to set a new order in Darülbedayi in 1927 and... appointed Muhsin Ertuğrul as the director. ..He also appointed three names to the literary board... One day, a play, an adaptation of a French vodville that I did not deem to stage was picked by the literary board. (...) Mithat Cemal Bey asked me why Muhsin Bey was rejecting to stage this play. I did not know, I got angry a bit. They called Muhsin... The talk between them: 'Why do you not stage this piece that we picked?' Muhsin, with a frustration: 'It is lousy. Cannot be staged.' Mithat Cemal: 'We like it.' Muhsin: 'You wouldn't understand.' Mithat Cemal: 'I have read this number of playscripts. I watched numerous plays, too.'" Muhsin, responded theatrically by holding his collars with two hands: 'I have gotten dressed since the day I was born but I don't understand anything about tailoring'. (Tartan 1997, 173). This strict attitude continued during Celal Bayar's presidential period. There was a tension between Celal Bayar's government and the artists of the State Theater. Muhsin Ertuğrul's papers about Russian tradition of theater let rightest authors such as Peyami Safa blamed him about being a communist and treason at the assembly. Muhsin Ertuğrul then was discharged from his position at the State Theater (Çelik 2013). There were also other cases such as Müşfik and Yıldız Kenter's

State were the ministers, the prime minister, the president and the party members (Tartan 1997). This collaboration between the politicians and the institution strikes me as there is a clear link between the politics, state, and the content. Although Muhsin Ertuğrul was principled and the enactment of the State Theater provided autonomy to the State Theater, it was not possible for the institution to act as free as a private one.

Besides, the founding of the State Theater overlapped with Turkey's transition to a multiparty regime. The first official play of the State Theater was staged in 1949, although the stage had two years background at Tatbikat Theater, which worked as an organ of the conservatory. Further, the significance of the institution comes also from its popularity among university students, bureaucrats, politicians as well as children in Ankara. This way the target audience of the audience overlaps with the high culture, rather than targeting ordinary people at its first step.

The playscripts are examined by classifying data according to how the characters feel about their identity, how their sameness or the differences are shown. So this study uses three other concepts that are related with the analytical tools of the research and identity coding chart. Religion, state, narrative and national identity are three dimensions that complement a national identity. Religion is a social formation which is founded by the sacred beliefs and complemented by rituals and behavior. Living communities or social formations involve getting together and social solidarity within (Peterson 2012). National identity building projects encompass a process of building loyalty to the state as well as nation (Connor 1978). The religion has never lost its room in the peoples' lives (Mitchell 2006) and kept its place to define "the self" of both individuals and the communities. Religion's vital place in communities makes it also essential fact for nationalisms, either nationalisms with secularism or nationalisms that incorporates with religion. Rogers Brubaker (Brubaker 2012) brings up four approaches while talking on the relationship between religion and nationalism and this study treats religion as a part of nationalism. By the help of Anthony Smith's conceptualization on nationalism that is composed by the aid of myths and symbols (Smith 1994), this dissertation looks at how this nation is represented through the symbols of religion.

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resignation after Muhsin Ertuğrul's leaving from Ankara, while Celal Bayar was insisting on the case of Tunç Yalman's "insulting the spiritual personality of the government" (Çelik 2013).

On the other hand, religion is not the only determinant. The state in modern societies interferes with individuals' lives and attempts to change it (Özdalga 2014). State uses its legitimate power to institutionalize this change. The State's knowledge points out how the state builds the national identity and how it is perceived by the intellectuals (Safran 1991). A nation state collaborates patriotism in order to "nourish civic engagement, solidarity, mutual responsibility" (Brubaker 2004, 121). As Rogers Brubaker suggests, thereby they not only become the sovereign to define and change the lives of the individuals but also talk in the name of them<sup>11</sup>. "Who" actually talks in the name of them, defines the ownership of the nation state in terms of identity.

Narrative Identity is described as the sense of individual or collective sameness and difference without modern and national terms, in a narrative. According to the responses to those actions by the other "self"s construct "me" and "the other" (Mead 1972). In social formations, multiple self(ves) get together based upon certain norms and sameness principles, create solidarity and raise "we" and "us" correspondingly. If national identities are to be thrived, they lie in national narratives. The formation of the self "Us" and "them" replaces individual "I" and "me," and the collective conscious is defined with modern terms within a national scale. Overall, narrative and national identities rely on the direct definitions of the sameness and the difference (Wodak et al. 2009).

The reason this study focuses on the 1950s Turkey is that the inevitable and irreversible change in Turkish political life with the transition to the multi-party regime in 1946 with Democrat Party. Before the emergence of Democrat Party, there were many suspicions about having İnönü back in political life after his contestations with Atatürk in 1938. However, without any problems after the demise of Atatürk, İnönü was elected as the second president of the Republic by the parliament. İnönü's era gave the signals of having peace with the ones who were exiled in Atatürk's era (Ahmad 2014). İnönü was the determinant political figure to set the framework for Turkish nationalism in accordance with the domestic and international politics.

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<sup>11</sup> What Rogers Brubaker argues mainly is that nationalism studies should focus more on how the practices of nation to collaborate patriotism and nationalism to integrate new forms of citizenry. He perceives nationalism as a category or practice rather than a category of analysis. Therefore his article calls attention to the "imagined communities that does not coincide with the territory or the citizenry of the nation state" (Brubaker 2004, 116). The claim of sovereignty through nationalism may exceed the borders and may have a broader understanding of patriotism that reflect upon nationalism. This study deals with both the imagined communities that coincides with the borders of the sovereignty of the nation state as well as its extension, when it comes up in the data.

Based upon Yıldırım (2014)'s interpretations and results for the early years of İnönü era, Faroz Ahmad (2014) also tells about the wavy relationship between the government and Pan-Turkists until the end of World War II as well as the growing conservatism in the Republican People's Party. When Pan-Turkists were accused of being racist and counter ideology, there were worshipped after their release by the courts and became the heroes of the fight with communism.

I cut my study by May 27, 1960, military coup that suspended the common experiences of young Turkish Republic. Many scholars agree that the coup was an event to start a new political and historical era. Ahmad (2014) calls this new era between 1960-1980 "the Military Tutelage." In the light of these historian conceptualizations and classifications over Turkish political history, I decide to cut my research in 1960. Therefore, my archival research ends with the season of 1959-1960 of the State Theater in Turkey. As the coup took place at the end of May 1960; overlaps the closing of the season.

Following part is a brief introduction of the data that I derived from the State Theater's archives. I first give an outlook for the repertory by scanning the content. I have gotten 156 playscripts that were readable. Most of them were typed by the typewriters. Therefore it was not possible to count or scan words and derive a numerical contextual data. However, after seeing that the metaphorical cues or the number of personification in the content is pretty high, I saw that counting keywords would not mean or indicate anything. For instance, a basic keyword would be chosen as "nation," yet, the software would count the phrase "*kadın milleti*," without checking its meaning. Thereby, I decided to count the coded segments which give the meanings of what I was looking for by the help of my analytical tools, religion, state, narrative and national identity. So, first part of data analysis gives information about the distribution of the playscripts according to the seasons, and second part evaluates the frequencies of the analytical tools and checks the number of overlapping coded segments.

By thinking that counting words with regards to the nationalism and national identity projects would not give sound outputs because of the metaphorical and sarcastic use of the words in the cues in the playscripts, I focused on the contexts and the meanings that give the meanings with regards to the nationalism and national identity building. Therefore, I

gave each segment of meaning a code and counted those codes to reach out their frequencies at the very first step of the study, in order to get to know the data better.

These coded segments were all bounded by the same aim: to build a feeling of sameness or dissimilation. Their connection within is set up on the sameness and the difference. These feelings of sameness and difference are framed by three lexical components of the construction of a national identity, given by the playscripts: religion, state, narrative and national identity. Religion's place within and the self-location of the religion is often discussed in the literature; as a competitive component of the national identity. Secondly, the place of the state in national identity building process in terms of patriarchy and the nation-state is another determinant to reinforce the national sameness or the power to create "the other." Thirdly the tool to examine the national identity, I use narrative and national identity to decompose first the individual and collective sameness that is independent from the modern national identity but dependent on patriotism and exclusion; secondly the meanings that refer to the collective national sameness which relies on the modern emergence of a national identity and patriotism.

After getting the playscripts from the State Theater archives that covers the seasons between years 1949-1960, I distributed the playscripts according to the seasons. The starting off season puts four local plays on the stage, whereas the number of the translated plays is 10 which is rather high, including the children's plays. The impression of Carl Ebert and West is visible, yet, even though Ebert tries to nationalize the State Theater with a Turkish sense, the lack of local playscripts which are congruent with the institutional's ideals does not let Carl Ebert and then Muhsin Ertuğrul to put more local plays on the stage during the first season<sup>12</sup>. This imbalance in distribution of local and translated plays becomes almost even until the season 1953-1954. A general decrease in the number of the plays might be a result of prepping for the upcoming general elections. Democrat Party was struggling with the high inflation and the critics towards the government's applications over the media while rallying for the May 2, 1954, elections (Eroğul 2014; Kubilay 2014). This increase might indicate a tacit budget cut or control over the institution. Starting from the season 1953-1954 until 1959-1960, the number of translated

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<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the first two plays were picked as one local and one translated as Cevat Fehmi Başkut's *Küçük Şehir*, and Goethe's Faust to indicate that ideal of synthesizing Turkish essence with Western academic approach of theater (Yazgan 2012).

playscripts are more than the local ones. This period is pretty abundant for Turkish literature, yet the number of the Turkish playscripts does not increase in the repertory. This indicates a conscious display of world theater , particularly European and then American theater, and creates a special zone for high culture with a content of Western literature pieces.

Figure 13 provides brief information about the distribution of the playscripts according to two basic categories: local playwrights' works and translations. Then they are also given as categories for the children's plays. The average number of playscripts per season is 14.09. Following the 1954-1955 season, the number of the playscripts remains around 17 and 16 until 1959-1960 season. Although the number of the playscripts increases, the number of local texts does not increase. However, the diversity of the foreigner authors and their topics shows a remarkable variety as well as an increase in the number. This variety brings about an opportunity to introduce the contemporary American writers, popular European plays as well as new classics besides repetition of some major German theatrical classics. The playscripts until the season 1953-1954 aims at introducing the theater as an artistic branch of performing arts, promoting local authors and directors to come up with their pieces, benefit their experiences in Darülbedayi İstanbul City Theater at the same time. The State Theater starts increasing its productivity with a more experienced cadre in 1954-1955 season, who enjoyed the realm of freedom and support of the State during the first years of Democrat Party Government.

According to the Figure 13, 1949-1950 season starts with a high number of translations in the lack of local works. High number of translations in each season except 1952-1953 season is a general fact. On the other hand, children's plays are locally written and preferred (except 1956-1957 and 1957-1958 seasons). This might be because of the preexistent repertory tradition of children's plays during People's Houses Theaters or might indicate the importance given to the future generations in terms of demonstrating the local values.

Season	1949-1950	1950-1951	1951-1952	1952-1953	1953-1954	1954-1955	1955-1956	1956-1957	1957-1958	1958-1959	1959-1960	Total
The Total Number of Local Playscripts	4	6	4	8	2	5	5	6	3	6	4	53
The Total Number of Translations	10	4	5	6	7	12	11	11	14	10	12	102
The Number of Local Children's plays	2	2	1	2	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	12
The Number of Translated Children's Plays	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	2	10
The Total Number of Playscripts	14	10	9	14	9	17	16	17	17	16	16	177

**Figure 13 The Distribution of the Playscripts According to the Seasons**

In 156 playscripts, in which I could reach out at the archives over 177 plays, the number of total coded segments under religion is 1547, where the number of coded segments of the state code is 239, and finally, the number of coded segments under narrative and national identity is 1282. The highest number of codes is under religion. However, this high frequency does not give clues about the context. Therefore, the numbers tell that religion is something crucial to set the feeling of sameness and otherness, but does not tell how religion is perceived. It is also valid for the contexts of the other analytical tools.

By using MaxQda 11, I examined the overlapping coded segments and saw that the analytical tools have high frequency of overlapping coded segments (religion, state, narrative and national identity). This indicates that these analytical tools are not only integral elements of a national identity but also they complement each other. Especially, the high frequency of overlapping religion and narrative and national identity coded segments were striking. High frequency of interrelation of religion and narrative and national identity displays that in the 1950s, religion and narrative and national identity go hand in hand, while dispositioning the coupling of secular state and narrative and national identity in the 1930s.

	Religion	State	Narrative and National Identity
Religion	0	42	177*
State	42	0	103
Narrative and National Identity	177*	103	0

**Table 1 Frequencies of Overlapping Coded Segments<sup>13</sup>**

As it is shown in the Table 14, the number of overlapping coded segments is 177, and it is rather high when it is compared to the number of overlapping coded segments of state and religion which is only 42. So it is possible to deduce that, the state is no longer commemorated with religion, which posited secular system. On the other hand, the number of overlapping coded segments with regards to state and narrative and national identity is 103. This infers a significant interrelation between state and narrative and national identity.

Chapter 2, deals with the reconstruction of history, as “History in Turkish Nation Building in the 1950s”. The main objectives of this chapter are to analyse the history making of Turkish national identity building in the 1950s and to disclose how Turkish national identity is imagined while remaking history. Additionally, the main arguments of this chapter are firstly, history is constructed mutually, in opposition to the «other» of Turkish identity in the 1950s, who is European and Christian identity; and secondly, Turkish identity is imagined as «secular Muslim identity» historically.

Performing «History» is significant for national identity building processes because the performative power of theater demonstrates Turkish history on the stage to the target audience. While doing this, local plays construct sameness by seeing “us” on the stage and at the same time translations help showing how the “other’s” history looks like.

Supplementary Arguments of the Chapter are, in the 1950s, religion is taken historically as the core component of defining the Turkish self, set on Muslimhood, where “the other” is “Christians.” Secondly, history is constructed mutually, in opposition to the «other» of Turkish identity in the 1950s, who is European and Christian identity. There are three historical milestones for history of “the other”: Ancient Greek, Renaissance, World War Two, and these arise as the subthemes of translated playscripts. History perceives young generations of Turkish nation as Muslim, but plays create an antagonism between science and religion, in favor of science. And finally for religion: Turkish identity is imagined as «secular Muslim identity» : Picturing practice of Islam is very rare, but the Lexical style

<sup>13</sup> For detailed information, please see appendices B, the chart of codings.



sets sameness on Islam and takes it as a thing in the past but gives religion's place as a daily glue for solidarity. The additional argument regarding state is, state is defined as a historically integral part of being Turkish, with an intrinsic patriarchy. And lastly, narrative and national identity of Turkishness is undecisively defined between being Eastern and Western, claiming that civilization started with Muslim and Turkish origins. Historical Turkish origins are set as Sumerians, in accordance with Turkish official history writing, but in the 1950s, national identity building extends this view by incorporating Ottoman Empire past with the remaking of Turkish history.

The study covers the representation of family in the third chapter. The main argument is summarized within the chapter's title: "Family Stuck Between the Modernists and Traditionalists." Main objectives of the chapter are to analyse the playscripts to picture the identification of the Turkish nation ('the self') in "familial citizenship" (Sirman 2005) during the 1950's and search for multiple and multidimensional "family representations of Turkish national identity in the State Theater" to find out who the Turkish nation is.

Performing "the Turkish family" is important since the performative power of theater demonstrates the ideal family design on the stage to the target audience. While doing this, local plays construct sameness by seeing "us" on the stage and at the same time translations help showing how the "other's" family looks like.

Main arguments of the family theme based chapter are, there are multidimensional familial, national identity building projects in the 1950s. Also, this chapter supports the main argument of this dissertation because the family theme reinforces the Turkish secular Muslim identity building by the help of the division of public and private spheres.

There are also additional arguments with regards to the analytical tools, religion, state, narrative and national identity that favor the main arguments of this dissertation. Religion is taken as the core component of defining the Turkish self, set on Muslimhood, where the other is «Christians,» in terms of lifestyles both in adults' and children's plays. Turkish identity is imagined as secular Muslim identity: The sameness of Turkishness is built on Muslimhood ("them" is imagined as Christians). However, religion is something thought within the family by women of the family (in private sphere). Patriarchal patterns in the public sphere reinforces the intrinsic patriarchal patterns in Turkish family through state institutions. Additionally, a family is an organization that behaves like a micro nation in

Turkish nation building in the 1950s. Narrative and National identity of Turkishness is undecisively defined between being Eastern (traditions) and Western (modern). There is an indecisive swing between being Eastern and Western. There is a fear of losing the essence that makes a Turkish family Turkish because of the excessive Westernization; congruent with the post-colonial nationalisms. On the other hand, though, French bourgeois lifestyle is imposed in a family. But in time, American cultural affect enters on the stage, not only with the translations of John Steinbeck and Arthur Miller's pieces in the repertory but also for example, in Çetin Altan's playscript *Çemberler* (The Circles).<sup>14</sup>

Chapter 4 focuses on the spatial imagination of Turkish nation in the 1950s under the title of "Reconstruction of the National Space: How to Civilize Peasants?" The objective of the fourth chapter is to analyze the playscripts to picture the identification of the Turkish nation ('the self') in the imagined space, domestic territory during the 1950's, in the division of city-village life. And the chapter examines how the territory of the nation turned into a public sphere that would be a stage for daily representations of identities.

The performative power of theater demonstrates the spatial design of the Turkish nation on the stage to the target audience. Plays under the space theme construct the sense of sameness by seeing "us" on the stage based on religion, state, narrative and national identity. Furthermore, translations help showing how the "other's" national space looks like.

Supplementary Arguments of the chapter are: Turkish playwrights imagine collective sameness in national terms in the construction of national space within the division of city and village life. Cities are considered as the national space in the 1950s. Even though the territory of Turkish nation is imagined in the modern, civilized, Westernized cities, there is a fear of excessive modernization accompanied by the fear of losing the Turkish essence, the purity of Turkishness that only lies in the village life.

Religion is represented in the national space through the Islamic idioms used in daily conversations, not through public displays of ritual in the 1950s. The audience does not see

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<sup>14</sup> *Çemberler* (Altan 1964) play incorporates the positive and negative aspects of Westernization and modernization within Turkish family life style. The father of the family encourages his son to learn English and get involved in an occupation with Americans, while not abandoning the previous perception of French oriented Westernization. At the same time though, modernization and Westernization is understood as a degenerative actor for Turkish family. Yet, the family is pictured as a nuclear one, in accordance with the design of Turkish family in the early Republican era.

Muslims who practice in the public sphere, rather constructs the sense of sameness through Islam with phrases. Turkish nation in cities are imagined as secular Muslims in spatial organization. When it comes to the second analytical tool: state, it makes the citizens feel of its existence by the hands of its bureaucrats and its legitimate use of power both in the cities and village. Interestingly enough, the identities of “others” are absent or silent.<sup>15</sup> Turkish identity is imagined as secular Muslim identity in Turkish territory. The sameness of Turkishness is built on Muslimhood. Nonmuslims are not considered as the part of the national identity, if they are represented, they are considered as exceptions with evil manners.

In a nutshell, this study finds out that religion of Islam is accepted as the core component of Turkish national identity. However, it should remain as an element of the private sphere. Thereby Turkish nation is defined with being Muslim and secular at the same time. There is a diversity that provides a transition to the identity definition from “secular Turkish nation” to a more multidimensional one. There are continuities with diversities and changes in national identity building in the 1950s.

This study contributes to the literature for being a unique study directly on the State Theater, a unique study on the State Theater with a political science perspective. This dissertation is also important because it also contributes to the field of theater studies, by adding knowledge to the fields in terms of identity and the artistic policies for Ankara and Turkey. This study includes an application of a method that can be used in further studies in cultural and nationalism studies. Finally, this study is significant for its focal point in the 1950s Turkey in political science, in the context of national identity building process.

This study also leads some inevitable questions. Next step after this study can be a comparison of the findings of this study with the theater repertory after the military coup in 1960. Also, I will apply this method for my future projects while changing the sampling material. Material can be either playscripts again or diaries or daily dialogues with a sociological and anthropological extension.

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<sup>15</sup> This absence reminds of the possibly cleaned, migrated minorities. Turkish identity comes together around its religion as a whole body, yet there is no other distraction left to this unity of Turkishness and Muslim identity after the population exchange. For more historical information about population exchange, see (Ari 2007).

## CHAPTER 1

### NATIONAL IDENTITY, TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE STATE THEATER IN THE 1950s

The State Theater was founded in 1949 by the support of İsmet İnönü, who was the President of the Turkish Republic in transition to the multiparty period. He showed up in the State Theater's performances to render the political and state based support for the institution visible. The State Theater has become a global showcase for having Western type theater performances to confront "the West." Moreover, the institution perceived itself as a castle of the Republican reforms (Yazgan 2012). However changing dynamics of both international and domestic politics interdependently, had allowed diverse voices of a nation building projections to speak up. Having an artistic institution with a literary board, actors and actresses who work as civil servants (Karslı 2013)<sup>16</sup> must provide a roof for a common sense to reflect<sup>17</sup>. The State Theater is an autonomous institution as its founder law mentions, has an organic bond with the state in pay-check wise, ideological wise and authority wise. One must think that this bond would affect the dramaturgy strategies and preferences of the State Theater.

Gellner's theory of nationalism (Gellner 1983, 2013) suggests that nations are to be built upon high cultures which are as of the result of a modern market, during modernization. Turkish State Theater contributed to the dissemination of the high culture to the masses as its target audience was the bureaucrats the faculty students, professors at Tıbbiye, Mülkiye, Harbiye and the children with the children's plays who were the performers of the future market. The institution provided a common sense, sense of participation and belonging, a common language with certain words, hopes and messages.

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<sup>16</sup> For a detailed discussion about the personnel status about the staff at Turkish State Theater see (Karslı 2013)

<sup>17</sup> For more information about the numerical data of the artistic institutions see the Opera, Theater, Ballet reports (Daloğlu 2013) and for a case study on The State Theater about the political economy of culture and arts see (Akdede 2011).

The main concern of this research is to unravel the perspectives of national identity building through a state based institution in the 1950s. This study takes theater as the case because theater is one of the strongest mass messaging tools those years in the lack of visual mass communication technologies. While doing this, this study searches for the basic fictive elements of nation building processes: self positioning in a national history making, family as the unit of the nation and the space as where the nation is set. The best and concrete tool to supply these elements thematically is the repertory of the State Theater. History, family, and space fictions are to be deconstructed through the components of a modern national identity: religion, state and national and narrative identity. Thereby, this research will provide deep analysis of the 1950's Turkey, which diversified national identity building perceptions.

The portrayal of the Turkish national identity building in this research is drawn by the help of categorizing the data as the historical theme, family theme, and the space theme. The themes are examined through the most common debates over nation and nationalism. These discussions are shaped as the place of religion in national identity building, the place of state in national identity building and the construction of narrative and national identity in the texts, after reviewing the literature.

Touraj Atabaki claims that although there are many scholars studied the modernization process from above to the people; academic studies fell short of searching for the reaction towards nation building processes (Atabaki 2007). My research will be a step to explain dialectical reactions between the arts and the state with regards to national identity building. As the State Theater has an organic bond with the state with its materialistic opportunities, and the literary board had some restrictions, they still had some preferences. Besides, writing process is an opportunity for a playwright to transfer what s/he has in her/his mind to the paper, therefore those pieces also illuminate the self positioning of the authors of the period. Overall, this study does not focus on how ordinary people reacted to the nation building process but, it provides a pathway to understand the self reflection of intermediary agents' of national identity building process towards the policies as individuals too.

What makes the theater so important for the self positioning of a national identity is its performative power and the embeddedness of the theater in politics. Not only in the West,

but also in Ottoman or Turkish case, the theater emerges as a critical institution. Modern theater shows up during Tanzimat era with Tanzimat literature and translation initiatives. This outcrop goes hand in hand with the modernization that develops in the minds of the intellectuals of the period. Just like Benedict Anderson puts forward about the dissemination of the national solidarity through language and texts, modernization, parallel to nationalism that affected the intellectuals of the period. However, this study helps to demonstrate the transformation of the theater, from a critical institution to an instrument for identity building in the context of national identity through its tacit messages.

Furthermore, the study aims at showing how the repertory of the State Theater reflects the perception of the new citizen and the new nation state after World War Two. The playscripts of the State Theater provide an opportunity to observe in the perception regarding national identity building process. Therefore, the study takes 1949 the opening year of the State Theater into consideration as the beginning of the research. The State Theater begins its first performances institutionally after the abolition of the Tatbikat Theatre. Since the transition to the democratic trial was interrupted in 1960 by the military intervention, thus I cut the period for the study by the texts played until the end of the season 1959-1960. The texts that are going to be interpreted are important because some symbolic cues automatically scatter what is there more behind the written text.

### **1.1. Research Material**

The establishment and the first performances of the State Theater were staged in 1949. The core of a performance and the most powerful tool for a play in the State Theater has been its playscripts. With a claim of having an academic background and a strong Western traces in this institution the opportunities provided by the Republic made the theater a castle for nation building project after transition to the multiparty regime in 1946. This is echoed in Fikret Tartan's book on the State Theater. He perceives the State Theater as one of the model institutions of the Republic (Tartan 1997).

The texts were picked by a literary board. This board took Darülbedayi's structure as a model (Yazgan 2012). The literary board of the State Theater benefited from the translations that were published by the Ministry of Education. The cooperation between the Ministry of Education and the State Theater comes from the state policy that sees theater as an educational tool, yet, the institution was first founded as a part of Ministry of

Education despite its given autonomous structure by the law. The State Theater invites local playwrights to write playscripts for the State Theater but also gives an important place to the translations. Although, some of the translations are made after the translators' seeing the performances of certain plays in their local countries, most of them were borrowed from the publishings of the Ministry of Education on theater pieces. The literary board mentioned its preferences by examining the written texts.

The lack of many performance videos during the first years of the State Theater, and the obvious power of the texts directed me to take the repertoire as the research material of my research. I went into the State Theater's archives in Ankara and got all of the playscripts that I could reach out. The director of the archives let me to save the copies of the playscripts, as I officially proved that this is for a university based doctoral research. They gave an official list of the performances of the State Theater between 1949 and 1960, later helped me with reaching these playscripts out in the archives.

I could get 156 playscripts in total. The rest that I couldn't take into my research universe were either lost or impossible to read. These 156 playscripts have 65 local playwrights' works, 81 translations and 12 children plays. After scanning these playscripts, I saw that some of them lacked indicators about national identity building process or less powerful in political messaging. Some were eliminated as they were officially performed only a few weeks and couldn't contact the audience. Thereby I limited the sampling frame of the study with the popular authors that take place in the repertoire, with heavily coded material.

## **1.2.Data**

I read the research material carefully first, then divided it according to the seasons and categories as local playwrights and translations. The total number of the playscripts that were produced between 1949-1950 and 1959-1960 seasons is 156. The number of the playscripts that were written by the local playwrights is 44 over all. Therefore % 68,64 of the repertoire consist of translations.

Then I figured out the distribution of the playscripts between the local authors and the translations as well as their distribution of the translations according to the years helped me to get to know my research data better. That helped me out to reveal the frequency of

the playscripts through the seasons according to their categories. The numerical information calls attention only to the literary committee's preferences, the changes in their preferences, without revealing the reasons behind it. However, this distribution helps to gather some clues about the State Theater's perceptions towards modern theater. The State Theater's preferences also reflect the attitude towards the construction of a national theater tradition where the nation building process begins with technically.

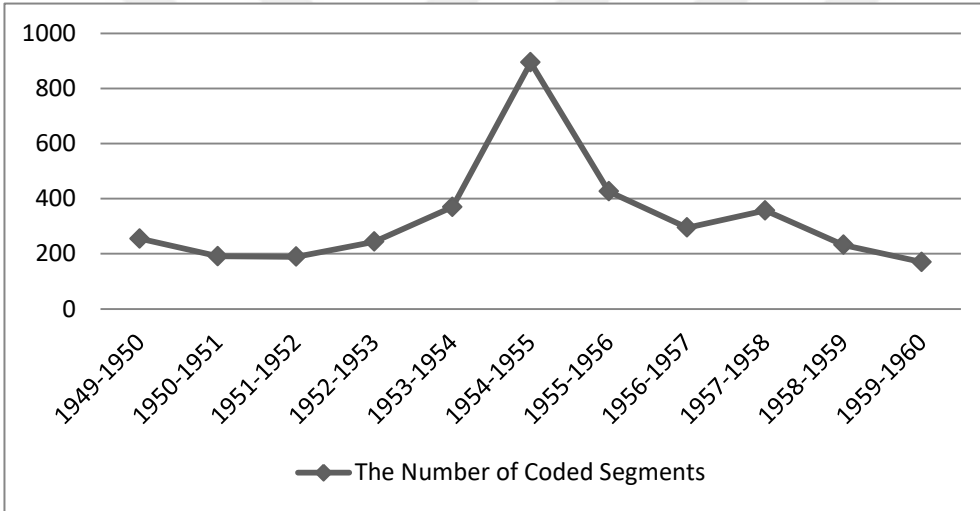
Following the study that focuses on making a content analysis through the playscripts, the study looks at the concepts of religion, state, and narrative and national identity. As it is mentioned before, looking for the religion, state and narrative and national identity concepts through texts will reveal the clues for the national identity construction of Turkey over the theater texts. The religion, which is the most critical component of self-identification has never lost its power. Religion has always been a very significant matter to describe oneself in every era. Likewise, the perceptions of the state in societies alter. But this alteration cannot be drastically fast. The perception of state remains as a social phenomenon and affects the ordinary people's lives to relocate themselves as the citizens or parts of the society. The narrative and national identity concepts are the indicators of the most explicit sameness and otherness definitions. The narrative identity is to reflect the identity unit to make individuals a part of a whole, creating "us" using patriotism or wish for living together. The national identity indicates the constructed modern samenesses relying on nations. The interpretive approach of this study helps the deconstruction of the identities over the theater playscripts, in order to conceive the indoctrination of an institutionalized nation building process.

Afterwards, I classified the material according to their thematical weight. I checked their spaces, time and the roles to divide them. The material itself gave its historical, family based and space based themes and I started coding them with the concepts that I have been searching for. I derived the necessary concepts from the literature review as religion, state and narrative and national identity. The details will be given under methodology section after the literature review part.

**Figure 1** demonstrates the frequency of the coded segments regarding the identity construction according to the seasons between 1949-1950 and 1959-1960. There are only slight differences in the number of codings until 1954-1955 season. However, the season



1954-1955 starts after around 4 months after the general elections in Turkey in which Democrat Party won the elections and reinforced its political power within people for the second time. The number of coded segments stands out by finding the number 894 which is rather high during 1954-1955 season in the State Theater. The high number of coded segments is parallel with the large number of plays that was performed during 1954-1955 season. However, only after an interpretive analysis, the reason behind the density of the codings and the large number of the performances would be revealed. The number of the playscripts reaches 17, with only 5 local authors' pieces. However, these pieces are strong enough to convey messages regarding national identity construction by also including some elements which oppose to the official state ideology such as Reşat Nuri Güntekin's *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* (1989) (Akıncı 2010).



**Figure 14 The Number of Coded Segments According to the Seasons (1949-1950 to 1959-1960)**

The numerical findings attest that the State Theater tries to keep the number of the playscripts stable between 9 to 17. The institution tries to remain productive, even during the great political corners such as 1950 and 1954 general elections. In 1950 Democrat Party's rise in 1954 Democrat Party's success leaves no room for the discussion of political changes. The number of the plays decreases until 10 or 9 these years but increases the following seasons. During the 1954-1955 season, the increase in the number of translations looks significant and keeps its place as being two times of the number of the local authors' pieces the same until 1960. Data might be interpreted as an international

expansion during the powerful years of Democrat Party as well as the State Theater's confidence on performing foreign plays, showing itself off as a global showcase before the West and introducing the advanced modern arts of West with the Turkish audience.

### **1.3. National Identity and Nationalism in Turkey**

In this section, I will clarify the concepts that I will use in this study. These concepts are derived from the literature review I have done and helped me to draw a framework for deconstructing the national identity building in the 1950s in Turkey.

In this respect, the literature that I gathered together has been very broad. Therefore I divided the academic materials according to their themes and focal points. These focal points demonstrated the pathways of the deconstruction of the perception of national identity building. I classify the academic works with regards to the national identity building as the ones related to the case of Turkish nationalism and transnational studies. The group of literature with regards to the Turkish national identity has basically three dimensions. First group of studies focuses on certain historical periods and can be evaluated as an elaboration of the 1920s- 1930s and 1940s-1950s. Second group can be classified under themes as history, body, and space, according to their basic arguments and the samples that they mention. Third dimension of the literature is shaped by the Turkish political debates in accordance with the general discussions on how national identities are constructed dependently on what the cultures, administrative structures, and social norms that are carried out. These debates can be gathered under three subtitles: religion, state, narrative and national identity.

#### **1.3.1. What is nationalism? What is a nation?**

Until mid 20th century, nationalisms ruled the political and international World, while having its peak during World War Two. Many scholars gave thought on late 19th century and early 20th century nationalisms while scoping the emergence of nation states as well as their applications to build a social body in the framework of their ideologies. Less spent their time on evaluating how these national identity building projects transformed and how they have been reacted aftermath of World War Two.

Scholars tried to find answers why people could reach out cruelty during the war era, and the relationship between how nationalisms mobilized masses into these total wars.

Nationalisms created their nations, continuing to be a state of mind as a modern phenomenon. However, this did not bring the scholars to a position of agreeing upon the definitions of nation and nationalisms. They kept having strong debates on which created the other, what is modernism's place in these studies and how it evolved.

Some scholars claim that the nations are archaic and natural entities, providing that nations are timeless and everlasting (Özkırmı 2010). These created a literature under primordialism in nationalism theories. However, the nature of ethnic and natural ties must be seen fragile for individual preferences and how the groups may feel about their own identities. Also, one cannot assume that ethnic and nationalist ties automatically brings about solidarity (Özkırmı 2010).

In fact, primordialism is seen as an outdated theory in the literature of nationalism. That is to say; there is a more recent group of theorists of nationalism that build their arguments upon the critics of primordialism. Therefore, nationalism, which grows its meaning after industrialization, is a modern phenomenon, so to speak. They tend to talk on the relationship between modernity and nationalism where civilization and modernity are used for the same meaning for a long time. Both represent a way of life and an universal sum of principles for modernizing countries to adopt (Çınar and Bender 2007), ended up with multiple modernity experiences (Sachsenmaier, Riedel, and Eisenstadt 2002) and various nationalisms.

According to the modernist theory, changing conditions and nationalist ideology needed a nation state, which then needed a nation to rule. Cleavages between religion and secularism ended up with national and narrative identity perceptions. First subgroup of theorists bring economics prominent where the others perceive nationalism as a form of political transformation. The third and the one that I embrace in this study is the vein that nationalism is a product of social and cultural transformations.

Aside from the scholarly tradition that puts economics into the center of their studies, led by Tom Nairn, Michael Hechter (Özkırmı 2010), the theorists who tried to explain the main dynamics of nationalism with political transformations such as John Breuilley, Paul Brass and Eric J. Hobsbawm, illuminated the historical and discursive practices more accurately. They take economics to a one step forward to explain the dynamics of

nationalism. For Paul Brass, nationalism is kept as an instrument to reach out the political power.

On the other hand, John Breuilly tries to explain nationalism through the role of the state in terms of political transformation. For Breuilly, nationalism is a form of politics, and he gives British nation as an example while comparing many nationalisms. There he suggests a new conceptualization of nationalism as a form of politics (Özkırmı 2010). Aside from Breuilly, Marxist theorist Eric J. Hobsbawm tries to explain nationalism by taking social and economic dynamics that start political transformation. Hobsbawm argues that nations and nationalisms are the products of “invented traditions.” Invented traditions include tacitly accepted rules and practices that demonstrate symbols of certain meanings that lead to repetitions. These repetitions set various values and behaviour to connect “now” and “future” with the “past” of a nation (Hobsbawm 1992).

Modernist theory is divided into three branches for which dynamic of modernity leads to nationalism centrally. The third vein of modernist theory tries to explain nationalism through cultural transformation. One of the most distinguished scholars in this field, Ernest Gellner, emphasizes the change of the relationship between the power and the culture in a society to explain the absence of nations and nationalism in premodern era (Özkırmı 2010). Therefore the answer to the question of Gellner to the question: “When is the nation?” is given as actually the birth or emergence of the industrial society with new moral values. When cognitive and economic growth have transformed (Gellner 1983), and the way of thinking had a shape of dualism. Gellner originates his definition of state around Max Weber's approach of apparatus for legitimate usage of violence. A legitimate agency with the social consent on a central authority may apply violence in order to provide peacefully ordered societies. These modern states need division of labour as they did in centralized Western countries.

Hans Kohn claims that the first modern nation was 17th century England. However, Kohn finds nationalist doctrine's first sparkle in French Revolution and carried out its ideological aspects in to applications by self-determination, thereby nation-states emerge in international arena as actors (Kohn 1965). So the nation states would wait for bloody revolutions age to make the Continental Europe the creed for nationalist doctrine. The liberty and nationalism together to be the active force of modern nations in 17th and early

18th century left its place to the mergence of power and nationalist doctrine in a modern way by separating public and private space. So for Kohn (1965), nationalismwise movements before modernism do not consist of mass devotion to the nation and nation-state culturally, politically or economically.

On the other hand, Benedict Anderson claims that nationalisms sparked off in Americas, rather than England or Continental Europe, and make this assertion stronger with his examples regarding the spread of literate society with common press language. This commonality would bring about solidarity between the stakeholders of a standard language by making a legacy through literacy and literature. The role of the press was to provide the readers and hearers of this standard language, a part of a certain community with the sense of belonging. Thereby, a bigger family and its members could imagine that they somehow know each other. Nationalisms emerge and modern nations, as “imagined communities” (B. Anderson 2006). Moreover, the spaces are drawn for the borders of these imagined communities. Maps were to make geography a tool of imagination where the nation was in the World and museums were to reinforce the forgetting and remembrance of the imagined past of the community. So he tends to explain how these imagined communities emerged, rather than the date of nations.

For the same historical period, Ellie Kedourie too asserts the importance of a common language to inherit first consciousness of solidarity regarding “self.” Language provides a first step tool to make a culture legacy of a particular group and express the inner self by linking an individual to that group via sense of belonging. For Kedourie, “In nationalist doctrine, language, race, culture, and sometimes even religion, constitute different aspects of the same primordial entity, the nation. The theory admits here of no great precision, and it is misplaced ingenuity to try and classify nationalisms according to the particular aspect which they choose to emphasize.” (Kedourie 1961, 73). The same feeling would bring about a loyalty to the nation and the nation state.

In other respects though, Ernest Gellner (Gellner 2013) argues that nationalism and state are not destined for each other. But nationalism wants us to think otherwise. Because nationalism emerges when the administrative principle and political principle in nation scale overlap. Both had an emergency time and evolutionary history. Especially when we consider that the state emerged before and independently from nationalism, we see that the

emergence of nationalism and nation states are contingent. We can talk about the appearance of the state before the nation. However, this time we cannot call that state a nation state. The relationship between culture and power finds its body on the state. However, when nationalism had been constructed, it made the culture and power destined for each other, which is not true when one checks agrarian age. Gellner argues that even if the clerisy in agricultural societies has certain effects on cultural norms in a society, they have never been as successful as nationalism in order to mobilize the masses. It has usually been used for daily arrangements in the mass framework (not military based) (Gellner 1983) As opposed to what Gellner says about clerisy or about any religious authority; it cannot be entirely valid for the colonial world or non-Western oriented modernizations. In those, religion has never loses its place in authority, central power as well as social life. However, in modern societies, when the religion was used to mobilize the masses, it is used on behalf of nation, and it's been nationalized if it is not only taking place in everyday lives. But in industrial, societal era, a high culture becomes necessary to deploy the religion's status and maintain the relationship between the power and culture by providing necessary work-force for the market as well as modern bureaucracy. High culture then becomes sustainable by the polity, so by the centralized authority: a modern state. Thereby, the propagators of the high culture aims at spreading the certain type of culture into the society and transform it as a whole. Gellner sees this transformative aim as the "secret of nationalism" (Gellner 1983, 18).

And then seeking an answer to: "What is not nationalism?" seems logical. Construction of nationality relies on will and culture, theoretically according to Gellner, at first step. However, these two are not enough to form nationalism. "They are just instructive because they may exist in any kind of a team, community, gang, etc..." (Gellner 1983, 53–54). They need to overlap a state of mind and historical facts. Nationalism tries to indoctrinate homogeneity rather than the other way around (Gellner 1983).

When nationalism stops being obscure, this means a new social order emerges. Gellner benefits Durkheim's definition of society with religious symbols and in which the sacred is religion. With a cultural and social transformation, a social order which worships a divine becomes a thing in the past and passes to a society which makes itself the sacred by the help of nationalism. If nationalism is making the society itself "the sacred," it makes it real by picking some elements from history and culture. These constitute the sacred essence of

that society. “Going back to the people” *narod* in Russian or *volk* in German expresses this essence. “People” is pictured and administered by some officials. This liberative feeling of nationalism in postcolonial countries particularly starts building up the nationalism and nations by rejecting the invaders’; “the other’s” imperial identity, so to speak. Resistance to the cultural repression determines the shape of the new national identity most of time. An independence war follows cultural awakening and an affirmation. Gellner discusses, aftermath of the victory, the turn is the definition of the high cultures. Elements of folk culture or a certain dialect are picked and put in the place of the deployed and rejected foreign culture. Rather nationalism creates its own myths and divine. Thereby, a local high culture is embraced and used in nation building processes (Gellner 1983). When Gellner saw a possibility of having a high culture under foreign indoctrination, nationalisms in postcolonial World happened to be a reactionary movement, which goes back to a folkloric essence to revitalise. That essence is used to create a high culture and motivate the masses to be a part of it while rebelling the cultural domination of the foreign (Partha Chatterjee 1993) but catching up with its technological skills at the same time. Therefore both Hans Kohn (Kohn 1965) and Partha Chatterjee (Partha Chatterjee 1993) could perceive nationalism as a possible integral part of liberal movements. To talk about the differences of patriotism in premodern era and patriotism within nationalism can be differentiated for its social circumstances. Patriotism in modern era needs loyalty for social norms, in fact for virtue for being part of the high culture. Being a member of high culture allows people to feel familiarity with each other and create homogenous society (Gellner 1983).

The discussions on what is a nation and when were nations born has no concrete result. Therefore, explanations on what nations and nationalism are remains as theories. But what I deduce about nationalism from these theoretical discussions, determined the problematic of my study.

Nationalism needs history making, family unit and a space to announce that it has a nation and a limited sovereignty. History sets the relationship between the past and now of the nation. While history making, the official history tries to reply “When is nation? When did it first emerge?” Then nationalism also needs to give an answer to the question of “Who is the nation?” As an ideology, nationalism defines the citizen, the individual and their features to picture the members of a nation. National identity building process takes the family unit as the reproducer of the members of the nation. Next definition that national

identity building project needs is a constant definition of borders, the imagination of the territory of the nation. These are the basic themes of the national identity building projects.

Another aspect that strikes attention about the discussions is that the debates on nationalism. While doing the reading, one can easily see that the discussions with regards to nationalist discourse are codependent with the place of the religion, the state and how the narrative and national “self” is defined. Therefore on the same track with modernists, national identity building is composed of three main elements: history, family, and space. In the light of the discussions, how one feel about the self-positioning of his/her identity is affected by his/her self-location according to religion, state, the definition of sameness and difference. Aside from the theoreticians who put religion or the state’s place into the center of the study, I take them all as the corresponding components for each other. Although these scholars in the field represent different explanations for when and how nationalisms have emerged, they all agreed on three bases: nationalism needed a history, a unit, and a territory. While shaping those, the debates on nationalism goes around discussions regarding the place of religion, the role of the state and national and narrative identity perception. Therefore all constitute the discourse of national identity. I will explain each concept with the related literature in the next section, by being loyal to the problematic of my research.

### **1.3.2. History of a nation**

Making the past for constructing a modern national identity is a self positioning initiation. It creates a world at present, referring to the past, which is full of meanings. Modern identities start up constituting their national identities by making a historical narrative. This way, history becomes a tool for creating a common ground of symbols for the members of the nation. Therefore, making the history is making the identity according to Jonathan Friedman (Friedman 1992); thus the past becomes a reflection on “now” and “future.” A history that's re-written is a result of representations. They are invented and induced by education as Eric Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm 1992) suggests and ends up with becoming imagined collectivities as Anderson argues (B. Anderson 2006). These chains of representations are imagined, consolidated by time leading the national identity building. In modern national identity building, there is one single historical truth. The making of the



history for the modern identity chooses a starting point and an ending point arbitrarily. All other historical schemes or interpretations regarding past are ideological (Friedman 1992).

By linking the history, historical documents and archives to the beginnings of nationalisms and nationalisms renders the nationalism making the past of nations. Hans Kohn gives François Guizot (1787-1874) as an instance in France to emphasize the importance of the historical studies for the development of nationalisms. As Kohn argues, François Guizot, as a well known historian, then became minister of education and played a major role in making the general, national history perception through the Society for the History of France (Kohn 1965).

Eric J. Hobsbawm argues that invention of the traditions is predicated upon the making of the past. This provides a continuity of the nation in a convenient past and “use history as a legitimator of action” for the nation states (Özkırımlı 2010). Addition to this, Walker Connor (2004) claims that identities are sustained by perceptions through history; not through chronological facts and events. Therefore the history is more important for its subjects in a modern nation building. Thereby, modern identity finds itself reflecting its self-positioning on the language of history. “Self-positioning” is not only constructed one sidedly but is a mutual construction with “the historical others” of the identity. Identity construction is a sum of complex interaction between multiple identity constructions. The playscripts of the State Theater bring about the construction of Turkish modern national identity via its repertory regarding history. Positioning the self and constructing the past of a modern national identity (Friedman 1992) needs an “otherness” which is “West” in Turkish case. Translation playscripts of the State Theater’s repertory between 1949-1960, are eligible enough to mirror the samenesses and the differences of the modern West- the modern Turkish identity.

The studies in the field with regards to the historical periods and themes illuminate the pathways that arrives at the 1950s Turkey with different objectives and tools. Studies that focus on certain historical periods helped me drawing the period of my research. Besides, the thematic studies, particularly history in this section, provide multiple results and methods that put history into the center of their research.

*Studies that focus on certain historical periods*

While reading the related literature to the Turkish national identity building process, the studies are divided into two categories according to which historical periods they have focused on. When the studies wanted to make an emphasis on ideological component or the instrumental existence of nationalism, the authors tend to give thoughts to the early Republican period. This period comprises the years between the 1920s and 1930s. Prominent and profound series of analyses have been made through this initial period of newly-established Turkish Republic.

Thereby these studies provided satisfiable knowledge on ideological perspective of young Kemalist nation state during one-party era.

National identity building takes language, which is the communicative tool of the social formations to the center. For instance, Yılmaz Bingöl takes language into the heart of nationalist discourse, where nationalist discourse regenerates a common Turkic language (Bingöl 2009). He concentrates on the literature as the modernists and the traditionalists and focus on traditionalists' initiations of language through the policies of the *Türk Dil Kurumu*- Institution of Turkish Language. He gives numerous example of institutional criticism that the traditionalists put forward as oppose to the purification suggested by the modernists, throughout the Turkish political history. He finds out that especially in the 1980s, the purification policy has been abandoned. The place that has been emptied by the elimination of Arabic and Persian words has been replaced by the European loanwords. Bingöl (2009) suggests that language policies are the agents of the perceptions towards national identities. Thereby, the departure from modernist language policies ends up with the traditionalists' nationalist gaze that aims at incorporating Central Asian elements.

Another scholar who thinks that regulating a language reform is one of the most important steps of building a nation is Zafer Toprak. Toprak describes the Language Reform in Turkey as the keystone of creating a republic (Toprak 2003). Though, he prefers using an historical perspective to exemplify the regulatory role of the alphabet reform in the 1930s. The new alphabet is considered as an integral part of the culture revolution which was implemented by the Republican elite. Therefore, Latin alphabet was perceived as the symbol of the independent Turkish culture, starting from 1928.

On the other hand, narratives are strong enough to use language to inherit the legacy of national identity building. The strongest tool has been theater, written literature, and media. A significant contribution comes from Esra Dicle Başbuğ by focusing on the early years of Republican elite's nationalist ideology. In her exploration about Peoples' Houses of the Republican Party in Turkey, she presents the effective messages that were sent by Republican Party in order to create Turkish citizen and nation by the help of theater performances (Başbuğ 2013). Başbuğ interpretes main themes of Kemalism as development, civilization, nationalism, and leadership. While doing this interpretation, she introduces theater playscripts that put emphasis on historical perception of Kemalism. As Başbuğ mentions, those performances were used as the state's ideological apparatus, provided educational and shaping role for the promising citizens in the 1930s. This study will contribute my thesis in terms of preparing the historical framework filled with a single Kemalist project in the 1930s. Single party period and the usage of the theater as one of the most valuable educational tool within the political party's organization, having such an exploration for the 1930s is illuminating.

These studies that sight early Republican years see the Kemalist ideology's strongest regulatory and nationalist moves. Most of them end their discussions presume that latter years would not make any changes in the view of the elite's perspective and implementations during the 1950s.

Second group focuses more on the 1940s and the early 1950s and tries to compromise the ideological base of Turkish nation state with the new political climate in the aftermath of the World War Two, with the transition to the multiparty regime. However, these studies fall short to make a deep analysis of the 1950s, as they try to connect the 1930s political changes with or elite nationalism. Or, some tend to focus on a single narration of their data.

One of the prominent studies that put single narration to the center of the research is Gavin Brockett's. Brockett pursues Turkish Muslim national identity through local newspapers, focusing on historical narration, starting from the early years of the proclamation of the Republic and brings his exploration to the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s (Brockett 2011). As he cuts his collection in the mid 1950s, he successfully puts a milestone in Turkish political life with the transition to the multiparty regime. Brockett helps the reader to conceive the

similarities between Turkish case and postcolonial modernist projects while illuminating the efforts of young Turkish Republic to transform its people to a nation. He carefully analyzes the limitations of religion through the images of newspapers that provide a certain way of being a “Turk” in the periphery. He opens his study’s theoretical background by referring to the debate on the imagination of a secular nation state by Kemalists. He takes “history” as the central narration of the ideology in his analysis. While interpreting the data that he derived from provincial newspapers, he sees that there are reactionary religious newspapers which compete with national print culture. He basically argues on whether the national identity of Turkish people is “Muslim Turks” or this is a reactionary religious awakening. His main concern is not the elite nationalism, rather popular identification of the nation (Brockett 2011). This argument and work contributes my thesis while making me question the role of Islam in Turkish national identity in the 1950s. Besides, the different outlook of popular identity building helped me to have a look at the “sameness” through the texts since texts reflect the mindset of their authors directly. Nevertheless, it is not possible to dissociate the popular identification from elite nationalism. It is a mutual process that built not only domestically but also internationally.

Another aspect of the nation building is citizenship. Başak İnce explores Turkish citizenship and identity through legal texts, party programmes and civic education text books, by dividing Turkish political history to four basic periods as single party years 1923-1946, transition to multiparty period 1946-1961, military interventions and constitutional changes 1961-1980, then to the present day; remaking Turkish identity between 1980-2010 (İnce 2012). Her main concern is the construction of citizenship, not independent from the transformation of nation state and nationalism. Thereby she creates the chance of comparing the periods according to their perception of citizenship. While doing this exploration, she also finds out gendered nature of the citizenship as well as its embeddedness with religion Islam.

Gülayşe Erkoç is one of the rare scholars who tried to understand the search for identity during multiparty era in Turkey through performative arts (Erkoç 1995). She considers the early republican era as the initiative years of establishing educational and cultural institutions. As single party was the only ideological sovereign of the period, theaters were used for the benefit of the reforms. However, after 1944, different views were proliferated, as World War II finds an end and Turkey gets ready for multiparty regime. Erkoç claims

that this period witnessed a series of economic and political change, however, did not affect the cultural and artistic projects. Not to forget about the establishment of the State Theater, and its mission for the Atatürk reforms, and keep in mind that this institution was İnönü's project, cultural policies must have been affected by this change. She then continues to try to illuminate between the years 1960-1980. Yet, Erkoç looks at Turkish theater in a general perspective, and defines "the search for an identity" in the multiparty era, as an intermingling process of historical views, cultural essence, the effect of Western theater, urbanization and the changing lifestyle of the families. She also addresses a technical search for a literary shape. Although she illuminates the pursuit of an identity of the playwrights, later she focuses on technical issues that are affected by this quest. She gives Musahipzade Celal's theaters as an outstanding example for an synthesis of Western and local values (Erkoç 1995)<sup>18</sup>.

Uğur Akıncı has become another scholar to get to know more about the approach of Turkish theater towards multiparty regime, politics, and politicians (Akıncı 2010). He takes the years 1946-1960 into account, in order to argue the perception of the playwrights. Akıncı says, there had been no tradition of modern political playscripts since Turkish playwrights preferred telling about social problems in terms of family theme. What he wants to focus on with this study are the playscripts which takes politics and the politicians into the center of their pieces. Akıncı explores many modern playwrights and their representative playscripts to figure out the perception of politics, politicians and the changing political values. He sticks on within the political criticism and reveals that the perception of the politicians is not optimistic. The way Akıncı puts the relationship between theater and politics in transition to the multiparty regime is significant. Though, his main concern is not examining the role of the State Theater within the same years.

These studies collect significant data for official identity and Turkish national identity building process in certain periods either profoundly such as the usage of language, education or theater in politics and policies, or in a broader way by dividing Turkish political history according to its milestones and pursue the change of a certain phenomenon such as citizenship. The common point of these studies is that they explore original dimensions of the national building process.

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<sup>18</sup> For more information about the synthesis and its causes see (Erkoç n.d.), and for more information about Musahipzade Celal's Theater and its themes on Ottoman identity see (Tuncay 2004).

However, my study explores the State Theater's perception of national identity building process and argues that the years in which the institution performed its prominent performances, are important to reflect the state's changing perception of national identity during the 1950s. That is to say; this study will contribute to the literature by giving a chance to make a profound and multidimensional analysis of the 1950s Turkish national identity perception.

### *History as a Theme*

History is a narrative rewriting of the past to link a collective past to now. And theme is "ethical system which provides a framework of elements and rules for establishing relations between elements" (Partha Chatterjee 1993, 38). Some studies take history as a theme. They usually focus on the effective use of history and the importance of the remaking history for the nation states. Büşra Ersanlı grows curiosity about the remaking of the official history by Turkish elites in the early Republican era between 1929-1937 (Ersanlı 2013). She explores the text books and the related congress documents which are remarkable for its power of conveying messages to the younger Republican generations about the "truths" of history. She finds out that the narration of history is one of the core components of nationalism. Thereby she reaches out the ideological patterns of the Turkish nation state in its early years. She finds out that the story of the official history thesis that is written by Turkish Republic had been the story of "an offended nation's historical narration" by the Europeans (Ersanlı 2013, 122).

The relationship between the official history making and education is elaborated to focus on the changes in İnönü era by Erinç Erdal Yıldırım (Yıldırım 2014). She argues that the historical intellection of İnönü era has both continuities and modifications. She points out the transformation of official history writing through history textbooks. Her study reveals that in the 1940s, there are traces of Blue Anatolianist movement that aims at creating a synthesis of Western and Eastern culture in Anatolia. Moreover, the opposing intellectuals could speak up more about the inalienable place of Islam as a component of Turkish national identity. Above all, the history making started to move away from the language of

disengagement with Ottoman past like it did with Turkish History Thesis<sup>19</sup>. Rather, the perception of history started embracing the booming era of Ottoman Empire and noted the inadequate modernization movements of Meşrutiyet II. However, she cuts her evaluation in 1946 by the transition to the multiparty regime, as she takes the prints of history textbooks of 1942 and 1945 to compare their 1932 and 1936 equivalents.

The echoes of Turkish History Thesis can be traceable through arts, particularly in theater playscripts. Mehmet Soğukömeroğulları unravels the official ideology's positioning the Turkish in history by tracing "Attila" piece. While he examines the piece, that was written by Behçet Kemal Çağlar, he cannot consider the piece independently from the debates related to the religion (Soğukömeroğulları 2011). He also takes the Attila image in the Western countries' eyes into account and asserts that image's relationship with the nationalism. He finds out that "Attila" has become a reactionary image for "Turks" as opposed to the Western condescending perception of "Turks."

İlber Ortaylı, who is a distinguished historian in Turkey, evaluates Turkish historical playscripts in a political perspective with an historian lens (Ortaylı 1978). His aim is to examine the Turkish playscripts in terms of historical philosophy and social transformation. For Ortaylı, it is necessary to consider the contemporary theater pieces by their intellectual content and arguments. He classifies European historical theater playscripts according to their periods and assertions. Thereby, he gives numerous examples about European authors in the 19th century, to articulate the political connections of the historical playscripts with nationalism. Then he gives a projection for their Turkish counterparts in the 19th century with their historical playscripts. Ortaylı in his article, argues that the emergence and the success of the historical playscripts in theater does not rely on dramaturgy strategies, but they find their roots in the related historical period and its ideological interpretation

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<sup>19</sup> Turkish history and language studies have always had an ideological component, and are supported by the state policies within certain institutions such as universities and Turkish Language Institution. For more information see (Bingöl 2004a, 2004b). Many publications are supported by Turkish Language Institution to encourage the authors and scientific researchers to delve into Turkish history and language. Some studies are published for their important findings in this context about linguistics. As one of those publications, Osman Nedim Tuna addresses the relationship between Sumerian and Turkish language and tries to find the age of Turkish language (Tuna 1990). He argues that some words in Sumerian were borrowed from Turkish. By following these words in Mesopotamia, he argues that Turks lived in 3500 b.c.e in the eastern Turkey. His attempt to explain how old Turks and Turkish are can be considered as a primordial attempt.

(Ortaylı 1978, 232). By the help of this short but effective essay, I could classify the playscripts that I got from the State Theater archives under historical theme. By the help of Ortaylı's projection, I could ground the relationship between nationalism, history, and theater, as it cannot be considered as independent from the power relations that affect the perception of history in a given period.

### **1.3.3. Family in a nation**

By the rise of the academic studies in post-colonial nationalisms, the relationship of the nationalism and nation state with the family and gender has become another significant topic to examine. Chatterjee (1990), Jayawardena (1986) and Yuval-davis (1997) point out the tight bonds between the masculine nature of the nationalism and nation state by revealing their concentration on shaping the bodies of women as well as drawing an ideal family to reproduce the future generations for the sake of a nation.

Although this study is based upon the modernist approach of nationalism theories, which pay attention to the bureaucracy or the elites to disseminate nationalist discourse, it also benefits from the gender and family related literature. This literature helps us to understand how this discourse is operated in terms of forming an identity for the members of a nation. However, most of the studies explore the indirect inclusion of women to the nation state building by calling out attention to the gendered nature of nation state building processes.

Nationalism as a modern phenomenon, first deals with the past by remaking history, then turns its face to "now." The second step of the process has been the shaping of the nation and their lifestyles. This move includes dividing the modern life into two as private and public spheres. Private sphere is the unit to raise members of nations and make them ready for the public sphere of the nation. "Home" becomes the base unit for the new modern sense of morality and the state's control over the people<sup>20</sup> (Murakami 2005). Family becomes the core unit of the society that includes intrinsic and gender biased roles. These roles are allocated as the man who is the father, leader, husband of the family; woman as

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<sup>20</sup> Kaoru Murakami, takes Japan and Turkey to unravel the relationship between nation building, nation state and family in a comparative method. Murakami first challenges the premodern families and the state then deals with the difference between the premodern and modern societies. By benefitting numerous studies over the relationship between family and the state in general, Murakami provides applicable framework for the nationalism as an ideology and nation state (Murakami 2005).



the mother, caretaker, wife in the family; and the kids as the future generations for the nation.

Identity is most commonly taken to an account under the membership of a nation in the context of citizenship. Many scholars tend to examine the nature of the social contract theory in order to check the constructed legal values of citizenship. Carole Pateman (Pateman 1989) tries to confute the masculine nature of this division in the understanding of Western political life, which begins with the social contract theories. What Carole Pateman (Pateman 1989) does is to examine the nature of the social contract as of its sexual context. Theorizations of the social contract can be evaluated under three titles: the classical social contract theories of 17th and 18th centuries, the ones which reject feudal paternal rights (feudal patriarchy, the king or the noble lords) and thirdly, they absorb masculine, patriarchal rights because men come together and agree on a particular type of state as a fraternal pact. Therefore, women become natural subjects that lack of necessary capacities and abilities. So that, Pateman argues that these theories are built upon fraternal preferences they absorbed patriarchy and one kind of patriarchy is transformed into another one and state is absorbed in it. She mentions that this contract reflects the familial construction as the core unit of a nation during modernity with changing values, that ends up with the split of the private sphere and the public sphere.

In the light of these discussions, it is possible to encounter the same structure within Turkish case. Women and men are gendered in this sense, where fighting and protection are the assignments of the men citizens, and women citizens take the responsibility of creation and preservation of life. Since nation is a modern phenomenon, nation states project a dualism between nuclear families and broad families. For Nükhet Sirman (Sirman 2005), nationalism, portrays a heterosexual nuclear family that defines man as husband, woman as wife and child as their children, and this is also the valid case for Turkish nation building. Every nuclear family has its own man to be protected. This sounds like the family is the castle of the man. The husband of the family has some rights and duties to hold the primary citizenship. Men are the sovereign power and the family like a micro-nation. She uses Pateman's analogy while explaining the family in the Turkish nation. Husbands become the sovereign power of the family that way. Those extended families were perceived as common during Ottoman past. One father honored as "Pasha" is the man of the family as the sovereign power. What transformed during modernity is an

expectation of evolving into nuclear families. The women are defined in relation to men in a transformed way. Again the husband remains as the hegemon of the nuclear family. However, this time, the primary duty of a man becomes the serve in the military to serve the nation state. He becomes the correspondent with the state. Tuba Kancı (Kancı 2007) suggests in her study that the family is portrayed in Turkish nation state as the middle class nuclear family within the definition of ideal citizen. Other men are set in a relationship of complicity with these ideal men in the families.

This research, which is conducted through the family theme of Turkish State Theater's repertoire helps bringing up the perception of family in nation state building process. The performative power of theater demonstrates the ideal family design on the stage to the target audience. While doing this, local plays construct sameness by seeing "us" on the stage; on the other hand, helps showing how the "other's" family looks like. Thereby the playwrights and the translators have the power of directing the audience with his or her own values by staying in the borders that the state draws, with regards to the family perception as the real agents of the membership of the nation.

On the other hand, the elites of Turkish Republic started regulating the Turkish family by borrowing the civil law from Switzerland. Even though, this regulatory reform offers insight to the implementations of monogamy or many other aspects related to the status of women; Şerif Mardin says that the founding fathers of Turkey "did not realize that legislating for the family does not mean bringing new values to existing families" (Mardin 1971, 210). Therefore, shedding light on how the 1950s Turkey visualise the Turkish family would provide beneficial knowledge on how family is imagined after the first years of indoctrination.

### *Family as a theme*

After acknowledging the significance of the family for the nation and nation state, I checked the academic studies that are conducted about the visualization of the Turkish family. I hereby figured out that the studies are gathered around the concepts of citizenship, patriarchy, the roles within the household and their performative emergence in theater and literature.

Nükhet Sirman unravel the gendered nature of citizenship and sovereignty, which are reproduced by the family, in Turkish postcolonial context (Sirman 2005). Although Turkey was not directly colonized and is a unique example with its nation building process in the world, it displays similar reactionary identity perceptions with the postcolonial world. She argues that building of a nation state is a product of a nationalist discourse and an attempt to define the identity of the nation as a polity. This discourse constructs the identity of the proper citizen as a member of the nation state. While defining what the rights and duties of the member of the nation are, it also produces "familial citizenship" (Sirman 2005, 148). Sirman addresses that the modern way of being a family in Turkish nation state has a certain way. This description of family includes a patriarchal nuclear family and draws the borders of the morality of the family and the citizen. She finds out that the new modern citizens do not have the dependency on an omnipotent lord; rather have a nuclear family unit to reproduce the love for the nation and the nation state. She points out the imagined citizen is a man, and women are as men's extension, having a certain imagined lifestyle. Thereby the family becomes the basic unit of the nation to produce this emotional bond between the citizen and the nation.

Deniz Kandiyoti traces the patriarchal society norms over time in postcolonial modernizing states and articulates the gender politics as "a tug of war between the private and public patriarchy" (Kandiyoti 2004, 46). She emphasizes the use of the image of the emancipation of women by modernizing policies under the name of "civilization" or "modernization." She utters the similarity between the premodern's and the modern's attempts to define patriarchal patterns. However, modernizing project put the ethnicity and the representation of the nation within the image of woman. Automatically this makes the body of women the embodiment of the relationship between the religion and secularism with the modern nation state, full of ambiguities, particularly in postcolonial countries. Most of postcolonial countries react colonialism with nationalistic echoes, including an idealization of "the private" for the women. The language of patriarchy only makes the patriarchy reproduce itself in the private sphere, rather than differentiating postcolonial identities from the West (Kandiyoti 2004).

Most of the studies with theater regarding the role of the family in the transformation of the society with modernity see the phenomenon as through dramaturgists' eye. Meral Harmancı McDermott's study on the gender politics through the women authors since the

proclamation of Tanzimat until the Republic is one of them (McDermott Harmançı, 2016). The concepts she digs are based upon the transformation of the household, traditional life style, and the political thoughts. The family theme in this study has significant data in terms of the transformative power of the modernism and their reflection on the artistic pieces. It also consists of an attempt to transform the conservative life style. McDermott suggests that on the illuminating role of the feminist theory, these artistic pieces have this transformative power in terms of having an opposing view towards patriarchal society. The point that the researcher focus on is the playwrights' textual way of expressing themselves as women. She finds these women playwrights redefining the patriarchal world that they live in. The household that had defined as the place of reproduction, compassion as the women's space; she finds out that households are redefined as the spaces of the suppressed, so often "death" (McDermott Harmançı 2016, 44). Moreover, some of the acts that the women kept their silence, most particularly in public sphere or while talking to a man who is omnipotent, are consciously made in a critical way, in order to demonstrate the silence of the women in certain spaces. McDermott examines the pieces with an eye of a theater expert as she also takes the textual power, literary value, and style. Although she uses a political concept to search for, her perspective does not rely on political science. Yet, this data that McDermott derived from her study helps to shape my argument on the transformation of the family, with regards to the roles of the female and the male as well as the children as the members of the modern nation state.

Another attempt to explore the relationship between gender issues and nationalism within migration phenomenon through theater playscripts comes from Başak Akar, Özge Öz Dm and Melike Güngör (Akar, Öz Döm, and Güngör 2015). They take Turkish nationalism as a case during Bulgaria migration and its social echoe on Ahmet Er's theater, which is acted in a prison by a gendermarie. This study has significant indicators of the relationship between nationalist ideology and the gender biased nature of the family relations in arts. This small study in terms of size also shows that the state's shadow is traceable in the perception of historical events and migration is one of them. Moreover, the publishing of this "*Göçmen*" (The Immigrant) playscript that overlaps with the year of the rise of nationalism in society, in 1980, the year of the military coup. And the aauthor's claim is that this piece is an example of national theater, as it is written by a Turkish nationalist. What Akar et al. (2015) demonstrates with regards to the gender issues by this work is that

nationalism within theaters helps reproducing of the social patriarchy by deepening the gender inequality within the immigrant population as well as in the family.

Sevda Şener suggests that playwrights create the characters according to the general social norms in concordance with the social realities, thereby they render their playscripts believable by the audience (Şener n.d.). Şener explores the “women image” in Turkish theater concurrent with her curiosity for the common perception of the character’s representation. Şener articulates that the woman image in the playscripts that are written until the 1940’s, is sinful of guilty. “Bad wife” or “bad mother” in a family constitutes a danger for the sake of the family or society if women’s desires cannot be suppressed. By the proclamation of the republic, conservative playwrights start worrying about the rights that are given to women might be misunderstood and lead loosing the cultural essence. However, these worries can also be traceable for the other authors with the fear of the women who are cheating wives at the same time. In the 1950s and 60s, this woman image gets more flexible, but it is still there in the playscripts. Women are irresponsible and bad wives and mothers who yearn for a luxurious lifestyle (Şener n.d.). She exemplifies many playwrights for having this perspective while overlapping the repertoire of the State Theater such as *Satılık Ev* (The House for Sale) by Ahmet Kutsi Tecer or *Çemberler* (The Circles) by Çetin Altan. At the same time, same authors create an ideal woman image as opposed to irresponsible woman image. These ideal women are super women that take the responsibility of their family by being good mothers and good wives. They are sacrificing, modest, fragile.

Şener also emphasizes the common points of evil women images. The evil woman image has common points with the World literature. After the 1960s, the internal immigration, industrialization, and urbanization makes the authors talk more about the expectations and the problems of women. Turkish playwrights’ common ground has been their perspective towards woman image as a social phenomenon, rather than having this image articulated in an individualistic basis. They want to draw a shape of the ideal woman in an universal gaze. This image consists of well educated women, who are sacrificing, modest and traditional but “modern” at the same time. Deniz Kandiyoti explores Turkish novels in a similar aspiration but adding the transformation of the “woman image” in a historical way. She agrees with Şener, on having the *fitne, fesat* (factious, trickery) image of woman in novels. But Şener also tells that enemies of Islamic order consist of these “evil women” as

well as the outsiders. She points out another feature of the emancipated women of the Republic women: nationalist women who are emancipated, who are free but still modest. While following these signifiers in novels, she argues that “woman image has been used prominently in order to symbolize them as the carriers of the moral corruption or opposedly, national rebirth” (Kandiyoti 2013, 150). Turkish novels use the image of woman to mention the anxiety of losing the national essence through the body of women, puts a degenerated, impure, European style women opposed to the virtuous, sacrificing and nationalist women characters. Literature compromises both polars in a genderless nationalist identity that’s drawn for women, as the responsables of the reproduction and the raise of the future generations while touching the family theme.

#### **1.3.4. Space of a nation**

At an interview with the editors of New Left Review, David Harvey tells that the geography is a historical matter and needs to be reinvented for a better understanding of the regional divisions throughout the world (Harvey 2012). Geographies turn out to be “spaces” which has bodies and histories in the social sciences with a background philosophy that was provided by the critical geography. His approach brings about modernism and postmodernism debate on the cities while exploring historical and economic backgrounds of the cities, by seeing them as the main spaces of the important political turning points in history.

One of these historical milestones, particularly for the European modernization, is the decline of the empires and gradually the emergence of the modern nation states. What has changed with regards to the perception of the space during the transition to the nation states system is the physical definition of the space. Nationalism tended to use an imagined space in order to establish a relationship between the geography and the history of the people, by appealing to the memories of the people on the way to build a nation. While empires were focused on the production and collecting taxes, nation states were more obsessed with the mobilization of the masses by speaking to their emotions.

Benedict Anderson (B. Anderson 2006) suggests that the precise boundaries of the spaces are borders in modern era. Boundaries of nations are drawn by nationalisms and nation states that have emerged as the suitable spatial organisations. Thereby territory of the nation and its nation state became the answer to the question of where nation exists.

Homeland was the name of the territory of the international borders, having primordial and historical essence. However, this land was not only called "homeland" of the nation but also included prioritization of the urban to the village as a sign of modernization. Jan Penrose (Penrose 2002) claims that the strength of nationalism comes from the elasticity of mobilisation wise tools of material and emotional powers of territory by sustaining a mergence of nation states and nations. Still, defining space, any space have difficulties. Space, in general, has to have two latent units: first is as the basic prerequisites of survival in a place. the second is as an emotional power. Emotions can be the motives to move to that space apart from its survival, and material privilidges or that might be repellent by its own negative aspects.

Once humans embrace a place and draw a border for where they embraced both physically and emotionally, they transform it into a territory. Thereby, a territory is a created place that did not exist before with the same deployed meaning. Space becomes a territory within a certain meaning. As Penrose (Penrose 2002) suggests, territory and territoriality as a social creature prescribes a control over a space and leads to power relations.

There must be spatial boundaries of monitoring and power relations. For Penrose, geographically these boundaries require "harnessing the latent powers of space" (Penrose 2002, 280) . In a nutshell, not to delve into details of this discussion, Penrose simply argues that the latent powers of the space are bounded by some cultural encodings and social experiences to set deep emotional bonds with their territories. Penrose (Penrose 2002)explains the urban and industrial transformations over territory and territoriality by applying Calhoun and Mackenzie's point of view: modernity, urbanisation, and industrialisation made this bond more abstract, yet, did not desentisized people from their territories, just transformed it.

With the beginning of the modernity, the perception of the borders and territories of a nation state defines the space of a nation, and it is called "homeland." As Penrose suggests, nation states have provided cultural and territorial popular support for mobilization (Penrose 2002). This mobilization was put possible by the transition of agrarian societal status to modern society. This transition and transformation is made real in the centers, rather than periphers. But periphers; the villages, in this case, were romanticised for its essential features given to the essence of a nation. The villages are the ones to be

integrated to the center, as the secondary spaces of the nation, by the help of a modern transformation that clicks the cities and villages together.

On the other hand, while postcolonial nationalisms were establishing their own institutions to consolidate the imagined national identity, their experiences with the space have varied. For the imperial powers, cities have been important centers of administrations (Jacobs 1996). Thereby, colonialism had its first modern institutions, such as educational or administrative offices, at the city centers. This way, cities became the public spheres to bring differentiated identities together, and to perform the “ideal way of being a modern.” Once the self and the other confronts in the space, where history is remembered, linked or forgotten (Özaloğlu 2017), the bodies of the certain identities find a chance to show up and perform their identities. This experience helps both sides to clash and find new ways to construct their identities, sometimes in a reactionary sometimes in an harmonious way.

#### *Space as a theme*

This research is also after of how the space of the Turkish nation is imagined and visualized in Turkish State Theater in the 1950s. In the context of the space in Turkish nation building is explored with many different perspectives, particularly taken into account for its urban transformation after modernizing movements.

For instance, Çınar & Bender (2007) examines Turkish urban transformation within the context of modernization through nationalistic features of it. They pursue the traces of modernity that reflects the building of collective imaginations in urban space. For them, the representative power of cities as cities decreased by the strengthening of nation states. Historically, cities became a space for nations to show up. Especially Alev Çınar with Ankara case (Çınar and Bender 2007) and Srirupa Roy (S. Roy 2006) with Indian case, provide the link between the nation and the space in urban imagining.

Scanning these studies and seeing the urban aspect of national identity building projects within modernity, rouse questions regarding the perception of space: Where is the nation? Where does the nation stand between the tension with regards to the village and the city? How is the space of the nation designed? What is the place of religion, state, and national sameness which stands in the national space? These questions set the boundaries of the spatial aspect of a nation in this study.



On a micro level though, the competence of the spatial powers in the context of nation state policies takes place in the dualism of the modern and the unmodern. The domestic space of the nation is the villages or the cities according to their getting share from their nation state's modernism projects. One of the studies to concern about the transformation of the space and spatial power with regards to urbanization and modernization is Alev Çınar's and Thomas Bender's (Çınar and Bender 2007). They tend to explain the borders of the urban in a nation state and the urbans' being a part of national imagination. They gather many authors throughout the important cities to give examples by analysing them through their gender issues, their inclusion and exclusion strategies and the cities' latent assignment of being the visions of their nations. Alev Çınar suggests that (Çınar 2007), for being the capital city of Turkish Republic, Ankara was an obvious example of being a part of Turkey's modernization project. Çınar indicates the division of the city's public sphere into two: as the modern and the unmodern. Modern and new center for the nation is representative of the secular young Republic. The informal signs of the nationhood throughout the urban area become a playground for each government to demonstrate their own senses of nation building.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Çınar (2005) reveals the multiple modernisms that are perceived by the public space and public realm's performative strength for the power relations. She uses the relationship between the public sphere and modernization processes in Turkish modernization process by using its visibility in the public sphere in the context of secularism. Nation states use public space as the stage of the performance in the making of nations while transforming cities, squares, and statues. Not only the official nationalist discourse finds a place to perform "the nation" that's imagined, but also the non-official nationalist projects carry out the way that they perceive their nation, whenever they get the political power. Çınar's another study about the case of Islamic head scarf, being excluded from the public space by the official performance of nation making process, led gender biased nature of this discourse, as well as the debates on the visibility of the "excluded" in public sphere (Çınar 2008).

On the other hand, Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997) edits a work on the modernity project of Turkish case. Thereby they provide the connection between the architectural design and modernity project, as well as its aspect of nationalism. The modern is often nationalized by creating a synthesis. And the architecture

was one of the areas of modernization with its visual power in the public sphere. Sibel Bozdoğan calls this an attempt of having a national architecture by nationalizing the modern in early years of the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey (Bozdoğan 2012). She argues that the early architects of the young Turkey embraced Kemalist reforms as the illumination of their creativity. And the late 1930s witness the architects who try to unearth Turks' historical roots to form a "national architecture." The architecture of the early Republican era signifies the Turkish nation building project by its buildings, boulevards, monuments, and museums. As a side, Bozdoğan also call for attention to how modern "family" was defined by its relation to the spatial perception. Therefore "the modern" is not something valid for the public sphere but also it has a transformative power in the private sphere. She also mentions the German affect on the design of the urban with touches of German architectures. But this effect was not about the shape of it; it required a local essence of Turkish people. Local architecture was not "Western" or "Ottoman," but it was embodying Turkish cultural essence in the shape of the modern architectural style.

However, urbanization has become an interactive process with the significant transformation of the urban by modernization. The previous works demonstrate that the main concern of the modernism project is about building the nations in the urban area. It is though, a tough process when these nation building projects had to integrate "the rural" into the project and transform the villagers into citizens in a beneficial way. The cities are the representatives of the new, modern nation where the villages are the cradles of essence of the culture to be protected. This essence gives the unique side of the nation, which becomes visible in the cities. These cities were the showcases of the synthesis of the national essence and the global values with the name of "civilization" (Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997; Çınar 2010). Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu point out the borders between the rural and the urban set up by the nationalist narrative (Nalbantoğlu Baydar 1997), caught in the middle of the national essence and the universal modernization. With this sense, nation building project also had an ideal of village, with reflection on the architecture of the village. Moreover, the borders of the urban loaded burden on to the shoulders of the periphery. However, these were the future city dwellers of the modern urban at the same time. The sound of the rural architecture was muted in this competence in favor of modernists. Nalbantoğlu sees the villagers that split their identity as half-villager half-city dweller becoming the silent interruptions of the settled national architectural narrative.

The dilemma of “the urbanized villagers” and “the ruralized urbans” is not a recent discussion. Şerif Mardin defines this debate field as a tension between the center and the periphery (Mardin 1973). So is possible to carry this opinion into the structured space of modernization, which divided the center as the cities and the periphery as the villages. On the other hand, Önder Şenyapılı takes this debate into account and discusses on three essential aspects: socio-economic results, such as internal migration; social stratus and politics, in order to reveal the problems of the “urbanized villagers” and the real sources of the problems that they are getting through (Şenyapılı 1978). Şenyapılı takes the year 1950 as the beginning of the change in the economic policies that affected spatial administration. He explains the internal migration as a result of change in the economic policies as well as the propertylessness with regards to the division of the agricultural land (Şenyapılı, 1978). Şenyapılı strongly disagrees with the ones who claim that the villages are urbanized, and the cities are ruralized. On the other hand, he believes in a mutual interaction between the villages and cities, with the transformation of the job market, splitting up of the villagers from their land as well as a change in the culture of consumption which would affect the feeling of sameness and discursive identity construction.

The disengagement of the people from their traditional lives and being a part of an urbanized population cause a yearning. As Şenyapılı mentions the change with percentages, 75% of Turkish population lived and worked in agricultural lands in 1950. However, this proportion dropped down to 61,2 % in twenty years (Şenyapılı 1978, 16). A standard life style that was mentioned by the nationalist discourse had to transform the migrant masses into urbanized citizens priorly to the larger immigrations from the villages to the cities. This attempt found a respond in literature pieces, in which the intellectuals saw that the cultural essence lied in the villages.

Having not a multi-level example of an analysis but undoubtedly significant one on Tanzimat era and early Republican era theater is Didem Ardalı Büyükarman’s (Büyükarman 2008) study on “homeland” construction. She prefers using the word “motherland” for the geography that has changed through years and affected theater pieces of both Tanzimat and Republican theater. She starts her analysis from the year 1860 and brings it to the year 1940. She argues the change of definition of motherland by historical periods and observes the transformation of being the land of where Islam was sovereign to

the land that has sacred and eternal political borders of Turks, protected again by Turks by sacrifices. She adapts the relationship between the political history and the political will of theater playscripts, as well. Büyükarman (2008) suggests that the aim of the Tanzimat Theater in terms of protecting the motherland is to unite the elements of Ottoman Empire to keep the motherland undivided. However, after the proclamation of II.Meşrutiyet'in<sup>21</sup> 1908, theaters started conveying Turkist and Turanist messages. The change in the borders of Turkish land affects the theater playscripts during Republican era. This time, these plays start telling how hard *Misak-ı Milli*, national borders were won and protected, how Turkish nation was sacrificing.

#### *Studies that focus on all themes at a time*

##### History, Family, Space

Two broad studies bring three themes together with different names in their studies. Thereby they embrace a wholistic approach, differentiating themselves from the others.

Yılmaz Bingöl and Ahmet Pakiş address the symbiotic relationship between Turanism and Anatolianism movement as different veins of nationalisms in Turkish nation building (Bingöl and Pakiş 2016). Anatolianisms often criticized Turanism for being responsible for the collapse of Ottoman Empire with their irredentist dreams through their definitions of nation, nationalism, history, geography. Having noted Bingöl and Pakiş's modernist approach towards nationalism, they find a complementary existential nature for their hegemonic struggles among other identity building projects such as Islamism. Panturkism was often criticized by Anatolianism for having an endless, borderless homeland definition. Secondly, Turanists' way of defining the nation, based upon ethnicity, without having a common land to share their life with, is vilified for not being away from realism. Also, their historical perspective, which takes Syria, Khorasan, China, Russia, Turkistan and Mongolia as the Turks were sovereign over, was criticized. As opposed to pan views of Turanists, Anatolianists defend territorialism by drawing the borders of the homeland with *Misak-ı Milli*, national borders. They start the history of the Turks in Anatolia with Battle of Manzikert in 1071. There, in Anatolia, Islam and Turks meet and start a new civilization. At first glance, Anatolianists seem to have a "civic" definition of nationalism,

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<sup>21</sup> II. Meşrutiyet: The period of the second proclamation of constitutionalism and amendments

as it is defined by Anthony Smith (Hutchinson and Smith 1996) however, in details, it is possible to run into similar ideological messages with the Turanists in the texts of Anatolianists such as, having Alpaslan in the Battle of Manzikert as a Muslim Turk of Oguzs (Bingöl and Pakiř 2016). Thereby, Bingöl and Pakiř argues that Anatolianism is a transformed version of Turanism according to the norms and needs of the current historical period. Their study contributes to the nationalism studies in terms of demonstrating multiple nationalisms in the nation building projects that grow mutually, and they choose to focus on the conservative side. They follow three themes: history, geography, and nation while shaping and classifying the thoughts of the authours that they took into account which looks applicable in nationalism studies.

The second wholistic study is made by Alev Çınar. She tries to figure out the patterns of modernity in Turkey while exploring its adoption by the official ideology that overlaps with the process of foundation of the nation state (Çınar 2005). She argues that modernity, Islam, and secularism in Turkey had deep roots with the modernism applied through bodies, places and time. As a unique example throughout the world, Turkey has established a modern nation state with a claim of secularism. These increased the debates about the place of Islam, especially in public sphere as a performative gaze. She suggests that even the modes of Islam and the way Islam was applied in public sphere have been modern phenomena, by referring alternative modernities of Gaonkar's conceptualization. The study offers the performative aspects of secularism and Islam meets up in the public sphere in a mutual contestation and leads to produce a "creative adaptation" (Çınar 2005, 2; Gaonkar 2001). She uses three basic themes while applying discourse analysis, bodies, places and time; where bodies refer who and which look is attributed to the women in public sphere as the representative of particular modernities; places refer where the performative gaze occurs, public space and the urban; time relates to the remaking of the history of the nation through modernity definitions. Çınar's main concern remains as the discourse that has been constructed around the definitions of modernity, although she illuminates the road to making of a nation through modernism. Themes, which she uses to deconstruct the performative politics that takes role at public space, are applicable to the construction of discourse of national identity. However with slight differences: nationalism makes nations by using historical narratives, the families as the manufacturers of the members of the nation, and the space as where the nation is

sovereign and built. Her approach that calls “time” is history, “bodies” is family and “spaces” as space in my study.

#### *Studies that focus on political debates*

History, family, space related thematic works were shaped around how people and the projects define the self. The self is constructed on sameness and differences with regards to religion, state and the narrative and national identity. In time, I scanned the scientific literature I saw that each nationalism study rallied around the political debates of religion, state, narrative and national identity. The place of the religion, the shaping power of the state apparatus and how the self is defined are the main issues in this section.

#### **1.3.5. Religion**

Religion was defined by sociologists or religion studies thousand times; however, none could compromise on each others suggestions. This study demonstrates a closer perspective to those who define religion as a social formation among a bale of definitons (McCutcheon 1998). Religion is a social formation which is founded by the sacred beliefs and complemented by rituals and behavior. Therefore, it is not wrong to say that religion is both the construction and the content within the cultural studies. The religion is not only the sacred texts; “...rather it is living communities” (Peterson 2012, 454).

Living communities or social formations involve getting together and social solidarity within. While this solidarity is conceived as kinship, tribal bonds or ethnicity in nationalism literature in general (Hutchinson and Smith 1996), one should not neglect the contribution of the belief systems to these solidarities. Although kinship or ethnicity-wise bonds are able to create physical and imagined common bases for a shared life, religion has the power of setting moral values, rituals and behavior mazes. Therefore, religion is capable of defining the good and the bad, as well as “us” (who is the good) and “them” (who is the bad or the ones to be convinced and won). No matter which belief system or the sacred text is taken into account, these promises of having a shared life and life style have been the determinants of social relations and social formations.

In Europe, the contestations between the bourgeoisie and the Catholic Church allowed a transformation in social relations. When one gazes at the World politics of the 15th century, can see the shake throughout the World of empires, ended up with the collapse of

the empires because of the social and administrative transformation that was brought about by modernity and industrialization. Religion in Europe was deployed from the center of the political power after Reform movement (İnalçık 2011).

Back to Ottoman Empire and Turkish case, Ottoman Empire started a modernization and Westernization movement with its own domestic dynamics by taking Europe as a model in 19th century. After rising Western type military academy generation, a tension between the *ulema* and this elite sparked off. Even though, the reforms aimed at reforming the state apparatus in military arena, Westernization also affected the intellectual and social atmosphere of the Empire. However, the effect of Islam over the administration and the social relations because of the sociological effect of Islam allowed the Muslim community to keep its moral values in the same framework (Mardin 1971).

Thereby religion, if taken as a social formation, emerges as two ways determinant. First, as the determinant of what is good and what is wrong in a community. It contributes to the solidarity, uniting and setting up a shared life, by defining new “us” and “them” in religious context. Secondly, the efforts to deploy the place of religion from the political power and instead setting a secular nationalism as a secular religion caused a new solidarity mechanism based upon new definitions for “us” and “them.” These two determinants also light up the tension between the religion and nationalism in Turkish modernization times. Since nationalism lacks of capability to challenge religion to define new moral values (Mardin 1971), it becomes impossible to exclude religion from the ways of solidarity and the political power. Religion, which was tried to be exempt by the forms of secularisms, in fact, forms new networks of solidarity and supplies a new way of understanding of religion that compromises with nationalism.

That’s why one witness the rise of conservatism that brings a new dimension to the politics of nationalism in the 1950s Turkey, as opposed to early Republican era’s secular Kemalism. Therefore, the poets and authors could affect the intellectuals of the period that have impacts on political power, get together around panTurkism and Anatolianism. Although these perspectives had different perceptions with regards to the history and the space of the nation and involved a tension amidst (Bingöl and Pakiř 2016), their efforts are basically for demonstrating the compromise between Islam and nationalism.

Smith (2002) argues that treating religion as only a secondary component to ethnicity is overlooking its significance in a construction of a national identity. Yılmaz Bingöl states that a significant “change in intellectual and social lives of peoples naturally brings about a change in their language. Converting to Islam of Turks has brought about a differentiation in their social and intellectual lives as well as their language properties” (Bingöl 2004a, 3). While illuminating the place of the Turkish State Theater in nation building process, this study does not neglect the significant role of the religion and its definition within national identity. Yet, Islam and Islam’s relationship with the other religions, including the status of the minorities, constitutes an important part of the definitions of identities with regards to the construction of “us” and “them.”

Many scholars agree on the power of nationalism to mobilize the masses. The scholars in political psychology field tend to explain this mobilization with regards to the psychological patterns of the masses. On the other hand, comparative politics perceive nationalism as a discourse that acts like “the sacred” of the societies. Though, the relationship between nationalism and the sacred is a long term debate. Ernest Gellner explains this relationship with reference to Connor Cruise O’Brien’s views by criticizing him (Gellner 2013). For Gellner, although O’Brien pointed out an important topic, he falls short to explain it fully by seeing nationalism as a new religion. Nationalism should create a circle of respect in order to mobilize the masses and keep them together. Gellner skips the debate on whether political power can survive with or without sanctity, but more concerned about how nationalism created its own sanctity over religion.

Thereby, rather than excluding religion completely, nationalism uses religious rituals to transform institutions with or as opposed to it. Nationalism solves the political chaos that was caused by the transformation by using current rituals such as education, an official history, and culture.

Under the light of these debates, the relationship between the regime change and the religion is yet to be discussed. At this point, Şerif Mardin addresses the undeniable place of ideology and religion in Turkish revolution (Mardin 1971). Şerif Mardin explores the similarities and differences of French and Turkish revolutions in a comparative method by defining revolutions as the transformations of political systems. He compares two revolutions in many aspects such as class dynamics, violence, patrimonial structure,



policies, civil society and administrative structures. He tells how French Revolution and Turkish revolution, which ended up with the proclamation of the republic, have similarity of putting religion a side and setting “*civisme*” into the place of religion (Mardin 1971, 202). Although the tradition of administrative structures remained, the symbolic cues are transformed and threatened the core Ottoman values. Thereby Mardin suggests that the Young Turks and the “fathers of the Republic” had a revolutionary movement. Then he discusses the spacious place of the religious structures in Ottoman social life by giving examples from Anatolia. Religion is everywhere that the state cannot reach out, including local education, local jurisdiction. Therefore, Islam had a chance to touch social structures. Mardin explains it well with “Religion had thus a double function: for the rulers, that of linkage with the lower classes, for the ruled, that of an alternative to the polity and a buffer against officialdom” (Mardin 1971, 204), implying that religious structures were in the space of civil society in Ottoman Muslim community. What has transformed after the new regime, was the equality of the religion and the state. Religion was used for an institutional legitimacy by the ruling elites after the Republic, and secularism was their underlying ideology by making it the official religion, for Şerif Mardin.

Elisabeth Özdalga criticises the scholars of the field of nationalism for neglecting the importance of the religion to reinforce nationalism’s essence in the Middle East (Özdalga 2014). Özdalga asserts that the relationship between religion and nationalism has been different from the European case in the Middle East by politicization of Islam. She demonstrates this difference in an analogous manner by bringing Egyptian, Turkish and Iranian experiences of nationalism taking religion as an embedded power. She discusses the dynamics behind the together naming of nationalism and religion in these countries, and then argues that the relationship between the state and the people in modern societies resembles the relationship between the *umma* and the state in the early era of Islamic period. Özdalga calls the readers’ attention to the role of Islam in the relationship between the state and individual; as opposed to those scholars who believe that the secularization of Islam is impossible. Then she takes three prominent authors in Turkish history as the agents of three different representations of religion in the context of national identities. These three authors are Mehmet Akif Ersoy, who is a religious Muslim and the author of Turkish national anthem, Halide Edip Adivar as the defender of women rights and an author that combines the religion with nationalistic views, and finally, Necip Fazıl

Kısakürek who is one of the first advocates of the political Islam. She figures out that the narratives of these authors conceptualize the nation-state as a “vital unit,” as a habitus to develop a national culture, and Islam is a natural component of this national culture. Even Necip Fazıl’s stance against the secularist reforms contributes to the new forms of national secularisms as she suggests.

When we have an overlook upon the 1940s and 1950s, it is evident that the religion and the political field come across in a different manner in Turkey. M. Çınar & Gencel Sezgin (2013) address the discontent religious power groups for being singled out from politics. This discontent prepared the basis for future Islamist activism as they claim and reproduces a Republican orthodoxy. They point out the neglected aspect of Islamism, because of engagement of the religion with cultural activities by nature. The suppression of the religious power groups and institutionalizing an official religion did not bring about a control over them but reinforced their informal structure. Multiparty regime though provided a certain level of elasticity, and these groups became more visible through their local publications and political engagements in Democrat Party. M. Çınar & Gencel Sezgin (2013) do their exploration through assembly records, legal regulations as well as political statements of the politicians, particularly from Democrat Party wing. However, they call attention to the secularist tendencies of the party despite their engagement with nationalist and Islamist political movements, by the closure of Nation Party, some conservative publications as well as a conservative author Necip Fazıl Kısakürek’s conviction. Thereby, it is possible to deduce that religion has always been a subject related to the identity and politics in Turkey, just like it was in the early years of the Republic. The 1950s is the continuation of the modernization and nation building process. However, the arms of the changing government are not wide open to every movement that they label “reactionary.”

Alev Çınar in her thematic work about performative power of modernization in public sphere in Turkey explores “secularism” as a way of defining the modern Turkish (Çınar 2005). She keeps putting Islam as a defining factor no matter whether it has silent or visible actions. She particularly takes Islamic headscarf as a case in her another study, while interpreting the ways of performing the visibility of identities in public sphere in a broader period, bringing the case from the modern nation building process to the present day (Çınar 2008). Public sphere has become the space of where two identities contest and

the religion as a political power to mention its visibility. Her context is both gender and public sphere that finds its summit with religious symbols. She argues that the public sphere is no longer a space for emancipation, but it is a field for contestations that take place with controlled silences, performances, and symbols. In this Turkish context, case lets the public sphere to be a field of power relations as well. The relationship between Islamism and the founding ideology through secularism becomes visible in public sphere with performances, embodied in the bodies of the women with veiling or unveiling practices. Nilüfer Göle interpretes this situation as that the founding ideology caused women to construct new identities based upon gender (Göle 1996, 2010).

In a nutshell, religion constitute an important part of the discussions on nation building projects, no matter if it was covered under public sphere, identity building, political contestations or philosophical backgrounds. The place of the religion in history, family or the space of a nation has always been an important debate. Scholars explored the interpretation of religion in many aspects and had different results. As though analyzing religion's place in Turkish nation building in the 1950s depending on the repertoire of the State Theater might have bring a different point of view to these debates.

#### **1.3.6. State**

Many nationalism theories start with how and when did the nation-state system emerged. Industrialization and modernization theories suggested by Anderson and Gellner have been the most popular ones (Özkırımlı 2010). Although this study is based on modernist approach on nationalism, it also benefits from the power-balance theory suggested by Andreas Wimmer and Yuval Feinstein (2010) intellectually. Wimmer and Feinstein suggest that the role of the cultural modernization theories as Anderson or Gellner asserts have only limited explanation on how nation-states proliferated throughout the World. Rather, an explanation regarding the success of first nation-states would help. The rest of the cases imitate these first nation-states to reach out the necessary power to survive in the international polity system. Furthermore, there are proper circumstances to deligitimize the ancien regimes, particularly empires, in terms of military, economic or political action by the weakening international wars. Later on, nationalists, more specifically the elites take the power over and need to have a nation building project to consolidate their power by the help of the will of nation.

Although at first, this theory seems to explain it all with its weighty results it still needs modernist approach and its tools to explore how this will was proliferated. As the power approach explains the emergence and the system of nation-states, nationalism provided nation-states to be the actor for both domestic and international polity. By trying to disseminate the nation building project the elite's biggest tool has been the state to define the identity of the nation and its citizens. Nevertheless, as Yılmaz Bingöl argues, the state is not a central determinant of identities as a political actor, but rather it can be a complementary unit (Bingöl 2004a). This study, in congruence with Bingöl's statement about the location of the state in political sciences research takes the state as a complementary unit of a national identity.

National identity building projects encompass a process of building loyalty to the state as well as nation (Connor 1978).<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the state becomes not only a tool or actor but also an objective. State would organize the mobilization of the nation while being an administrative apparatus at the same time. It appeals as a roof to determine the level of the mobilization and organization of the nation.

The role of the state in modern societies interfere the individuals' lives and attempt to change it (Özdalga 2014) and the state uses its legitimate power relations to make it consolidated. Elisabeth Özdalga defines the social boundaries to set the identities: "Tribe, community, religious or ethnic groups or the state" (Özdalga 2014, 107)

I will not delve into the theories of emergence of the nation state here, but it is appropriate to give a place to Ernest Gellner's statements about the state. Ernest Gellner says "Nothing would happen without a state. However, this does not make the state national" (Gellner 2013, 99). For him, nationalism is a principle to bring political unit and national unit together in a harmonious way. What gives a state its national feature is its applications and polities through a legitimate apparatus. It is possible to deduce from that statement that, although nation states are seen as the given status this is not the case and he is not alone. Also, Sylvia Walby expresses nations' noncontinuation and lack of frequency; thereby defines nation-state as a myth (Walby 2003), particularly at the age of globalization.

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<sup>22</sup> In his work though, Walker Connor tells how unsuccessful these efforts are (Connor 1978).

Nation-state evokes by the help of its founding ideology sometimes and sometimes with its institutions or politics. In Turkish nation building process, it is possible to see the nation-state involved into the policy making and applications vividly until it transforms the lives of ordinary people into the citizens' lives. Nation-states need nations to administer and try to have them in a shape of its founding ideology. While trying to construct the identity of a nation it makes its policies consolidated. Nation states create their own representations of the state while constructing an identity. These representations might include a "poor state" or a "powerful state" according to its needs. A representation for a poor state provides an expectation of having sacrificing citizens, whereas the representation of a powerful state brings about a dignity and pride for the citizens as they are the members of the same nation.

Besides, power relations are embedded in the body of the state and nationalism provides its patrimonial nature by administrative structures. Since Turkish nation state is a product of the founding fathers of Turkish Republic, particularly Atatürk, they knew the best for the nation and nation's survival. However, nation-states and their nationalist ideologies miss a certain point: people's own experiences about identity perception. To fill this gap, Hale Yılmaz explores nation-state's transformative power in nation building process in Turkey through language politics. She gets to know more about how ordinary people were affected from the Alphabet Reform in 1928 directly. She describes those people as the ones who became illiterate in a night because of the radical change in the written language (Yılmaz 2011). After analyzing the stories of the personal experiences with regards to the alphabet reform, Yılmaz finds out that there was a silent resistance to the the reform. However, she does not consider this resistance as an ideological or a corporate reform, yet it is more related to the difficulty of changing one's personal and habitual practices.

Rather, Most of the studies take the state as a determinant of the nationalist ideology and the framework of the citizenship. On the contrary, Yılmaz Bingöl's study on language politics and identity perceptions is a rejection of orthodox academic studies which put the state into the center of their analysis (Bingöl 2004b). He starts grounding his argument; the existence of antagonism between the modernists and the traditionalist towards language policies, by giving the state as the central determinant of the language policies. However, he mentions that this policy making process has various affects on different groups because of their backgrounds. Therefore, it is possible to deduce that, identity construction

is not a one-way process but a mutual one; also shaped by the reactions of the ones who are expected to adopt the reforms. He takes numerous statements of the policy makers as well as institutional policies and the reactions of the intellectuals of the single party period. He then analyses the traditionalists, who are Islamists and Turkish nationalists, challenging the reforms that were implemented by the modernist Kemalist wing. Furthermore, he gives place to the clash between the modernists as the representatives of the founding ideology and the traditionalists as the challengers of the reforms. Thereby he shifts his projection to the 1950s, to the years the uncertainty of the modernists in policies begin, until 1983. Yılmaz then claims that, after the nationalization of Turkish Language Society by altering its vision from the modernist policies to Turkish nationalists, the policy has drastically changed.

Unfortunately, not much of the studies related with the national identity building process dealt with the representations of the state through the eyes of the ones who are expected to adopt the new nation building policies. Performative arts and the literature is robust enough to draw the representations of the state in order to unravel the perception of the state in a certain historical period. As Niyazi Akı (Akı 1968) tries to reveal the perception of the state and politics through theater helps us to understand how politics, the state as an actor and theater are embedded. However, while giving clues about the relationship between the politics and theater, he does not really look at the perception of the state in Turkish theater.

Although “state” has been an important title for the nationalism related debates, very few scholars are interested in exploring the representations of Turkish nation state. Srirupa Roy’s study on national commemorations and the public sphere in a comparative method with Indian and Turkish case is significant in this sense (S. Roy 2006). She pursues the symbols of remaking a public that set by the nation state. Public sphere is taken as the space for “nationalization and étatization” (S. Roy 2006, 200).

For Touraj Atabaki, modernization process has been a sovereignty issue for Turkey (Atabaki 2007). Atabaki, in his study with a comparative perspective with Iranian modernization, suggests that the historical circumstances prepared the base for an authoritarian modernization to keep the nation united and mobilized. This authoritarian manner was implemented by the legitimate power: the nation state. Atabaki wants to

account for the reactions of the ordinary people towards the top-down processes of these authoritarian modernization implementations, by using Gramsci's "*subaltern*" concept that is defined as the excluded classes of the society from the power of the regime. In his edited book, he gathers up many works in this framework, however without touching the mindsets of the real people, but with an eye of a social historian. He takes the discipline of labour by the clocks as the beginning of modern life and supplies mesmerizing flow of knowledge about the relationship between this discipline and the state, given by the socio-historical proofs. Although he claims that the narratives are very strong to mention the socio-historical and philosophical background of a certain period, less is given for the strength of the narratives because of its focal points. Besides just like many other studies in the field, this edition is state-oriented when it searches for hegemony through sovereignty and power. However, state needs to be examined as a complementary unit of a national identity construction, as it acts like an actor to implement identity but still cannot be the core of an identity. While Atabaki's edition with contributors such as Vangelis Kechriotis, Erik-Jan Zürcher, Hülya Küçük, Umut Azak, Nicole A.N.M. van Os (Atabaki et al. 2007) calls out attention to the subaltern communities on the contrary of the privileged strata of the society, helps unraveling the reactionary or the acceptability of the modernization reforms by these subaltern communities.

### **1.3.7. Narrative and National Identity**

Herbert Mead in his critical edition about the formation of "the self" in mind asserts that "the self" of a person arises in social formation with social experiences. These social experiences are formed by communications, and they end up with constructing a unity in the body of the self. While a self is formed, it objectifies the actions that it had, therefore distinguishes "I" and "me." According to the responses to those actions by the other "self"s one constructs "me" and "the other" (Mead 1972). In social formations, multiple selves get together based upon certain norms and sameness principles, create solidarity and raise "we," and "us" correspondingly.

Social formations and so are any identity formations allow the feeling of sameness and solidarity by the help of narratives. Thereby they create a language of assimilation and dissimilation (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999). The common narratives use common subjects for actions, utilize a common language to transfer these narratives to reproduce

the feeling of being common. Big narratives have the subject of “we” and create a dualism between “us” and “them.” Some scholars find these common shares as ethnicity, kinship, language (Hutchinson and Smith 1996; Smith 1994, 2000). However some attribute importance to the ideology for having a common imagination of togetherness in modern times (T. a. Van Dijk 2006). But all agree on the creation of “sameness” and “the difference,” assimilation and dissimilation overall (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999) during identity formations parallel to the social formations.

The units that constitute “we” are sameness, sameness, solidarity, victimhood, “positive” manners and gestures that only attributed to “us.” On the other hand, the elements that construct “them” are difference, otherhood, hostility, dominance/cruelty, “negative” manners and aspects that only attributed to “them.” Interestingly and inversely, “us” are the dominants and the controllers in a society, whereas “them” are the controlled and the oppressed (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999). That’s why, the language that’s used by the dominant use, the discourse that’s reproduced reflect the power relations between the group identities in a single society.

Not surprisingly the identity formations in macro level involve the same dynamics. Yet, modern times, integrate modern terms to the formations of identities. The necessity of sameness gives rise to the emergence of nations by the help of nationalisms. For Benedict Anderson (B. Anderson 2006) this feeling of sameness was spread by the press and allowed the emergence of nations as the imagined communities, on the other hand, what Ernest Gellner (Gellner 1983) advocated about creating the sameness is led by the mass education. Therefore, the content of what is taught or spread out involved the discursive construction on commonalities with certain symbols, positive manners, language, historical approach.

In this content, narratives matter the most, in transmitting these symbols and commonalities. Narratives are fundamental indicators of how national identities are formed and transmitted from one generation to another. This strength makes the written texts, educational materials and literary works very significant in terms of being the signifiers of the discursive construction of identities (Seyhan 2008).



Therefore narratives and texts provide information about the discursive constructions of national identities. Wodak, Reisigl, Liebhart, & De Cillia (2009) apply Critical Discourse Analysis with discursive construction of national identities in Austrian national identity through conversations among regular people after World War II, to reveal subtle reproductions of anti-semitism in daily conversations. So their research is groundbreaking in the sense that the tacit reproductions of nationalisms and national identities, that take powerful and dominant structures in the base, by asserting that each identity construction uses a discriminative language one way or another (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999). Their approach focuses on unraveling the structural dynamics behind this language.

Talking about Turkish national identity, allows one to get involved in debates of where does nationalism come from and which philosophical roots help the perception of a modern national identity in Turkey to grow. Sticking amid being Eastern and Western causes a paradox in Turkish national identity as Ayşe Kadioğlu argues (Kadioğlu 1996). This paradox lets the scholars discuss about the European way of nationalizing the identities, and the correct way of implementing Westernization. Kadioğlu states that European part of the official identity building is affected by both German romanticism and French jakobenism, thereby fostered top-down identity building process by going to the essence of the Turkish people.

Ayşe Kadioğlu and Fuat Keyman inclines to widen the symbiotic structure of Turkish national identity in their edited book that they discussed the competing nationalisms in Turkey by the help of significant scholars of the field such as Şerif Mardin, Tanıl Bora and Umut Özkırımlı (Kadioğlu and Keyman 2011). They tend to explain the protean aspects of nationalism that finds intersection points with liberalism, conservatism, Marxism, depending on the historical facts. Particularly the departing point of having historical and non-historical nations as Hegel mentioned and Marx and Engels benefited, took the nationalism debates to a point that some nationalisms are good and some are bad. The bad nationalisms were rooted in the oppression and the distinction between “us” and “them.” This distinction is also used for the Turkish modern national identity, as Turkish nationalism was taken as the oppressor, but the Kurdish and Islamic nationalisms are the oppressed, having a discourse of transferring the political power to the people. However, the authors keep in mind that no matter how good or bad nationalism is, it relies on assimilation and exclusion, bringing about a distinction between “us” and “them.” These

nationalisms in Turkey acted in a symbiotic and a competing way and determined the contemporary political discourses.

Although this book takes the competing nationalisms and the historical artifacts of different nationalisms in contemporary Turkey, the its point of view on searching for certain “us” and “them” constructions and seeing nationalism as a self-reproducing phenomenon are illuminating for my research.

Ayşe Kadioğlu in the same source, argues that Turkish nationalism is based upon “preserving the state and the Westernism” (Kadioğlu and Keyman 2011, 34–35). It 's hard to talk about commonalities within nationalisms or nationalist projects as Tanıl Bora suggests, however this effort of preserving the state and the Westernism holds the share for the competing nationalisms in Turkey. Her argument not only supplies the relationship between the state and Turkish nationalism but also visualize a very important debate on nationalist vocabulary in Turkey. The question of who is the Turk in any competing nationalism might get different answers, but the replies certainly include a debate of Westernism.

As Westernization and Westernism hold a prominent place in the discussions on Turkish national identity building, even the intellectuals supported Westernism found themselves searching for a national essence to build the nation on. Going to the real essence of the people in nationalisms mostly discussed as a tradition of German *volk* nationalism (Göle 2010). However, Zafer Toprak calls this case in Turkish nationalism, parallel with Russian national identity construction, *narodnik* nationalism (Toprak 2002a). The national identity projects that took the West as a model of the modern, they tended to Westernize their state apparatus as well as their society. However, they stuck upon an essential and authentic feature of their society, mostly found in their villages or towns. This authentic culture become the cultural dress code for women in modern India (P Chatterjee 1990; Srirupa Roy 2007) and the Anatolian culture for Turkish case. Postcolonial nation building strategies inclined to show similar tendencies in this respect. Thereby, these countries approved their feeling of backwardness but tried to prove that they had in fact particularity to have a nation. Within the framework of the discussions regarding Edward Said’s (Said 1985) orientalism that neglects Turkish case for its unlike history. Meltem Ahıska points out the feeling of falling behind of the modern model “the West” and encountering “the

West” also as a threat to the essence of the nation. She calls this understanding of the identities with a swing between East-West distinction *Occidentalism* of Turkish nationalism. She argues that modernity is a historical construct and modernization is a historical fantasy that relies on East-West polarization (Ahiska 2003).

Another debate about the search for a Turkish national identity is the place of the race within nationalist discourse. The definitions of a nation required a definition of Turkish citizenship in the national identity building process and had alternatives as such: civic definition or racial definition as believed that both were representing different types of nationalisms. Murat Ergin examines the place of the race in Turkish citizenship and questions whether a Turk is a “white man” (Ergin 2008). What he examines by “white man,” is the racial vocabulary that’s been used in Turkish to define the modern Turk. He argues that racial components of modern Turkish identity goes back to the early years of Republic and also has a face to encounter in contemporary Turkey. He states that there are two forms to constitute the racial vocabulary in Turkish identity is the assumption of immutability and unity in skin color. Although it’s been made civic definitions of the Turk, nationalist discourse takes the definition of a Turk, beyond its constitutional definition by its perception of stability. He gives examples for political, bureaucratic and scholarly elite to disseminate the racial vocabulary. Murat Ergin agrees with Zafer Toprak (Toprak 2011) on what he discusses about the usage of history, archeology and anthropology to re-constitute the Turkish image in a global showcase as a member of the white world in the 1930s. This attempt is not only a consequence of the rise of fascism in Europe but also is a consequence of a reaction towards the settled European perception of “Turk” that the Republican elite wanted to transform.

In the 1920s and 1930s, founding ideology was on its summit in every aspect. Turkish nation building project was a modernizing attempt that targets practices of everyday life. Alev Çınar (2010) tells about the communizing perception of modernization, civilization, Westernization while having a global gaze. She asserts that globalism, is a product of nationalism and attains its aim of secularism by only erasing the local. The imagination of “the modern”, “the civilized” is where the West is, particularly Europe, so the globe is imagined as Europe.

Çınar helps the readers to see that each political power focus on defining who is the modern and who is the civilized in a nation. Thereby multiple definitions of a modern nation arise and becomes visible in the public sphere with certain performative actions depending on which political sect takes over the political power in a nation state (Çınar 2008). This multiplicity takes us to the point of having multiple national identity definitions. Each political power defines “us” and “other” with its own rules. Alev Çınar deals with how these definitions emerge in the public sphere as performances with power relations. Her conclusion about what was seen as subjugation and excluded as non-modern has its own way to define the modern, becomes my departure point for asking questions about the multiple definitions of a “national identity”. I decided to search for how “us” and “the other” are defined through the State Theater’s repertoire.

Congruent with Alev Çınar’s point of view, Kürşat Ertuğrul compares three modern Turkish novelists in terms of their perceptions over “the modern” (Ertuğrul 2009). He takes Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Oğuz Atay and Orhan Pamuk, all well-known for their differentiating relationship with modernism in comparative literature field. Ertuğrul (2009) states that the main concern of the modern Turkish novel and Turkish literature in general, has been Westernization. Yet, the emergence of the modern Turkish literature begins with Westernization in Tanzimat era. The correct way of Westernization, the individualistic Westernization determined how the authors perceived their “self’s in modern society. Ertuğrul’s perspective does not include historical depth as it carries on a literature perspective in a comparative manner. Narrative identities’ meeting point with national identities are my main question marks. As a modern identity, the characters in a text carry the most powerful messages about their views towards “self” in a nation. Not only modernity and modern society affects their self positioning, but perception of a national identity must be visible through a state regulated theater.

Additional to what is seen in the public sphere or literature, “Westernization” has also been an important issue for Turkish music. Orhan Tekelioğlu points out the initiatives of having a synthesis of Western and Turkish essences in popular music (Tekelioğlu 1996). Tekelioğlu gives a historical background for these attempts by getting the help of philosophical roots that reaches back to the Tanzimat Reforms and accelerates with the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey. Ziya Gökalp’s suggestions for having “East-West” synthesis, often affected by Mustafa Kemal’s quotes, constitute the future of

Turkish nation to search for identity. Tekelioğlu maps the historical background and the place of East-West or West-East combination issue in Turkish popular music starting from 1930s until 1990s. He gives place to the political restrictions, the lines that were drawn by the state, adaptations and translations, that include both Western and Eastern examples. The bulk on the preferences change in time, depending on the political preferences as well as the political environment (Tekelioğlu 1996).

The same concern was also covered by Songül Karahasanoğlu and Gabriel Skoog. They call attention to the attempts of synthesizing Turkish identity over popular music (S. Karahasanoğlu and Skoog 2009). They benefit Edward Said's opinions with regards to *filiation* and *affiliation* that lets the intellectuals or the artists to surrender to a new system in a cross-cultural way. Turkish artists affiliated themselves into international music through popular music and made Turkish popular music an example of fusion of both internal and external cultural hints.

Belivermiş and Eğribel takes Turkish theater as an ideological apparatus of the renewal movements in history (Belivermiş and Eğribel 2012). These renewal movements ended up with Westernization and modernization in the last decades of Ottoman Empire. Theater has been a transmitting tool of the Western way of living and doing arts. The relationship between the state policies and arts continued during the early Republican era as well, with a slight difference. The young nation state wanted its audience to embrace a certain identity, displayed on the stage. This attempt led Turkish theater fail to express its own identity in a sharp manner as nor Eastern nor Western. Belivermiş and Eğribel contribute the field by discussing the paradoxical signifiers of Turkish identity in theater pieces. However they miss that this unsteadiness between being Eastern and Western is a general indecisiveness with many components, such as religion, state and the feeling of sameness.

Having a scan over the theatrical academic sources took me to a point that narrative identities constitute the base of the playscripts most of the time. The playscripts give clues about their authors's identity discreetly or explicitly, no matter from where or what école. On Turkish theater field, theater has become a voice of self-positioning opportunity in terms of political views. Süreyya Karacabey asserts that traditionalism and modernism are the basic dynamics of Turkish theater. Transition to the Western type and professional theater from traditional theater had followed the city based, basically İstanbul, People's

Theater culture (Karacabey n.d.). This competence or dualism between traditional and Western type theater also showed up throughout the texts after Tanzimat. After the Meşrutiyet II in 1908, the interaction between the Tanzimat Theater and the audience rose. What Karacabey suggests about this interaction and dualism that it led the Turkish Theater to search for a stable identity. The search for an identity allowed an indecisive swing between Westernization and an Eastern identity. Modern national identity building process was rooted in multiple feelings about Westernization.

One of the works that indicate the Western- Eastern swing of self-positioning is a non-published masters thesis written by Sevim Kebeli, on Abdülhak Hamid's being against colonialism (Kebeli 2007). Kebeli uses postcolonialist approaches in her study to explore Abdülhak Hamid's views about imperialist powers with a literary scholar's eye. Although she finds out that Abdülhak Hamid's theater was only critical towards British Empire in colonial context as a result, the reader figures out that the "other" of the playscripts are constituted upon "British" identity and "West" in general with his discreet critics about orientalism. Kebeli's study has an intersecting playscript: *Finten*, in Turkish State Theater's repertoire. This intersection contributed my reading process and allowed me to take this dualism into account.

Yılmaz Bingöl points out the disagreement between the traditionalists and the modernists while making a broad literature review on the language reform in Turkey (Bingöl 2004a, 2004b, 2009). As language reform constitutes the base of Kemalist reforms, Bingöl clarifies the previous developments that prepare the preconditions for the language reform in the early Republican years (Bingöl 2004a). Although most of the time it is assumed that the political actors have rationale choices, he suggests that identities are another determinant to shape the interests of the people and actors. Thereby, political actors cannot behave independent from identity based interests. Because, both people and the political actors cannot shape their behaviours without acknowledging who they represent or who they are (Bingöl 2004a).

Changes in intellectual lives and social lives of the intellectual during the early years of modernization that started with Tanzimat era rendered a new language policy necessary in order to introduce modern terms such as, main concepts of French Revolution, to the masses. This included purification movement in Turkish. Bingöl, in his same study,

stresses that the Tanzimat intellectuals avoided using Turkish and Western words because of their devotion to Ottomanism, however they were still eager to reach out the masses by using a simple language in their pieces (Bingöl 2004a). This point of view later allows Ziya Gökalp to build a national language by including “national” words. Ömer Seyfettin and Ziya Gökalp suggested the intellectuals of the period to discover the goods of the homeland and the local essence of the people. This way of understanding the essence of nation, is parallel with German “*volk*” nationalism or Russian “*narodnik*” nationalism so many ways. Ahmet Pakiř and Yılmaz Bingöl asserts that this kind of nationalism finds itself in “*Anatolianist Rhetoric*” (Anatolianist rhetoric) (Bingöl and Pakiř 2016). On the other hand Zafer Toprak considers this point of view as *narodnik* nationalism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Toprak 2002a) with an emphasis on the essence of the nation.

#### **1.4. Contribution of this study to the literature**

Nationalism and national identities embed themselves according to the historical necessities and political conditions. Thereby the national identity perceptions and projects to define what the nation is by the hands of the political power may change, vary or be opposed in time (Kadıođlu and Keyman 2011). In the light of this embedded transformation and the findings by Yıldırım (2014) regarding the continuity and changes in İnönü era, I suggest that the competing nationalisms as well as different national identity building projects became visible in the 1950s, after the transition to multiparty regime.

Turkish national identity building in the 1950s is not studied deeply. Aside from Brockett’s (Brockett 2011) study on national identity and Muslim identity that covers the provincial newspapers in Turkey until 1954; scholars were more intended to unravel the official ideology and its consolidation in the early years of Republican era. Therefore, this study is an attempt to be a profound explanation of Turkish national identity building in the 1950s with a multidimensional approach to demonstate the places of religion’s, state’s, narrative and national identity perceptions in national identity building in the 1950s.

Communication and messages about nationalism needs instruments. In this case: theater and the State Theater in Turkey. While trusting the performative power of theater and the relationship between arts and politics, this study analysis the State Theater repertory between 1949-1960 through history, family and space in order to define a Turkish nation. A complete and a deep analyis through the 1950’s to reveal the self-positioning of Turkish

sameness both in native and foreigner playwrights will contribute to the literature, which is pretty slenderly-studied, regarding Turkish national identity building process.

During the exploration, I expected to find clues of identity formations that are received by the audience. I take both the works of local playwrights as well as the translations in the repertory to reveal both self-positioning of the characters and self-reflection on the translations. This double-way analysis would demonstrate the level of clarity of identity perceptions within the State Theater in the 1950s. Since this period represents the diversified political vocalisation, I expected to catch swings between Western values and traditional values that reflected upon Turkish national identity formation. The dramaturgy preferences must vary according to the political climate, yet the institution has a direct relationship with the state. Although 1950s are the years of transition to a more democratic multi-party regime, Democrat Party did not change the policies of the State Theater radically. Indicators and the frequency of the indicators that I am chasing for must have a wave by the affect of political climate historically.

### **1.5. Research Design**

In this section, the coding manual of the study, the strategies of the collection of the necessary data and its analysis as well as the validation strategies will be explained. Finally I will give the fulfilled ethical considerations and requirements.

I reviewed a very broad range of sources that provided a categorization of my data universe while shaping my conceptual framework. I figured out that national identity building process constitutes three basic themes: history, family and space, deriving from the conceptual framework and literature. Therefore, I decided to divide the main categories of my research material into history, family and space themes. Furthermore, debates on national identity and nationalism brought about an opinion on how to interpret and code the data. I searched for the place of the religion, the role of the state and how narrative and national identity is formed in the playscripts.

So, I examine the content of the texts to form a framework for frequently used themes and forms that I derive from the literature review. The following figure is the coding system of the research and it is emerged by the help of discussions in the literature review as aforementioned in the introduction.



Thereby the religion, the state, national and narrative identity perceptions become my analysis tools for deconstructing national identity building in Turkey in the 1950s. The content is systematically scanned and analyzed by the help of MaxQDA 11.0 software (Cleverbridge Company, Berlin, Germany) to benefit computer analysis and data management of my sample.

By counting on the repertory, which reflects the confusion with regards to national identity between the years 1949-1960, the selection of the playscripts varied according to the political climate. The governments of the Democrat Party did not radically change the policies of the State Theater, however reinforced the political elasticity to the definition of the national identity that was provided by the İnönü's inevitable reliance on the opponents, during the agreed convergence to the democratic block. Therefore, during the transition to democracy, the State Theater borrowed heavily from Western literature, especially from European literature, with a little shift towards American literature, by the time.

I attempt to discern what goes behind the meanings within the playscripts (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2000) so that for this research, the suitable method is the qualitative method. The data of this study refers to a social phenomenon that can be pursued through language and literature. The approach of this study derives from document and literary analysis. This kind of approach attempts to bring order the disunited parts by categorizing them (McNabb 2008). As a result, I use discourse analysis to find out the patterns of national identity construction as a social phenomenon through the playscripts.

I collect qualitative data that refers to collections of “words, symbols, pictures or other nonnumeric records, materials and other artifact” (McNabb 2008, 273) as well as texts and statements in the prefaces of the playscripts. This study is an interpretive one because it includes hermeneutics (McNabb 2008; Neuman 2014)

I use a conceptual framework that I derived from my primary data and start with using the descriptions of the concepts that I have made in previous sections as history, family, space, religion, state, narrative and national identity. “It is important to understand that description is the basis for more abstract interpretations of data and theory development, though it may not necessarily lead to theory if that is not the researcher's goal. Descriptions

already embody concepts, at least implicitly. Though description is clearly not theory, description is basic to theorizing” (Strauss and Corbin 2008, 54). Therefore, this conceptual framework will lead me to a novel theory which fits into my research. Concepts and theories are constructed, because in a qualitative research, participants or the textual dialogues take place in the research to convey meanings. These meanings have an intertextuality and these dialogues between the texts need to be interpreted in a way that the researcher feels right (Strauss and Corbin 2008). Some researchers prefer applying the theories on a different set of data with a previously applied conceptual framework, nevertheless, that framework may fall short and the data itself needs to be interpreted in a deeper sense with various different concepts. Thus, this initiation takes the researcher to the grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 2008). The theory which is not only applied but also retouches the theory by the help of the data in a research.

Conceptual framework refers to the organization of data into discrete categories (Strauss and Corbin 2008). After scanning my primary data from the State Theater archives, I decided to conduct the research with literature review and the first reading of the data. First reading made me draw a chart that mentions the interrelations of the commonly used concepts in nation building and discourse analyses. Thereby, I had a chance to constitute the identity coding chart by the help of the literature review and the data itself at the same time. On the table of Appendices A, I give a place to the map of the construction of the coding system which reveals how the codes are interrelated and how far or strong these relations are by using MaxQda 11.

More particularly and technically, the method I use is Critical Discourse Analysis in order to check my arguments. Critical Discourse Analysis does not aim at contributing to the any schools or paradigms but rather its objective is to reveal the discursive structures of the dominance and power relations, to give social phenomenon a better understanding. Having a better understanding means criticising, deconstructing and call for attention to the reproduction procedures of the discourse to provide legitimacy for the power and dominance among the groups of a society (T. A. van Dijk 1993). What the approach means by the dominance and power is basically “the control of one group over another” as well as the strategies to reproduce this control and make it a hegemonic power with Antonio Gramsci’s conceptualization, that is institutionalized and hierarchically organized (T. A. van Dijk 1993, 254–55).

The need for using different conceptualizations Critical Discourse Analysis requires a multidisciplinary approach with multiple concepts, literature reviews and theoretical backgrounds. Critical Discourse Analysis is “...an interdisciplinary approach which combines historical, socio-political and linguistic perspectives in exploring the discursive construction of national identity.”(De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999, 157) In this study, the access of the discourse is provided by the theater performances, funded by the state “as the core of the dominance. Theater playscripts provide the information what I needed to process to unravel the discourse structures. Theater, as a performative art and a part of literature is based upon narratives. Therefore, this study needs to borrow point of view from political sciences by nature, and literature as well as linguistics.

Narrative discourse analysis, which is developed by Gérard Genette (1980) brings narratives together with time and space. For Genette, literature is not only a bouquet of texts which is written dully in a certain period in history and in a space, but with a cognitive reason to be written. Moreover, the use of grammar, local dialects, sometimes syntax, indicate certain identities and power relations. Thereby linguistics became also important for applications of Critical Discourse Analysis. While deconstructing the fiction of "the difference" and "the sameness" in the text throughout the basic themes, additionally I look at the scene to see whether there is an evidence for a space, a way of critisizing the literature, a target audience, an implied author. Moreover, the preface, the notes in the text, the stage instructions and the narration of the author as well as the authors' backgrounds are to be examined. Finally, some narratives can be undermined at first but then become popular over time because of various political reasons. This helped me to divide the playscripts according to their themes. The ones which put forward “time” are regarded historical, whereas the playscripts focus on family construction or life styles they are considered under family theme. Finally whether the playscripts are based upon where the people become the nation's citizens, those are evaluated under the space theme. Therefore this study takes the chronological order of the repertory but while dividing the pieces into the themes it uses the reason of a certain piece to be picked rather than its original time of being written.

Furthermore Critical Discourse Analysis also pay attention to the accessibility of the discourse to the target audience or the masses. Therefore this study takes theater because of the artistic and performative power of this branch over the masses, particularly in the

years that visual mass media was not spread. Accessibility to the discourse or the power of accessibility of the discourse to the masses requires an elimination of the playscripts in the repertoire that has never met with the audience, or met but staged only a few times. Discursive access, influence the social cognition and the individual attitude. If a performance cannot find a connection in the society one cannot talk about the social cognition. However, one can never exactly know how the messages are processed by the brains of the masses or the individuals, but can opine on how the discourse is conveyed. Additionally though, in this study I assert that “the control of knowledge” (T. A. van Dijk 1993) come true as the real scripts, as written texts and visual performances. Therefore, I will interpret the data that I have collected depending on this assertion. The playwrights in the State Theater for this study are both controllers and the reproducers of the discourse. Moreover, they are mental process indicators; because what they have written or translated directly indicates what they think and feel about the discourse as well. Because they are the language users (T. a. Van Dijk 2006). Therefore I will draw a sample frame according to the plays’ ability to connect with the audience via the criteria of being popularly selected authors by the dramaturgists as well as the density of the codings.

Critical Discourse Analysis helps doing a detailed and analytical reading of a context. This context might be made up by the talks only, can be written texts or can be only voiceless performances. This approach pays also attention to the profile of the target audience, the spaces for the meetings and the settings (T. A. van Dijk 1993). In the case of theater, there are many scholars who focused on the semantics of the theater performances (Aston and Savona 1991; Burian 2000; Pavis 1996; Schuler 2009; Wilmer 2002). Unfortunately in our case I had to be loyal to what was written and kept in the dramaturgy archives of the State Theater. It was impossible to observe or analyse the reactions of the receivers/ the target audience since the performances were hardly shot. The target audience is the university students in Ankara, the bureaucratic elite, parliament members, artists and media as well as the children for the children’s plays. Both women and men used to take place in the audience and sometimes their kids used to come along to the children’s plays. The performances were set in the *Küçük Tiyatro*, most of the time, which was located in the new center of the city in *Ulus* (means nation)<sup>23</sup>. The adult plays were performed in the

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<sup>23</sup> The Conservatoire and Tatbikat Theater used for the very first performances, that were started in 1947 until 1949. This building is now Mamak Kültür Merkezi (Mamak Cultural Center), and close to the train

evenings, so they used to keep the urban life alive in the evenings. And the performances were also visited by İsmet İnönü who was the President of the republic in that period (Yazgan 2012).

Another topic that Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on is the inclusion and exclusion throughout the context. It is difficult to test the dissimilation and assimilation as a discourse-historical approach by the help of the texts; however I also check whether there is a silence exclusion, because even the silence may show the dominance in a discursive reproduction. So that, while picturing the dominance structures I look at the facts, rhetorical figures as “their”, “our” actions, lexical style, story telling which is subjective, structural emphasis of the actions of “the others”, and giving place to the quotes of credible witnesses (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999; T. a. Van Dijk 2006; T. A. van Dijk 1993).

The most prominent part of applying the strategy above is the rhetorical figures and lexical style, in this study. What T. A. van Dijk (1993) calls rhetorical figures and lexical style are the feeling of sameness and difference. Sameness depends on imagining the “us” with positive manners where difference is based upon the “them” with negative features. Each identity formation’s nature involves a discriminative language. Critical Discourse Analysis provides knowledge about the power, dominance of the controller body (actor) and also the reactions of the agents who carry the related messages and help building social cognition. If one applies this strategy to the national identity level, would see that the dissimilation with regards to the national differences would go hand in hand with the assimilation that mostly concerns about the construction of sameness (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999; Wodak et al. 2009)

As a summary, in this study there are three interrelated dimensions in the discursive construction of a national identity. First dimension consists of contents, topics and categories. The content, the playscripts are classified in categories as the local playwrights’ works and the translations. Then the content is divided into themes according to their dominant topics under history, family and space. These themes are also derived by the help of literature review and the definition of nation and nationalism. These themes are read by

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station in Kurtuluş and behind the building one can easily Access the Ankara Castle, where the Roman Empire and old Ankara was built before the proclamation of the Republic.

the eye of a researcher who tries to find the given answers to the questions “When is the nation?”, “Who is the nation?” and “Where is the nation?” After that, the analysis tools religion, state and the construction of narrative and national identity were used to clarify the discursive structure of national identity in the content, while also investigating the place of religion, state and national identity in the light of nationalism debates. Therefore, I look at the characters’ emotional and geographical attachment to Turkey as a cultural habitus (Margolis 1999) with Pierre Bourdieu’s terms, supposed national behavioural dispositions/habits; various aspects of the biographical genesis of national identity/nationality- destiny, origin, hometown, place of birth, place of upbringing and place of residence and socialization gestures. I also scan the narrative of a collective political history that involves myths of genesis and origin, mythical figures, political triumphs, times of flourishing and prosperity, decline, defeat and crisis or aspect of victim-victimizer, reparations. The discursive construction of a common culture, as the continuity of habitus, the perception towards language, arts, science and technology as well as everyday culture like sports, food and cooking and drinking.

### **1.6.Data Analysis**

In a qualitative study, data is diffused and is not concrete (Neuman 2014). Political scientists have three methods of collecting data: interviewing, document analysis and observation (Johnson and Reynolds 2005).

The data is documents and the unit of analysis is the texts; the playscripts regarding identity building between the years 1949-1960.

1949 season is taken as the beginning year of the data collection, as it is the opening year of the State Theater and has begun performing actively.

After İnönü became the president of the single party regime in 1938, a swinging relationship between different nationalisms and Westernization, especially after the end of World War Two by choosing the side of democratic block in the international relation systems. However, İnönü was also aware that the defeat of the fascism would force him to establish a multiparty regime, just like the developed democracies had. Besides, this was not only an external necessity but also a national expectation (Ahmad 2014). Land reform became the main reason for a split within the party. Thereby Democrat Party was founded

by the parliament and party members who were opponents of this reform after their discharge (Eroğul 2014).

Democrat Party got its first seats as the opposition in the parliament in 1946 elections<sup>24</sup>. Having a party of objection in the parliament reinforced the flexibility of the government. For instance, the statist part of Republican People's Party led by Recep Peker, lost power in the party by Peker's resignation. These developments and sitting on the opposition seats provided Democrat Party to find more support from the rising bourgeoisie, bureaucracy and land owners for the next elections.

In 1950, when the new elections held, Democrat Party could get the majority of the seats. And this shift of the governments in Turkish history is perceived as a milestone for the democracy of Turkey in Turkish history (Ahmad 2014). The convergence to the Western democratic block, the membership of NATO brought about a new perspective of international relations aside from Kemalist single party policies. On the other hand, both parties agreed on changing projection of Westernization from Europe to the United States in domestic politics, but were not compromising about the methods. Besides, Democrat Party claimed that it was going to be the main representative of the traditional values of Turkish people in the parliament. The people's content about the change in policies also became visible with the success of Democrat Party in 1954 elections. Adnan Menderes, who was the leader of the party as well as the prime minister, became more confident about his implementations following this success (Ahmad 2014).

On the other part, when the party reached 1956, it found itself struggling with high inflation and stagnation in economics. Ahmad (2014) claims that the economic worries were the determinants of the period 1956-1959 also became a reason for a military intervention. Even though Democrat Party could become the superior party in the 1957 elections, lack of currency and the pressure over the media caused a general discontent among the university students and military members (Eroğul 2014).

The data collection stops at the end of the 1959-1960 season, when the 1960 military intervention disrupts the political life and coincide with the end of the season. Political

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<sup>24</sup> 1946 elections are also called as "the elections with the stick" because of the suspicious implementations of the Republican People's Party during the elections. But despite all of the obstacles that've been put forward, Democrat Party could get 66 seats over 465, for more information see (Ahmad, 2014), (Eroğul, 2014).

environment, institutional policies in State Theater and personal courier preferences of the artists caused break ups. The cadre in State Theater changed almost entirely after then.

After data collection, in the content analysis of the written documents, I define the content categories (Bilgin 2014) that are going to be measured as first, local authors and translations. The themes are history, family and space. The study evaluates the densest playscripts in terms of codings and the popularity of the authors for the dramaturgists at the State Theater.

The categories are important for the texts by symbolic cues, themes, voicing and scene with open coding system (Neuman 2014). Next, I evaluate the patterns and the connections that are obvious or hidden by bringing the data in order. What is important while categorizing the data for the analysis is to refer the meaning rather than only numeric data. The qualitative data is coded for a specific meaning and the patterns to as well as the hidden or silent cues for identity building process.

For reliability and validity in this research I used intercoder reliability. Multiple analysts checked the coded segments and interpreted the data harmoniously.

### **1.7.Ethical Considerations and Challenges**

Since the research unit is not individuals, ethical concern is not very high (McNabb 2008). I consider Nuremberg Codes of Ethics, try not to violate any code (Neuman 2014). Yet, gathering and reaching the data is everything for a qualitative study, I tried to reach every playscript in the archives if it was possible. Therefore, I took the permissions to use the State Theater's archive by a petition sent from Yildirim Beyazit University to the General Directorate of the State Theater.

Just like every qualitative study, this study has some challenges too. These constitute the weaknesses of the study at the same time. I try to eliminate the disadvantages of a qualitative study, particularly the problems may occur in a document analysis. The main challenge in this study, has been the difficulty of reaching out every material in the archives. Some playscripts were torn, some were lost and some of them were retyped after many years by trying to be loyal the original copy. However, I can never learn how much the latter typed copies were changed by the type-writer of the institution. Also another



weakness is, one can never figure out which dialogues were emphasized or deleted during the play depending on the directors' preferences.

One of the most confronted weaknesses of a qualitative study is subjectivity (Johnson and Reynolds 2005). Since the researcher in qualitative methods is active and has a perspective, subjectivity emerges; however, this perspective including interpretations should not damage the scientific value of the research. Although context analysis is a non-reactive study, discourse analysis may carry the back ground of a researcher. Therefore I try to eliminate those question marks by telling my background at the end of the study. Additionally, one other coder also read some examples from my data and we compared our coding strategies to provide intercoder reliability.

Second problem is selective survival (Johnson and Reynolds 2005). Sometimes researchers try to verify their arguments by selecting only tendencious data. I scanned and read all of the playscripts, but eliminated the ones which were not representative, out of theme or codeless.

One of the biggest challenges of the document based qualitative research design was the existence of unavailable data. Some texts were not in the archives or some pages were damaged. I leave these contents off the research after informing the reader. Another problem was the retyped or re-published playscripts, but I paid attention to use the same interpreters' playscripts that I borrowed again from the State Theater archives.

## CHAPTER 2

### RECONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY: HISTORY IN TURKISH NATION BUILDING IN THE 1950S

The main objective of this chapter is to unravel the history making of Turkish national identity building in the 1950s. Reconstruction of history is pursued through historical playscripts which are analysed through religion, state as well as narrative and national identity perceptions which give us clues on an overall identity construction in Turkish State Theater. The history theme distinguishes itself for having reflecting a certain time period from the history. History theme is important for picturing the perception of the history of the nation, as well as what is left behind as history by cutting the bonds between “now” and “the memory”. Ernest Renan defines as “culmination of a long past of sacrifice and devotion” yet he signifies an oblivion and remembrance referring a certain historical narrative (Renan 1996). Arts, particularly literature and theater, have an important role to reinforce this remembrance. The dialogues and the cues within the pieces work for the feeling of sameness among the members of the nation who share the same past.

This chapter analyzes the sameness and the difference imaginations of the local playwrights in history making process. I also by evaluating the translations, the self positioning of the translators, so the State Theater’s history perception of “the other”’s imaginations and narratives. Historical playscripts will take us to the history theme and the way of making history on behalf of the nation.

I also discuss “Western history” and self-positioning of the Turkish identity in it. I argue that the self positioning of modern Turkish identity relies on the feeling of being “the other” identity against “Western” and “European” identity historically and the State Theater’s translation repertory under the history theme provides a good source to trace it.

The playscripts are literarily examined by classifying the data according to how the characters feel about their identity, how their or the others are shown, how religion and state constitutes their identity and reaches a narrative and national identity narration. The

data regarding religion is significant because Claire Mitchell (Mitchell 2006) states that religion has always been a non-negligible component of an identity no matter the time is modern or not. The state constitutes another significant part of a national identity and its knowledge points out how the state builds national identity and how it is perceived by the intellectuals as William Safran (Safran 1991) demonstrates it within French case. Discourses on national identity might be confusing despite having one constructed “history” perception. The actors of the applied identities reconcile their past with future via how they feel about their identities (Parekh 1994). Identities have always included a religious self definition, and been a part of modern nation building within the perception of history. Therefore national identity building process must be understood as a mutual process of how the history is made and how one positions oneself in this narrative of history.

What is the place of the religion for a nation historically? Having nature of opposing the Church’s institutional and political power in Europe during the decay of the monarchs, European nationalisms inclined to shift the place of the religion with nationalism by bringing in secularism. On the one hand, in the postcolonial world, religions’ relationship with nationalism and the identity building processes have been much more complicated. Religions had important roles in mobilizing masses, were embedded in nationalisms during the independence wars included in national identity. Unlike European nationalisms or Anglosaxon secularisms; religions, not defined by an upper administrative class or as an institution in postcolonial countries. As a matter of fact, religions had a parallel importance during nationalist struggles. In the aftermath of the wars, the nationalist struggles transformed into a process for building a nation state, that defines its history, citizens, its public spheres, borders. While in Turkish and in North African cases religion was tried to be excluded from public space in the name of having a modern and secular nation states, the Indian case tried to place religions and diversity as a discourse (Partha Chatterjee 1993; Joseph 1997; Srirupa Roy 2007). Yet, each case ended up with the suppression of minorities and the exclusion of a part of a society from the citizenry benefits and responsibilities. However the place of religion in peoples own lives and the way that they defined their sameness could barely fall apart with religion through history. The members of certain ethnicities kept its religious content alive (Mitchell 2006). While nationalisms determined to rewrite the history, excluding a religious sameness or selfpositioning could

not eliminate its existence in people's lives; but worked as a complementary element of a national identity.

States have always been a part of political cleavages for its nature of being an administrative apparatus. However a modern state, finds its roots in the decay of monarchy in Europe or in 20th century while having a counter nationalist feature in postcolonial world. Hobsbawm stresses that nations and even word "nation" in modern term is pretty young in history. The Word "nation" has started including a modern meaning in late 19th century and transformed its meaning from "the people who are living in the same territory" to a central modern meaning. In this meaning there is a state, certain borders and a government to administer this unit. It is imagined that the people who live in these borders holds a unit as one, as a part of a whole. And he tries to reinforce his statement with Spanish dictionary lacked of having Word "nation" in it until 1925 (Hobsbawm 1992). The prior statement is also congruent with Ottoman case, yet in Turkey as a geographical territory, word "*millet*" meant Ottoman *millet* system. Late 19th century intellectuals start blurring the difference between "millet" as Ottoman millet system and millet- ulus, having meaning of modern nation. This transformation overlaps with the start of Turkish national identity building.

John Breuilley explains the relationship between modernism and state as obtaining the "political" power is obtaining the state power in modern era (Özkırıklı 2010). He gives historical examples referring British case (Breuilley 2005) to explain the relationship between the nationalism and the state, while differentiating his stance with Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson. Even though the base transformation in societies in modern times through nationalisms predicated upon cultural transformation, one cannot neglect the state, the state perception and its place in defining self. Nationalisms try to end up with a nation state and embody its state of mind while applying its power. Breuilley takes "state" in the center of his analysis and suggests that modern state is based upon a liberal form, then public power utilize their power through the hands of their institutions such as parliaments, bureaucracies. He clearly distinguishes the public from the private in order to emphasize the importance and the existence of nationalism as a form of politics in state formation as a form of politics. However this stance is to be taken further by blurring this distinction and not ignoring the existence of nationalisms in the private as a form of politics even again with regards to state.

Elie Kedourie starts his debate on understanding the history as a scholar in nationalism field, by explaining Kant's way of understanding history. For Kant, history is the history of struggles between the good and the evil; where the humanity is the creative pushing force of a perfecting progress. He also adds that different ethnies exist for one another and necessary for the rest of the world (Kedourie 1961). His approach divides at first and then unites. This dual way of thinking is predicated upon many social sciences theories and facts after the Enlightenment, then became applicable for nationalist thought. With Kedourie's words: "To explain evil was then quite easy. Evil was necessary in the passage from barbarity to civilization, from ignorance to knowledge. This change was effected only through struggle, violence, upheavals." (Kedourie 1961, 52). This dualism mainly used language and religion to emphasize differences between the civilized and the barbar, to distinguish "us" from "them". A narration is needed to define the sameness and the otherness, including a dualism in the identity formation. While making the history, nationalisms, tended to put the language into prominence to define the cultural interaction based sameness, assuming this interaction would bring a solidarity on the contrary of the "other". Furthermore, as Kedourie mentions, language is the first step of feeling consciousness for the "self". It carries out the legacy of previous generation's traditions, as well as being the expression of the inner experience of self (Kedourie 1961).

However, Hobsbawm does not think the same way with Kedourie about the feeling of narrative and national identity. Hobsbawm stresses out that language does not play a central role for the construction of nationalism; rather it gained an indirect role for the definition of nation. The role of the nation state and the mutual embrace become more important, providing a standard language. People get together around the same sounds and meanings especially when this standard language gets a printed form through the hands of literature (Hobsbawm 1992). Then clearly, central education reinforces this "common feeling" by narratives (Gellner 1983). Thereby, historical national and narrative discourses help to build a new form of sameness and otherhood, where it is possible to pursue through the State Theater playscripts.

In Turkish nation building case, during the early Republican period, the intellectuals and the administrative elite were concerned about who "we" are, "who the Turks are" by looking at the history at the very first step. The discussions kept holding place in their minds in the 1930s, and at the end, Turkish nation building was formulated as an "eclectic

model of both French and German nationalisms” (Yıldırım 2014, 37). This formula was inconsistently evident by the territorial definition of the “Turk” as a citizen and a member of the Turkish nation as well as the briefings of the politicians in which ethnic nationalist discourses were used (Yıldırım 2014). As the founding “father” of Turkish nation, Atatürk was alive and active in politics, his well-said words explain the importance of the place of history to define nation and its future existence: “Nations that are ignorant about their history are destined to disappear” (“*Tarihini bilmeyen millet yok olmaya mahkumdur*”). Atatürk’s single party era saw the history as a tool of survival and existence among the other Western and developed nations.

Although many scholars presume that even after the demise of Atatürk in 1938 and İnönü’s coming back to politics as the President of Turkish Republic, political life has not changed, Erinç Erdal Yıldırım reveals that the history textbooks reflect a crystallization of different perspectives of nation building. Depending on her findings, it is possible to claim that the official history writing in the early Republican period is different from the history writing of İnönü’s era until the transition to multiparty regime. For the early Republican period of history making was based upon the idea of the collapsed Ottoman Empire with a shameful darkness and allowed a new Republic to born. Correspondingly the 1930s became the years for regime to disseminate the official state ideology to the masses. The state used ideological tools, with a quick reference to Louis Althusser’s conceptualization, such as educational institutions and media in order to consolidate the official ideology in a top-down process.

However, the main point for the elite was to compromise on a single history perspective. Thus, Turkish History Thesis was born with a reaction to the Islamic and Ottoman past. Thereby this thesis highlighted the pre-Ottoman and even pre-Islamic eras to find the answer to the question of “When is the Turkish nation?”. For instance, Afet İnan was assigned by Atatürk to prove the Ancient Greek and Anatolian- Hittite roots of the Turkish people in this context (Ersanlı 2013; Yıldırım 2014). Thereby Turkish History Thesis aimed at demonstrating a continuity with of the Turkish nation and with Anatolian peoples in a geography. Furthermore, this view was corroborated with ethnographical evidence with the idea of opening Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara.

However, by citing Suavi Aydın's opinions on having a nationalist history writing, Yıldırım (2014) claims that, a history making to help national identity building process with the enemies and traitors could not emerge until the 1940s. Back in the 1930s, intellectuals were trying to convince that Turks were the ones who discover the civilization. Turkish History Thesis was a reaction to the perception of Eurocentric history that looks down upon the civilizations of the rest of the World, but included a claim of being a part of that European White civilization.

There are two main veins of historical attitudes towards the Turkish History Thesis. First is positivism that worships the primary historical sources and the second is the culturalist essentialist approach that aims to find out the Turkish nation's cultural essence that differentiates it from the other nations (Yıldırım 2014). By having echoes Turkish history thesis and the textbook "Outlines of the Turkish History" in the programme of Republican People's Party, these two approaches embodied themselves in the single party regime. However, this continuity does not mean that the personal preferences of İnönü and the changing political environment did not change the implementations. İnönü was aware of the democratic demands from the bottom, however was concerned about the incompleteness of the nation building process.

İnönü's return to the political arena brought about an elastic relationship with the excluded political figures during Atatürk's era. Some scholars evaluate this softness as his international policy to keep domestic politics stable for the upcoming war whereas others argue that he was aware of the domestic political demands for an opposing party was inevitable. Besides, his initiatives about holding the educational system and his suggestions to establish artistic institutions with Western manners indicates that both were correct and he wanted to reinforce the elitist approach for equipping new generations ready for a democratic multiparty system. However, he believed in authoritarian system to provide the suitable circumstances (Yıldırım 2014).

In this context, it wouldn't be wrong to say that many artistic institutions, such as the state conservatory and the State Theater, were seen as a part of this educational preparation, evident by the founding law of the State Theater which linked the State Theater to the Ministry of Education. Thereby, even the domestic political environment indoctrinates the reverse, the educational system provided by Westernized and nationalized manners would

keep raising new generations in congruence with the founding ideology until the Turkish people are ready for the democracy.

Distinctly, the 1940s became a period to accelerate humanism in the educational policies. Hasan Ali Yücel, known for his Mevlevi and humanist background, was appointed as the Minister of Education. He organized a radical educational implementation despite the difficulties of the ongoing World War II (Tekeli and İlkin 2014). In this period, numerous pieces from Western literature were translated by many intellectuals, no matter from which political stance, and published by the Ministry of Education. Although this team translated many literary pieces into Turkish, they aimed at nationalizing those translations as well as synthesizing Eastern literary pieces.

One should note that humanism<sup>25</sup> in Turkey, found place to be implemented in this period, however this philosophical movement was not actually new for the intellectuals in Turkey (İnalçık 2011). Yet, Hasan Ali Yücel's background and interests were suitable with that aim of creating a West-East synthesis for implementation. Interestingly, the signals of this synthesis reflected upon the State Theater's repertoire, as the institution borrowed from publications of Ministry of Education. The first translations of Hasan Ali Yücel were Goethe's *Faust* and *Mesnevi* by Rumi. Interestingly enough, the opening performances of the State Theater were Goethe's *Faust* and Cevat Fehmi Başkut's *Küçük Şehir*. Hasan Ali Yücel's objective for translating this amount of Western literary examples was to set the translations into the national literature by creating a synthesis.

However rising conservative sounds in the party had a space by changing Minister of Education to Reşat Şemsettin Güner (Yıldırım 2014). Opponents and conservatives could speak up about their discontent about the place of the religion in the definition of Turkish nation. Another factor that affected the period's historical writing is the wavy relationship between Turanism and the government. İnönü was manipulative about the pan-Turkist movement according to the international political environment, particularly during the

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<sup>25</sup> One can come across to Turkish humanism under the name of "Mavi Anadoluçuluk" (Blue Anatolianism) or "Blue Kemalism", see, (Karacasu 2009). Although this stream was not only important for these Kemalists but it was important for also Carl Ebert, the founder of the academic modern Turkish theater. Humanism was indirectly influential in the dramaturgy strategies of the conservatory and Tatbikat Theater between the years 1940-1947. Then, he was also influential on the educational and dramaturgy strategies, together with Muhsin Ertuğrul, at intervals (Tartan 1997). Interesting point with Carl Ebert's relation to the Blue Anatolianism is his interpreter, Sabahattin Ali. Sabahattin Al also served as dramaturgist as well as an elocution instructor (Tartan 1997).



World War II. Thirdly, a reactionary perspective, which Bingöl & Pakiř (2016) calls a symbiotic relationship with Turanism, Anatolianism inclined to reproduce nationalist discourse. Anatolianism claims Anatolia is the homeland for the Turks as opposed to Turanist understanding of a wider homeland that runs through Central Asia. In the light of these developments, the historical perception of the state was changing and compromising with its opponents. However, perception of history in the 1950s after the Democrat Party's taking power over remains ambiguous.

The history theme indicates the perception of history of the State Theater repertory. The imagination of the history of nations is one of the constitutive elements of sameness in a national identity and often used for making the nation's past. The history theme does not only demonstrate the sameness but it also gives clues about the "other" which helps to construct the self positioning in the past. The starting point of the history, the space of the history draws a picture of the imagination of the history. Since modernization of ideas of the nation building relies on creating memories and inventing traditions, history is an important way to start up this project in the name of universal civilization.

While translations illuminate the self-positioning of Turkish national identity building Project in the 1950s, local authors' pieces work as signifiers of the artists' perception of self identity in historical narrative, straight forward. The local authors gave their pieces in Turkish, mostly in İstanbulian modern Turkish. They include numerous indicators for the national identity construction through the State Theater's performances. 35 of the 151 (without repetitions) plays of the State Theater's repertory were written by native authors. In the first years after its founding, the State Theater encouraged local authors to compose original pieces in Turkish, rather than adapting foreign works. Some of the playscripts' Turkish was renewed; since the repertory was composed after the Language Reform; after many new words were introduced. These playscripts were written during Tanzimat theater era, and their playwrights are Namık Kemal and Abdülhak Hamid. Abdülhak Hamid's *Finten* is not subjected in this study because of its low representative power; having low number of codings, low frequency of meeting with the audience. In the State Theater's repertory, I found Nazım Kurşunlu's *Fatih* (Kurşunlu n.d.), Celal Esat Arseven's *Üçüncü Selim* (Arseven 1999), and Orhan Asena's *Hürrem Sultan* (Asena 1980) to refer to the Ottoman past, Reřat Nuri Güntekin's *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* (Güntekin 1989) and Orhan

Asena's *Gilgames* (Asena 1959) having cues that refer to Turkish History Thesis, deemed representative of the historical native playscripts.

On the other hand, the rest of the repertory has got Western translations. The literary board of the State Theater usually shows a will of choosing that originated in Europe, especially under the impression of the German theater in the context of history. However, by the years, there is a slight change in the interest in diversity of translations including Anglosaxon literature in favor of American culture, remaining its bond with European literature.

When playscripts of the foreign playwrights are classified under history theme, three subthemes show up: Ancient Greek, Birth of Europe and World War Two. Although there are some European classical theater playscripts which were written by very important playwrights such as William Shakespeare, and are able to be examined under history theme because they witness a certain historical period, the codings and the indicators in the context of identity are not clear and observable. The representative and the only readable material regarding Ancient Greek subtheme was *Elektra*, written by Sophokles. Under the birth of Europe subtheme, I examine: *Dead Queen (Ölü Kraliçe)* by Henry de Montherlant (Montherlant n.d.), *Don Carlos and Maria Stuart* by Frederick von Schiller (Schiller 1983, n.d.), Arthur Miller's *The Crucible (Cadı Kazanı)*(Miller n.d.). Finally, I analyse "The Robbers" (*Haydutlar*) by Friedrich von Schiller(Schiller n.d.), "Anne Frank" (*Anne Frank'in Hatıra Defteri*) by A. Hackett and F. Goodrich (Hackett and Goodrich n.d.) under World War Two subtheme.

As aforementioned the foreign authors' pieces are important signifiers of the perception of Turkish identity and "the other" of Turkish identity. These playwrights and the playscripts were preferred by the State Theater's literary committee, for certain features. Besides being a classical for the playwright's country for different reasons, they were also the indicators of the facets of the nation building process in Turkey, which is tried to be institutionalized by the State Theater. Yet, the literary committee would not let any of those pieces to contradict with its projections over identity perceptions. On the other hand, playscripts are also important to visualize the mobilization of the intellect through arts and the artists. The foreign representative signifiers of the national identity building process, provide the historical perception of the identity, the embodiment of the fiction and the

geography of the nation. Thus the translations include historical playscripts, daily routine and comedy themes as well as space related themes.

The State Theater aims at demonstrating the most famous theatrical products in the world for adults, the institution does not ignore the children. Children are accepted as the future generations of the young republic, who Atatürk entrusted the republic to. This entrustment does not only mean to raise the new generations according to the Kemalist ideology but also equip them with modern values. Therefore the repertory of the State Theater pays special attention to the preferences on children's plays every season. This specification becomes visible through the analysis and the messages that those plays convey.

The chapter that examines children's plays in the repertory of Turkish State Theater divides the children's playscripts into two main categories as; local authors' playscripts and translations. In chapter of history, both categories are to be analysed through their perspectives on history. In order to pursue the pathways of the national identity building process through the State Theater under history theme, the study examines the thematically divided playscripts according to their perceptions on religion, state as well as national and narrative identity. Religion, state and national and narrative identity perception altogether compose a national identity, which is constructed following the official ideology period, between 1949-1960, taking the future generations; young citizens into consideration.

The State Theater puts at least one children's play each season, either written by a local author or translated. Total number of the children's plays in the repertory is 22. The local playwrights have given 12 playscripts to the repertory. The rest 10 are translations or adaptations of translations. The number of the children's plays is not very high, and the study could reach out 11 of 22 to analyse. Historical children's playscripts give important clues over the history making process through the hands of arts in children's state of mind. These playscripts are; *Oyuncak* (The Toy), written by Hakkı Bıgeç, as the representative of native historical children's playscripts; Little Columbus and Little Mozart, both written by Jacop Lorey, as the representatives of translated historical children's playscripts in the repertory.

## 2.1. Historical Playscripts of the Local Playwrights

Following section examines the local works of playwrights in the repertory under the history theme. Analyzing religion, state and narrative and national identity discourses by using the coding manual for defining “us” and “the other” will help providing a map for deconstruction of the overall identity building. Local playscripts demonstrate how Turkish authors and their narratives reconstruct history, particularly Turkish history.

*Fatih*, *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* (The Feast of God Mountain), *Gilgameş*, *Üçüncü Selim* (Selim III), *Hürrem Sultan* (Sultan Hürrem) are the playscripts that mainly have historical theme. Starting in the year 1954, the State Theater tries putting a historical play on every season. Nazım Kurşunlu’s *Fatih*, Celal Esat Arseven’s *Üçüncü Selim*, and Orhan Asena’s *Hürrem Sultan* refer to Ottoman history, whereas Reşat Nuri Güntekin’s *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* and Orhan Asena’s *Gilgameş* have more codings for primordial elements, referring Turkish history’s Central Asian or Sumerian roots. All five plays have a dense number of codings and the authors were known for giving playscripts to the State Theater frequently, therefore they are all subjected to the analysis.

Nazım Kurşunlu’s *Fatih* (the Conqueror) was written in 1953 and performed during 1952-1953 season by the State Theater. The playscript has got five acts, and two spaces. One of the spaces is the Ottoman Palace in Edirne, and the second one is the Byzantine Palace. The playscript tells the conquest of İstanbul by Mehmed II. In addition, there is a story of the sultan’s admiration towards Byzantine princess Irene. While giving some clues about the loneliness and genius of Mehmet II as given “...I asked his hostler about it... They were going out of the town... Our Sultan used to tell him to leave away after handing his horse... Him himself used to stand alone spaced out and thoughtful.” (Kurşunlu n.d., 8) The playscript also sorts out the dispute between the powerful Turkic families and the sultan, which was eliminated by the rule of Mehmet II, later on.

*Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* was a play written in 1954 by Reşat Nuri Güntekin. The playwright demonstrates the vicious cycle of a society which worships a dictator who wants to create an illusion of democracy. *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* is considered under the historical theme, however, Reşat Nuri’s perspective on Turkish political life makes this playscript one of the first theatrical playscripts where the politics have become the inspiration for writing, having strong capability of criticising a dictatorship (Akıncı, 2010). It is a clear example of

relationship between politics and arts. The playscript was performed during 1954-1955 season in which, the general elections in Turkey were held.

The version of *III. Selim* (Selim III.) playscript that was borrowed from the State Theater archives, was retyped under Semih Seren's adaptation in 1999. The previous typings are lost in the archives; however this version reflects the perspective of the playwrights, Celal Esat Arseven and Salih Cimcoz, for being the original playscript text. In the playscript, the playwrights elaborate Ottoman Empire's authoritarian state perception. The play tells about the reactions towards modernization and reform movements. Arseven and Cimcoz, subjectively treats Kabakçı and Alemdar Mustafa Pasha's attitudes and rebellions as the themes of the play.

Gilgameş, rewritten and adapted as a theater play by Orhan Asena, is originally is a Sumerian legend. *Gilgameş* of Orhan Asena is an example for epic literature (Asena 1959), adapted as theater playscript by Orhan Asena through Sumerian tablets. The story's space is Mesopotamia where the characters are all shamanists. There are no codings for perception related directly to the Turkishness; however, a written Turkish history that relies on Sumerians and the relationship between Turkic languages and Sumerian language by epics exists (Tuna 1990).

Finally, *Hürrem Sultan* (Sultan Hürrem) plays' historical settings are Ottoman Empire. The version that this study took out from the archives was typed in 1980. On its second page, the note that was taken regarding the performance under directory of Şahap Akalın in 1959 on the second page of this playscript makes it worth to analyze. The playscript was written by Orhan Asena and put onto the stage during 1958-1959 season. This three acts play has been the National Ministry of Education State Theater Repertory and retyped by the dramaturgy bureau. The playscript is on the Sultan Hürrem's tricks to remain her and her sons' entity stable in the palace. As the wife of the Süleyman the Magnificent, her mind games let Süleyman to kill his own son Mustafa as a traitor.

The playscripts of the local authors which are examined under historical theme, are unbundled through religion, state as well as narrative and national identity conceptualizations.

### 2.1.1. Religion

The first step to analyse how Turkish identity while constructing history is to put religion into the right place for identification. Religion has always been a very important component of defining self in both individual and collective identities. Even during the nation state and national identity construction eras it has never lost its power on defining the main distinction between the cultures. Searching for how the religion is perceived by the artists, how it is indoctrinated by the state's institutions provide us to pursue the national building of Turkish identity.

The playscripts in the State Theater become the signifiers of the national identity building process, because of the organic bond between the State and its indoctrination. In this section, the local authors works will be examined by using the indicators that are related to the perception of religion overall, as well as the building of "us" and "the other" referenced to the religion. Religion as one of the most important components of both collective and individual identities has never lost its meaning and significance in defining the self, and it is often used as a national or narrative distinction. Even if the secularism became valid both in public sphere and field of the nation state which tried to alter the role of the religion with nation in order to mobilize the masses; the religion has never lost its room in the peoples' lives (Mitchell 2006).

The first playscript to examine under the historical theme and the concept of religion is *Fatih* which is written by Nazım Kurşunlu. In *Fatih*, both the self-definitions and the definitions of the other are blurred. It becomes not easy to distinguish the narrative and national self conscious from the identity definitions that give reference to the religion. The main characters of *Fatih* define themselves as "Turks" where the constitutive other of the main characters in the play are Byzantine and Christian. In historical plays usually the representations of religion are found only in phrases and dialogues. However, *Fatih* incorporates these statements into Islamic religious practice as well, evident by the quote, "He left to see the place of the new mescid." (Kurşunlu n.d., 11). One and only reference to the practice in Islam is given to the place to the *mescid*<sup>26</sup>, throughout the repertory under the history theme.

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<sup>26</sup> *Mescid*. Smaller mosque

Reşat Nuri Güntekin's *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* has many codings for religion related to the intrinsic usage of Islamic words in daily life. Since religion is based on sanctification, worshipping the dictator and his life was coded under religion too: "...I am responsible of his (the dictator's) holy life..." (Güntekin 1989). Regime turns into a religion itself. The religion codings usually points out to some sociological and political realities. So these codings do not only draw attention to the daily language based on the religious words, but also to the political reasonings and freedom of worshipping. Religious practice is something unrestrainable by the states or regimes, in which the people do whatever they want, even though it is forbidden by the state, as we can get from the playscript.

*III. Selim and Hürrem Sultan* plays set their religious identities on Muslimhood. Celal Esat Arseven, puts an Ottoman Empire image which reinforces historical flow by a Muslim state and Selim being the ruler of the nation in *III. Selim* (Arseven 1999, 26). However, the state based on religion is not an obstacle for dignifying rationalism: "...since we come from the ruler's ancestry, we think we know everything and created by *Allah* to rule; however, Bonaparte who hits the World with his shiny boots, has done whatever he has done, by his mind, intelligence. Napolion proves that the noblige of the sultanate comes from intelligence..." (Arseven 1999, 27) Although the common religion identity relies on Muslimhood, *III. Selim*, gives some references to Rumi, fitting the historical realities and his relationship with the Galata Mevlevi dervishes. The author puts the ones into a confrontation who are against a reformist Sultan; "...We are the Muslim's son of the Muslims. Even Selim couldn't get Nizam-ı Cedid through, could Napolion put us a hat?" (Arseven 1999,18), where Sultan Selim was brought into the forefront by his reformist ideals even if those reforms were rooted in West: "To speak on the Frankish applications on Muslim; if what they have done is beneficial for humanity and valid through civilization, we need to apply them without hesitation..." (Arseven 1999, 24) This statement reflects the opinion of Ziya Gökalp's synthesis if it is good, progressive by means of universal civilization (Gökalp 1963, 1977). If civilization comes from the West, Turkish national identity projects the European style of applications that would affect the essence of Turkishness.

In Orhan Asena's *Hürrem Sultan* we see the "others" as "Christian herd" as well with a slight difference: this time, the sameness identity is Ottomans and Muslimhood rather than Turkishness. The people pray with the both Turkish and secular preference name for God:

*Tanrı* and Quranic name: *Allah*. *Tanrı* is a secular preference for the creative, where although characters are apparently Muslim prefer using *Tanrı*, instead of *Allah*, as Mustafa, Süleyman's son, says "May *Tanrı* damn us in thousand ways, may *Tanrı* gushes all the hell on us, if we ever think of other than our benefactor efendi's health and happiness." (Asena 1980, 8). This cue is also important for its patriarchal relations with religion. This also reflects the preference of the author in an indecive way, yet he uses both interchangeably. The same character Mustafa uses *Allah* right to mention how he is devoted to his father, at the same time the ruler of the state; "May Allah give our benefactor long life." (Asena 1980, 7).

This section of the study revealed the blunt relationship between the self definitions and the definitions of the other. However the narrative and national self conscious of identity perceptions that rely on religion through the eyes of the playwrights are not distinguished clearly. The Muslimhood and the Ottoman historical heritage are clearly the very important components of the Turkish identity, since they are part of being Turkish. The embrace of the Ottoman past may be an indicator of the increased variety in national identity projects over through arts and artistic institutions during the first years of Democrat Party era.

Reşat Nuri Güntekin's critical view on the regime transforming into a religion itself. The political atmosphere of the 1954 general elections, gives the artists a feeling of freedom to criticise the previous political applications and manipulations. It is also important to demonstrate the authoritarian culture of the political power which cannot be questioned.

The codes regarding religion draw attention to the daily language based on the religious words to indicate the sameness that was built on the Muslimhood. After the transition from the Kemalist laicism indoctrination in public sphere, being unrestrainable of the religious practice becomes visible. People do whatever they want in terms of religious practice no matter whether it is forbidden by the state in public sphere. Thus, Islam as religion protects its value to define the sameness and the collective culture of Turkishness, historically.

The others of the Turkish identity is drawn as "the Byzantines", "the Christians", "the Greeks" in general. Although the distinction between the Turkish identity, and the Byzantines and the Christians, it is difficult to tell the same for the Greek identity. After



the War of Independence, the good cultural relationship between the Republic of Turkey and Greece is tried to be developed. In this context the international politics relied on the Atatürk's quote "Peace at home, peace in the World." The trans-artistic movements between Greece and Turkey have begun. The common historical and cultural heritage of Ionia and the Ancient Greek made the distinction between the Greek and the Turkish blurry. Furthermore, the section demonstrates three different projects of Turkish history; Sumerian roots, Central Asian roots and the Ottoman heritage, even eristically Greek heritage. Thus, providing that, there are multiple imaginations of the primordial roots for the Turkishness. "Their" religion is drawn as Christian and considered as the core feature while distinguishing "the Turkish" from the Greek.

### **2.1.2. State**

This section covers the representations of state in the playscripts under history theme to demonstrate how Turkish national identity is shown during the reconstruction of history and affected by the existence of the state. State codes in this playscript worships powerful state. Insider narrative others are usually the strong Turkish families and these codings reinforce the powerful state and its survival.

The perception and the role of the state define the relationship between the citizen and the state. Therefore it also determines who are the members of the collective identity; nation in this case. The indoctrination of the identity through the tools of the state becomes visible through its relationship between the people and the state's institutions in Turkey, causes a self perception reciprocally. In this section, the study evaluates the relationship between the state and the citizens as well as the perception of the state through the eyes of the playwrights. Thereby the study will connect the clues on the institutionalization of the national identity building process by analysing the conceptualization of "the state" in the playscripts of the local authors. The perception and the role of the state while defining the self, the sameness and the otherhood is also an important component for the construction of an identity. The indoctrination of the identity through the tools of the state becomes visible through its relationship between the people and the state's institutions. Nations are attributed some of the state's features such as legal rights and duties of the nation's members, as (Guibernau 2004) argues. Therefore the state and nation are not to be separated in the modern national identity construction.

In *Fatih* the constitutive other of Western identity was given also as “Turk” underestimated by Christians. There are also insider narrative and national others called: “the traitors, the betrayers” having a legitimate end of death. These characters are against the strengthening of the Ottoman state. To speak on the analogy between conquest and coaxing of Byzantine Irene; “...this is Byzantine... Byzantine who has wanton and coquette soul of a woman... It will greet our sultan tomorrow with the same enthusiasm right before the doors of the walls...” (Kurşunlu n.d., 98).

There are several patriarchy codings in *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* such as: “For all the leader (*Başbuğ*<sup>27</sup>) does, he does the best.” “...whoever comes, becomes the master...” “Erhan asks where the freedom that we promised, I tell him how you would make the reforms come true in a land backward like this.” It is possible to observe the regime, the leader and the powerful state that intersects as a father figure; “Our leader (*Başbuğumuz*) takes weakening the government before the people as principle, recently. He tells us off among ourselves, he is our elder, we yield with respect and thankfulness; however among the illiterate people...” (Güntekin 1989, 22,25,35,42,69). The elites and the clique of the dictatorship sees modernity as a progressive process; as if modernism is inevitable. The leader knows the best for the rest of the people.

Orhan Asena’s second playscript in the repertory is *Hürrem Sultan* (Asena 1980) in which the state codings are significant. State is owned by the authoritarian but a good administer Süleyman the Magnificent and the state is worshipped by him: “...He (Süleyman) used to love his state, love so much that he could sacrifice his son for the state’s perpetuity. The biggest harm of him to the state was that...” (Asena 1980, 9) The author gives enough room for Suleyman’s piece of Gazelle on the state, so he can emphasize how the role of the state is sacred and sublime for the ruler: “There isn’t another respected object among people like the state/ The state isn’t worth as much as a healthy breath in this world” “*Halk içinde muteber bir nesne yok devlet gibi/ Olmaya devlet cihanda bir nefes sıhhat gibi*” (Asena 1980, 22). Afterwards the playwright mentions the killing of Mustafa, son of Süleyman the Magnificent, caused by Hürrem’s tricks, somewhat blames the involvement of the women in the decay of the Ottoman Empire. However, the sultan cannot be weak to miss the clues of that decay, he once speaks to his son, Mustafa, about how to rule the state

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<sup>27</sup> *Başbuğ*. Leader

in the peace time: “One day, you will sense that while your wife gives herself to you, she is not the same wife anymore, even she becomes self-seeking... If a woman becomes self-seeking this much, this means she loses her womanly feeling, she cannot please you as if she used to.” And he continues “One day you will see your *karındaşlarını*<sup>28</sup> becoming enemies against you. According to our religion, they need to be killed, however they are your siblings, you have to have a sublime soul; but not helpless... One day you will see your son with a different look. (*Mustafa shakes*) This is the worst of all. The fear of the one you gave life to intend to take yours...” (Asena 1980, 8).

Throughout the historical plays, the sultans, as theatrical characters the rulers are all meant to be good for the common interests of the nation, no matter in what era they are living in, For instance, in *III. Selim* (Arseven 1999), there are number of representations of the state such as “...for the happiness of my nation...” or “for the sake of my state and the nation...”. Through the state subcodings it is often observable that those codings go hand in hand with religious codings as well as common interests of the nation. Not only those codings are coming across but also pointing out that religious, national identity overlaps with the perception of the state.

The place and the perception of the citizenship, patriarchy, the virtue of sacrificing oneself for the common good which overlaps the interest of the state are examined under the state section. The state related codings are high in the Ottoman historical playscripts. State codings in the local playwrights’ playscripts usually worship the powerful state and its high perpetuity. The state asks for the audience to imagine enemies not only as outsiders but also as insiders as the traitors. Narrative others of these traitors in the Ottoman heritage based playscripts are the strong Turkish families. Although many codings worships the state as an entity, and accepts the ruler of the state as the father of the nation, it is possible to find some very important codings in *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti* regarding the criticism of the dictatorship. However, these representations ask the audience to feel that they would sacrifice themselves for the good of the state.

### **2.1.3. Narrative and National Identity**

This section shows how the Turkish self is defined while reconstructing history. Narrative discourse to define “us” and “other” may have patriotic values, historically before the

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<sup>28</sup> *Karındaş*. siblings- but the ones who share the same womb

embrace of the modern definition of a nation, and national homeland. In modern nation conceptualization, often asked where the nation is (to draw the borders), who the members of the nation (to figure out who citizens are), how old this nation is (referring history). However, the individuals and the peoples do not have to embrace only modern nationalistic emotions to get together. They may have patriotic emotions towards where they live or in which society they live. Therefore, these emotions can not be a direct signifier of a national conscious, but helps figuring out how the people define themselves through arts. The playwrights may feel as if they are a member of a community or a modern nation and gives us clues about the perception of that national identity through their pieces. Since those playscripts are approved by the State Theater's literary committee, their approaches are congruent with the institutionalization of the nation building process in Turkey through the State Theater. Additionally, narrative discourse to define "us" and "other" may have patriotic values, historically before the embrace of the modern definition of a nation, and national homeland as well as the nation's members as citizens. The individuals and the peoples may have patriotic emotions towards where they live or in which society they live. However these emotions can not be a direct signifier of a national conscious. Thus, analysing religion, state and narrative and national identity discourses to define "us" and "the other" will help providing a map for deconstruction of the overall identity building (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999).

Sameness in historical playscripts put the word "*millet*" often. *Millet* in Turkish have two different meanings. First it is used as a modern term for nation; second, it refers to the Ottoman *millet* system. Ottoman *millet* system was an administrative structure based on the *ummah* approach, where the muslims constitute *ummah*, and the non-muslim subjects were *millet*s<sup>29</sup>. Nazım Kurşunlu uses the word "*millet*" (Kurşunlu n.d., 81) intentionally in *Fatih* in modern terms referring nation, and sees Byzantine and West as a monolithic nation as the constitutive other of Turkishness from the mouth of Mehmet II: "Where is my nation? My nation has abandoned me." During the play, the Byzantine officers set a sameness with Western Roman Empire using figure Ceasar; legendary, primordial and historical codes at a time, reflect the perception of Western identity as the constitutive other (Kurşunlu n.d., 70).

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<sup>29</sup> After Tanzimat a debate has risen among the Ottoman intellectuals about what to call Ottoman nation in Turkish and what not to call. For more information see (İnalçık 2011).

The second play *Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti*'s space is a palace which was inspired by both European and Asian architecture on Chinese border in Central Asia. Reşat Nuri Güntekin criticises the confusion in identity while despising the palace by his words "...the palatial, half European half Asian... with the worn walls and the ceiling..." (Güntekin 1989, 4). This play, has victimhood, primordial and sameness codings as well as nationalistic symbols under national and narrative identity codings, in a critical way. Historical framework is drawn by former emperors' portrayals and a Kartum map, which is considered as an important step for nations to become an imagined community (B. Anderson 2006). The dictator defines himself in victimhood, by comparing his possible end to Hitler and Mussolini (Güntekin 1989, 45). Symbolic cues such as national anthem and homeland as the Central Asia although the author tells his story mainly about the early Republican era and the first initiations of transition to the multiparty regime. On this transition period author himself sets a sameness with the second party and its representation of the people. However he points out the cheating during the elections and knows the people well enough to guess who will stand by the powerful side. Reşat Nuri Güntekin identifies intervening mentality with Committee of Union and Progress where he senses the upcoming intervention. Narrative others of this play are critically, local people, women, villagers, where the author feels an elitism towards people (Güntekin 1989, 10). One of the narrative others of the play is the youth raised by American culture. The convergence policy of the current government to the American block has become a cultural convergence, that was to be criticised by the author again. Narrative others' identities are insiders and outsiders according to the situation; "...it is a vast country... There are many hellraisers, factious people and reactionists... Is that right to indulge those?", "The foreign countries have their hands in it..."(Güntekin 1989, 24). The status of the elites are also apparent in the play, where some elites were defined negatively as self interest oriented, some were well intentioned. Well intentioned elites reach the educational benefits and believe in the system. Interestingly, the imagination of the playwright of the borders in his country and its sovereignty is endless. This wide and endless imagination legitimizes the crowd that would like to give harm to the "*millet*" and the country.

*III. Selim* playscript by Celal Esat Arseven, puts French people and Byzantine Empire to the side of the narrative and national other. To speak on French Revolution, which was a bloody and new event for Ottoman Empire, the character called Mustafa tells the Sultan

Selim that those people was a leaderless and a nonbeliever herd that are under the rule of street thugs (Arseven 1999,26). To the fullest extend, there is a sameness fiction intersects on being Turk: “We are sons of Turks! We should do whatever our ancestors did!” (Arseven 1999, 24). But the same Sultan, who pays attention to the people’s common interests or goods, also overlooks them by saying those people don’t deserve such a reformist Sultan: “...caused by the lack of capability of the nation (people). This nation does not deserve a Sultan like me, who thinks about keeping up with the era’s requirements.” (Arseven 1999, 24). Although the author talks about the subject of the Sultan, he prefers using the term “nation” in terms of a modern nation rather than “*millet*” as the system of peoples in Ottoman Empire.

The national and narrative identity section provided us to figure out as who the members of the society feel. The sameness of the society is built upon both on Turkishness and Muslimhood, where the otherhood is embodied in Byzantine and Christian civilization. The Christians and the Byzantines were seen as a monolithic structure of the other. Interestingly enough, although “*millet*” has double meanings in Turkish, the playwrights prefer using “*millet*” in modern nation terms rather than referring to its meaning of Ottoman peoples regime.

The sameness of the Turkish identity in the historical playscripts uses Islam as a primary feature of Turkishness. Some identity perceptions also use Ottoman past clearly, where some touch upon the assertions on the common past of the Turkish with Sumerian. There are more than one self identity perception for feeling Turkish in this sense. On the other hand, “the other” of the playscripts can be gathered as being Byzantine, Christian, West (Frankish) and French (also as to model oneself on, in terms of a certain European lifestyle). There are also narrative others such as hellraisers, factious people of the country and the outsiders. Generally, the state figure is personified throughout the playscripts and made a figure which stands by the leader of the society. The leader of the figure is often used as a father figure to glorify his existense as well as the common good to sacrifice for. The power relations are prominent in the context of the identity swing between East and West distinction. The backwardness feeling of the Turkish creates an inequality between two imagined identities. Overall, there are multiple history and identity constructions and self-identification.

## **2.2. Historical Translated Playscripts**

The self is not constructed one-sidedly but mutually in opposition to the historical others. Positioning the self and constructing the past of a modern national identity (Friedman 1992) needs an “other” which is “West” in Turkish case. The main object of this study is to reveal the perception of “Western history” and self positioning of the Turkish identity in it. The section argues that the self positioning of modern Turkish identity relies on feeling “the other” identity against “Western” and “European” identity historically and the State Theater’s translation repertory under the history theme provides a good source to trace it.

The study covers the repertory of the State Theater’s translations repertory from 1949, the foundation of the institution until 1960, up to the first military intervention in the Republic’s history, as this period overlaps with the national identity construction in Turkey. The analysis focuses on the self positioning of modern Turkish national identity by dispersing the texts according to the components: religion, state and national and narrative identity. The study contributes to the comprehension of the modern Turkish national identity building process regarding history perception of the Turkish Republic and its artistic performances under the history theme.

The literary board of the State Theater usually shows a will of choosing the playscripts that are originated in Europe, especially under the German theater impulse in the context of history. However, by the years, there is a slight change in the interest in diversity of translations including Anglosaxon literature in favor of American culture, remaining its bond with European literature stable at the same time.

When the playscripts are examined under historical theme, three subthemes show up: Ancient Greek, Birth of Europe and World War Two subthemes. While thinking that the appearance of these subthemes cannot be coincidental, many scholars divide the World historical flow through a European lens (Friedman 1992). The milestones of the historical line for Europe has started with Ancient Greek culture and continued with a second breakdown: Renaissance, predominantly in the scholars’ works who studied in nationalism field, such as Hans Kohn (Kohn 1965); or Jonathan Friedman (Friedman 1992) to discuss whether this starting point of history is a part of European identity construction instead of being used for modern Greek national identity. And I take Elektra, written by Sophokles to represent the Ancient Greek theme, with Afif Obay’s translation.

The subtheme about the birth of Europe includes *Dead Queen (Ölü Kraliçe)*, *Don Carlos*, *Maria Stuart*, *The Crucible (Cadı Kazanı)* playscripts. In general, the authors are from Europe, exceptionally from the States such as Arthur Miller. The spaces of the playscripts varies in the range, from South America to West Europe. Besides the classical pieces such as *Cyrano de Bergerac*, there are new plays such as *The Crucible* that was written in 1952.

Henry de Montherlant's *Ölü Kraliçe (Dead Queen)* tells the historical story of the love between the Prince Don Pedro and Ines de Castro, whose throne was resigned to only after her death. The King Ferrante condemns his son's relationship with Ines de Castro; claims that there are more important issues to deal with such as the kingdom losing strength and the sustenance of the Christianity. The play was performed in 1952 by the State Theater.

*Don Carlos*, written by Frederick von Schiller, one of the most important figures of German theater literature, tells the impossible love of Don Carlos for the queen Elizabeth, while witnessing the reform period in 16<sup>th</sup> century. It sets light to the social, psychological and political irony of the period and the role of the inquisition.

*Maria Stuart* is again Frederick von Schiller's theater playscript on the Scottish Queen Maria Stuart who was sentenced to death for killing her husband. Mary lived in 1542-1587 and ruled Scotland between years 1558-1560, and also became France Queen by her marriage to François II until her death for treason in 1587, blamed by the Queen Elisabeth I. The space of the playscript is the Westminster Palace. Although the playscript is a historical one and has many parallel points with the historical realities, Schiller created some characters and events that eroded some truths. As a literary theatrical piece, the play was staged in 19th century. The play was written in Weimar Germany in 1800. The State Theater acted *Maria Stuart* in both 1953-1954 and 1954-1955 seasons.

Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, translated as *Cadı Kazanı*, mentions the sectarian conflicts in the new World and the witch hunt that begins with the rumour. It is to be told that the playscript implied the witch hunt which was applied on the communists in the States, when Miller wrote the playscript (Miller 1996). The State Theater performs *The Crucible* in 1958-1959 season, just a few after the Press Law inured in 1956 by Democrat Party initiations as a part of a tool for oppression (Kubilay 2014). This law was seen as an



instrument to apply the government's pressure over the press, by the artists and the press members in Turkey.

Following this preamble, the study continues with the examination of these playscripts according to the religion, state, narrative and national identity representations. Thereby, the study pursues the place of religion, state in an identity within historical theme to reveal the representation of the most important components of a national and narrative identity.

The traces of World War Two were still visible both for Europe and Turkey in the 1950s, not only in politics but also in arts. Block politics also starts to be tangible and Turkey tries to find a position for itself in the democratic block while trying to pursue a balanced international relations policy that has started during World War Two (Tekeli and İlkin 2014). As a matter of course, the State Theater in Turkey performs several plays related to this social trauma of Europe, borrowing playscripts from European authors.

In this section, I will elaborate "The Robbers" (*Haydutlar*) by Friedrich von Schiller, "Anne Frank" (*Anne Frank'in Hatıra Defteri*) by A. Hackett and F. Goodrich with Bedia Akkoyunlu's translation which were translated to be performed by the State Theater<sup>30</sup> during 1957-1958 season. I will pursue the identity construction of each text, the sameness and otherhood of the plays, repeatedly by the subthemes of religion, state as well as narrative and national identity.

Finally I examine the children's plays by dividing them into two as local playscripts and translations. Little Mozart and Little Columbus are the representative children's plays for the translated children's playscripts.

*The Robbers* by Friedrich von Schiller was one of his very popular playscripts to put onto the stage by the State Theater. Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the translator's identity on the playscript which I got from the archives. The list of the playscripts that was given by the State Theater attests that the playscript was put onto the stage in 1954-1955

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<sup>30</sup> The Last Stop of Remarque is in the archives and in the programme of the State Theater. The website of the State Theater has short reports on these plays. One of these reports is on The Last stop; yet, it is clear that this play has never met with the audience. Therefore, the study does not take this screenplay into account. However, the reason behind it will be searched since, he is one of the most read authors of the World War Two in a realistic literary way. His works were burned down in Berlin by the Nazi Regime, and caused him flee his country. His most famous and best seller novel is called "All Quiet on the Western Front". Interestingly enough, the State Theater prefers one of his early works to have it translated by Tarik Levendoğlu and to stage.

and 1955-1956 seasons, directed by Cüneyt Gökçer and Walter Thomas. We acknowledged from the list that Walter Thomas preferred using Seniha Bedri Göknil's translation. As Schiller has been one of the most important representatives of the German Theater, the vogue of his playscripts amid his colleagues is significant for the literary committee of the State Theater. "The Intrigue and Love" was performed twice in 1950-1951 season and 1954-1955 season. The Robbers was performed twice as well, in the season of 1954-1955 and 1955-1956. Schiller was a popular playscript author for the State Theater yet, these two out of four performances of the theater that were written by the German author. Schiller wrote the Robbers in 1781 and published the play without naming it. The play is accepted as one of the most important tragedies in German Theater as it ushers in the approaching French Revolution. It includes Weimar German classicism and mentioned with Goethe, subjected to many scientific and literary studies because of its components regarding romanticism, enlightenment, classicism and the effects of French revolution as well as xenophobic quotes in it (Mortensen 2016). Although Schiller was embraced by many countries including France by giving Schiller a honorary citizenship, the young nationalists of the Third Reich stake a claim on Schiller's works as well, especially on the Robbers as an inspiration for their organization culture (D. Anderson 2006). The piece speaks on the dispute between the freedom lover Karl and Franz Moor brothers and its subject is the conflict between the legality and the freedom in Germany, where the dispute takes two years. While doing this, the play leaves the audience alone with the questions about the virtue of the law and the borders of the freedom. Although its time and space is before the establishment of the Prussian unification, the reason why this study examines Schiller's the Robbers under the subtheme of World War Two is, its inspiration for the modern German youth during Third Reich administration. As the State Theater performs *the Robbers* and conveys the audience intense emotions, including pride for having a modern institution to perform such a good play. As Yazgan (2012) mentions, just like at Mannheim theater in which the Robbers were first performed, the audience at the State Theater was also bewildered, thought that *that was the Republic's Theater*; such an amazing art after *creating the State Theater out of nothing but improvisational theater and light comedies* (Yazgan 2012, 84).

### **2.2.1. Religion**

This section analysis the data by using “religion” to attest national identity building under the subtheme of Ancient Greek, the Birth of Europe and World War Two. Religion is taken as a social formation that composes a very significant part of a national identity that is even in history might be reconstructed as a mirror of Turkish national identity in the 1950s.

#### **Subtheme of Ancient Greek**

The Ancient Greek subtheme gives clues about the perception of the historical starting point of the Western Civilization through the eyes of the State Theater literary committee, although the frequency of codings are not very high. This subtheme reveals the historical starting point of the geographical common points with the West.

My point of departure while interpreting data under this subtheme is parallel with Metin And’s stance. And (And 2006) argues that the theatrical village plays are the main sources for the Ancient Greek theater. However, he also admits that the enjoyment and the embrace of those works are no longer possible because of the detachment between the bonds of the ancient era and Turkish theater (And 2006, 201).

Sophokles’ Elektra is one of the most popular Greek tragedies about Trojan War. The Elektra legend is inspired by Iliada and Odysseia legend of Homeros and tells the story of the Trojan War. It was put onto the stage in 1952-1953 season with Afif Obay's translation. The playscript in the archives includes a brief information on Greek mythology and tragedies given by a preface. In this preamble, the author mentions the Greek civilization as the others' civilization while distinguishing "their" culture from "ours".

Identities have always included a religious self definition, and be a part of modern nation building within the perception of history. The memory of the nation has often be based upon a collective past, which would undeniably include the perception of religion and the place of the religion in the society’s history. In this section the study is interested in examining the perception of religion in Ancient Greek theme under historical playscripts, in order to demonstrate the relationship between the religion as one of the most important component of an identity, in Ancient Greek time.

The preamble of the Elektra which is written by the translator gives basic information about the perception of Greek civilization's history. A part of this information speaks on the way of living the religion. This religion that "is totally different from ours". It is polytheistic with an afterlife belief. There are oracles to reach out the gods if there is a demand from the city dwellers. Aside from this basic data, the translator forms a sameness with his usage of "ours" based upon monotheistic religion. "The others" are the ones who are differentiated by their polytheistic religion. Thereby Turkish nation positions itself on the contrary of the Greek identity this way and puts the self in the start of European history, but has a different story.

Historical timeline of the national identity building of modern Turkish identity begins congruent with the Western classical historical perception. The starting point of Western civilization reflects the beginning of the otherness of Turkish identity. This common share makes Turkish identity makes it a part of the history of "the modern" automatically. Ancient Greek past of Ionia is taken as the roots of the European cultural unity, having a geographical aliasing with Turkish identity. That is to say, modern Turkish identity positions itself as the non-excludable "other" of European identity in history making.

### **Subtheme of the Birth of Europe**

This section examines the religion codings through the playscripts under the birth of Europe theme. Thereby, the analysis will provide the place of the religion in the identities. In a general context, the religion codes are on the declination of the Church, keeping Christianity alive and sectarian conflicts between Catholics and Protestants.

One of the most interesting interpretation under this subtheme in the context of religion is the translators' unchangeable stance in using Islamic words and phrases. Although the audience somewhat understands that the characters are non-Muslim, their cues include these Islamic phrases very often. For instance, In *Ölü Kraliçe* (Dead Queen) the translation uses Turkish and Islamic daily phrases when the characters express their Christian affiliation such as "Allah" or "for the consent of Allah". The Christian affiliation goes hand in hand with "homeland", "the king" and "the state" and "the nation". Although the historical period overlaps with the era of kingdoms, the usage of these concepts reveals the perspective of either the author or the translator Mübeccel Bayramveli. The narrative other regarding religion is the Arabs who lived in Spanish peninsula, embraced Islam as religion.

The “other” of the text is not given sharply but shed in a dialogue between Ines and Dino del Moro: “They call my dad Fernando del Moro because he stabbed his butler, who was formerly an Arab, by his own hands after figuring out that even if he looked like a Christian he adhered to Islam.” (Montherlant n.d., 63). The King, condemns his son Pedro’s relationship with Ines; thinks that Pedro should deal with the state related Works and the sustain of the Christianity. By having a suitable life with the religion, he would be able to disseminate the power led by the God.

Don Carlos' translation uses Turkish and Islamic daily phrases such as "for the consent of *Allah*" or "*Allah*" alone. By doing this adaptation, one can easily say that translators do not abandon their personal, religio-cultural background behind while translating, rather they prefer adapting. Another reason might be to make the audience get familiar with the play so they can follow the cues without losing their interest. The God also is translated as "*Tanrı*" which is a Turkish word for Allah. The narrative other of the religious identity is the atheists, who were actually rebellious protestants identified as non believers. Alba says, "This sword made the foreign nations accept the Spanish law, shone against the divinity, who was crucified, like a lightning. God was ruling in the sky, me, on the earth." (Schiller 1983, 26). The play is important for its cues regarding inquisition courts and the relationship between the king and the cardinal. Cardinal mentions his dissatisfaction by; "We are not content with you... Shall I teach the very first knowledge of the reign to my gray-haired student. Our order's rigid chains were boring you; you wished to stay free and alone. (*Stops, the king stops speaking*) Your revenge has been taken... You shall be thankful for the church which is satisfied by punishing you just like a mother." (Schiller 1983, 91). The place of the Cardinal and the Pope would have been assumed as over the King. The patriarchy is embodied first in the body of the church and then it passes to the King. In a broader Picture, Turkish State Theater sees the tension between the king and cardinal as an historical breaking point. Although religious patriarchy is embedded in these cues, they also sarcastically indicate this tension. By calling it as a “punisher like a mother” also refers to the peaceful lap of a mother who can use force legitimately.

Maria Stuart has explicit codings regarding the sectarian conflict within Europe given through the conflict between Queen Elizabeth I from England and Maria Stuart from Scotland and France. During the renaissance and reform, the Church’s political stance had questioned, as well as the power of the feudal structure. The period that Schiller tells

about in this playscript overlaps with the time of rebellion against the Church in Saksonia and Prussia, so it gives clues well on the disunity of Christianity in Europe as well as the strengthening of the kingdoms. Besides there are some coded segments that also provide information about the identity of the translator of the playscript. The guilt of Maria in the playscript is drawn over the religion, as to nurse a grudge for the sake of England, and to make England catholic again. Given by the words of the character Paulet: “She has come to this country as she was withdrawn from her throne with a wretched movement and fired by her nation (people, *millet*) with the murderer title. By nursing a grudge for the sake of England, to realize the Spanish Maria’s period again, to Catholicize England and make it ...? to the French” (Schiller n.d., 4). The detachment between religion and political power is given as a historical fact and obligation. However characters don’t give up on their religious sects. Translator uses the word “*millet*” which means nation, but here people. Most probably she uses it because it is a popular vocabulary.

Although the translation includes word “*Allah*”, the text clearly sets the sameness on Christianity, which is disunited. The cues on Papa, Pasteurs inconsistently include both *Allah* and *Tanrı* translations for the name of God, the creator (Schiller n.d., 86).

MELVIL – In the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit! Queen Maria! Have you probed your heart well? Do you promise by swearing to confess before *Tanrı*, the source of the truth?

MARIA – My heart lays entirely open in front of both him and you.

MELVIL – So tell me, from the moment that you have repented, which sin is your inner conscious burdens on you?

MARIA – My heart was full of hatred that came from grudge, the feelings for revenge were romping inside of my bosom so to speak. I hoped that *Tanrı* would forgive me, however I couldn’t forgive my foe.

To speak on inconsistency in translations: “You, right now, just the way you unite with your *Allah* and his country of joy in which nobody sheds tears, as a beautiful and bright angel, you will unite *Tanrı* almighty.” (Schiller n.d., 88) is a good example. The characters in Maria Stuart witness the sectarian conflicts over the tension between the Puritans and the Catholics. The audience gets that the characters are representatives of either Puritans or Catholics, although the playscript uses *Allah* or *Tanrı* words often. A part sees Papa as the embodiment of the trinity which is far from being earthly, also a part

leaves his country and homeland for the suppression of the Puritans: "I have left my homeland (*vatan*) with the oppressive exhortations..." (Schiller n.d., 11); "...After that, the moment I witnessed Papa administering that mighty ritual with all of his solemnity and his sanctifying the nations (*millet*) by my own eyes, how I felt excited. Ah, how much would the all jewels and the gold that the kings use to get beautified cost? All godly things are around him. His home is a real sky country; yet, those shapes do not belong to this world." (Schiller n.d.,12). And the characters also use and perceive the Bible as the holy, mighty book to heal detrimental thoughts and actions, just like Paulet mentions: "They left the Bible to her, to chast her heart." (Schiller n.d., 3).

Another important point amongst the interpretations in the context of religion in Maria Stuart is the unity of religion and the homeland. A person can move in order to maintain and live his religion freely under the rule of the king who has the same king, however these are also sacrifices that a believer does. Maria has seen as one of those who makes some sacrifices for her religion and homeland, by leaving her own homeland: "...She bears for the torment for our creed; at that the place she suffers is your homeland (*vatan*)" (Schiller n.d., 13). The translator prefers using word *vatan* to define country, homeland, hometown with a modern perception, although 16th century is too early for defining homeland in modern terms. *Vatan* in Turkish is a word to define the territory of a nation with modern and nationalistic feelings. The unity of the religion and the homeland in terms of patriotism is obvious by these codings. So even though Europe was shaken by sectarian conflicts, the main characters pictured as women sacrificing their individual good for the good of homeland. This sacrifice is so big that she is even ready to do it for her most sacred intimacy: religion.

The Crucible's translation also uses daily Islamic phrases and words such as "*Allah*" and "for the consent of Allah" throughout the playscript, while the characters express a feeling or thought regarding their religion: Christianity. The playscript starts with an emphasis of the religion in Salem's, daily life of the dwellers of this town in the New World in late 18th century. America meant hard working and free religious practices for the people of Salem. The story tells about the witch hunt in the new world, for those who linger around the church or home or on the farmland opposing to the religious rules. According to the people of Salem, the others of their religious identity were the non believer Indians who made forays to get their lands back. Salem is famous for its blind Christian followers who

fail to convert those *wilds* (by Arthur Miller's emphasis, sarcastically) Christians. Protestants were oppressed by the British on the continent and they were determined to avoid that to occur again on the new continent. The struggles between the non official states caused the union of the religion and the administration for these conservative Protestants. The town tries to eliminate the demon worshippers by the witch hunt and the playscript demonstrates how the ordinary people and the priest behave unrighteously by listening to the slanders during trials well. The sameness of the characters is built upon Christianity through the body of Jesus. The character Hale mentions the sameness by; "Mrs. Proctor, I have wandered in the deserts like our Jesus. I have been searching for what to do as a Christian. Because the sin of a priest, who makes the people lie, is twice big." (Miller n.d., 153). But one should consider that this play is written with a critical stance.

Religion codes demonstrate that Christian affiliation is the representation of the otherness of Turkish identity. Although Christian identity is the common point in the playscripts, the other common feature of the translations is the usage of Islamic phrases in order to express emotions in daily dialogues. "*Tanrı*" as the secular and Turkish word for the God is used time to time, but this usage remains inconsistent, rather "*Allah*" and other daily Islamic phrases are common.

While making the language of the translation Turkish playscripts, the translators preferred remaining the Muslim identity as the counter identity of the Christian identity. Furthermore, the analysis indicate that the administrative body and the religion is not separable. The existence of the king and the religion in peoples lives are complementary. Also, the patriarch is embodied within the Pope and is over the King. In view of the fact that the historical subtheme draws borders of the period with premodern space, "*Vatan*" as the homeland is something more defined upon religion rather than a certain kinship or a nation. It is to deduce from the sectarian conflicts throughout the translations that these historical, bloody circumstances prepared the background for secularism in Europe.

### **Sub-Theme of World War Two**

This section looks up for the representations of the religion through the playscripts under World War Two subtheme. Since the establishment of the State Theater runs into a year



which is almost right after the World War Two is ceased. This subtheme and the representation of the religion as well as its place in the society will be reflected.

“Anne Frank” (*Anne Frank’in Hatıra Defteri*) by A. Hackett and F. Goodrich with Bedia Akkoyunlu’s translation aims at giving how bad the idea of discrimination for the affiliation of a race or religion can be. Thus, “the sameness” of the playscript constructed upon the beliefs and the races at the same time. The playscript makes the audience feel that, although religion as an institution that is perceived differently by each community, taking shelter under the God’s shadow is an important and common need for all. Moreover, the religion gives strength to the people in order to hold onto life in the wartime. Just like it is in Anne Frank’s original wartime diary, the theater play performs a life section of a Jewish family during World War Two. They are devoted to their religion and traditions as they celebrate Hannukah together and pray God for peace, to keep their hopes alive (Hackett and Goodrich n.d., 37-38). The translation uses “*Allah*” and “*Yarabbi*” for the name of the God throughout the text, given the example: “If *Allah* wants us to...” (Hackett and Goodrich n.d., 34), “*Allah* forbid!” (Hackett and Goodrich n.d., 20), “*Allah* understands the famine and forgives” (Hackett and Goodrich n.d., 39), “Shut up please, for the consent of *Allah*” (Hackett and Goodrich n.d., 29), “*Yarabbi*, thank you for protecting your subjects that take shelter under your mercy and blessing!” (Hackett and Goodrich n.d., 42). One can again see that translator couldn’t leave her Muslim background but brought adaptive features along while translating the play.

However, these interpretations don’t mean that the cultural and psychological aspects of the characters’s religion have been omitted, on the contrary we find Anne, trying to comfort and steer Peter upon their religiosity to stand their inhuman life conditions. “If you were devoted to the religion, that would have been different, Peter.”, “(*Approaches Peter*) I know it is so hard to be faithful when the humans cause calamity this much. But here is what I think. Maybe the world it moving from one era to another... In spite of everything, I believe that the people are good.” (Hackett and Goodrich n.d., 67). This way, even in a inhumane position, the play wants us to the trust in history and never loose our belief in humanity which has a good essence. Religion (no matter which one, because it is not given as a peak) provide solidarity, trust that we need in hopeless times.

Again Seniha Bedri Göknil's translation of Schiller's *the Robbers* made the text Turkish by using daily Islamic phrases such as "Allah's wrath!", "Oh Yarabbi...", "Allah damn him!" and the name "Allah", just like many translators did. The translator also uses "Tanrı" in some cues, as a Turkish secular word for the God. Contradictively, references to the Bible are remained in the text; "Then, the ones around me looked back; the city was ruined just like Sodom and Comorre, the whole horizon was only about the fire and the fume." (Schiller n.d., 34). So translator does not want the text to loose its original intellectual framework but she was more interested in adapting the communicative tool is spoken language.

The translations use Islamic daily phrases to introduce these playscripts into Turkish and make them hit the audience with familiar quotes while the characters are expressing their emotions in their cues.

World War Two subtheme includes both the sublimation of the "nation" and critic of the nationalism when it is taken too far. Religion is an institution that is perceived differently by each community, but humanity needs a shelter under the same God, to avoid discrimination.

As a result, the attitudes of the translators in using Islamic phrases in dialogues are similar. When they bring their own religious background into the text they position "the other" as the Christians, atheists, non-Muslims, polytheists. However, with the subtheme of World War II gets more elastic. Even though religion does not loose its place and significance for the translators, hümanist approach comes to prominent, particularly after seasons of 1957-1958.

### **2.2.2. State**

This section examines the representations of state with regards to the Turkish nation building, while remaking history. The representations of state are evaluated under the subthemes of Ancient Greek, Birth of Europe and World War Two.

#### **Subtheme of Ancient Greek**

The perception and the role of the state defines the relationship between the citizen and the state and also contributes into the current place of "the state" perception for the citizens,

historically. These mutual definitions both become a part of collective identities. The cues of the playwrights put the feelings and ideas regarding the state into prominence directly, by helping the characters to voice out. This imagination of the state is nevertheless independent from the indoctrination of the Republic's views, because of the institutional ties between the state and the State Theater. This section, examines the relationship between the state and the citizens as well as the perception of the state through the eyes of the playwrights under history theme. Thereby the study will connect the clues on the institutionalization of the national identity building process by analysing the conceptualization of "state" in translation playscripts, where these conceptualizations might be borrowed, hybridized, embraced or criticised. Examinations under history theme reflect this relationship historically. The study evaluates the relationship between the representations of the state under Ancient Greek time as a part of the history.

The imaginations of the state of "the universal", "the civilized", "the modern" model, reach out the audience every time the cues are voiced out by the characters. However, the imagination of the state in Ancient Greek is not very sharp. However there are some interpretive clues. The philosophical base of the Western civilization is tried to be conveyed to the audience.

### **Subtheme of Renaissance Europe**

Patriarchy and sovereignty are two concepts visible through the state related coded segments in *Dead Queen*. The power of the king and the kingdom comes from the God and it sets a hierarchy between the kings and the Pope.

There are seldom cues for the state in *Don Carlos*. The Queen says, "The knight has his right. State still exists, even though none of knights left." to protect the land of the reign (Schiller n.d., 88). Also, there is an emphasis on the demise state because of its enemies: "Do not speak of him, of his illustrious highness. An enemy is hid in the state, is more dangerous than him" (Schiller n.d., 88) . This cue gives an imagination of heaving insider enemies who are more dangerous than the outsiders. Because they are obscure and can betray any time to destroy the state.

The encodings under the title of state in *The Crucible*, do not come into prominence. However, they give hint about the relationship between the weak state administration with

regards to corrupted law and the witch hunt which found its moral base in religion: "...The keys of the state are captured by a few girls; they are playing on us. A rumour has spread: the slander is the new law..." (Miller n.d., 91)

The Godly position of state is kept being reproduced in Maria Stuart. State's almighty position is striking in Recai Bilgin's translation. Although the families are still important in 16th century in which the story takes place; the strength of the state and its supremacy over its subjects becomes prominent as Leicester emphasizes the supremacy of the state by "When he commits a crime against the state..." (Miller n.d., 62). Besides the supremacy of the state the tie between the state and the religion is uttered; "May *Allah* protect him and grant him a happy reign!" (Miller n.d., 89).

For the historical subtheme "the Birth of the Europe", the analysis demonstrate that the state, king, kingdom comes from God; therefore these concepts are used with their Godly, or sanctified features. The state in Europe is divine, almighty and inseparable from the land and the institutional religion. Throughout the plays the audience doesn't get the idea of certain territory and borders driven by the playwrights or the translators. The state has treators, and when the state has a weak administration it would congruently have weak law or legal system where they are all based on religion.

### **Sub-Theme of World War II**

This subsection subjects the representations of the state in relations to the national identity building.

There are no state related representations in *Anne Frank*, and there is only one in *the Robbers*. The code in *the Robbers* is more related to patriarchy, rather than a concrete institutional image of the state. "Did this story not shake you in your dreams? Even the eternal sleep has woken up by this! Look at here, look! The law of the World has been a dice, the bonds of nature have detached, the old dispute let itself go, the son killed his father." (Schiller nd., 68).

The only coded segment under the state item indicates that patriarchy is an important complement for the perception of identity in Europe under World War Two subtheme. However, there are no more codes to make it a general statement.

### **2.2.3. Narrative and National Identity**

This section analyses how narrative and national identity of Turkish national identity is constructed while remaking history in a mutual context, using translations. Narrative and national identity is elaborated in the following subsections under three subthemes: Ancient Greek, Birth of Europe, World War Two.

#### **Subtheme of Ancient Greek**

This subsection examines the narrative and national identity construction within remaking of history starting from Ancient Greek. Thereby this attempt unravels how Turkish identity is mutually constructed in opposition to the European and Greek identity.

Narrative discourse to define “us” and “other” may have patriotic values, historically before the embrace of the modern definition of a nation, and national homeland. In modern nation conceptualization, often asked where the nation is (to draw the borders), who the members of the nation (to figure out who citizens are), how old this nation is (referring history). However, the individuals and the peoples does not have to embrace only modern nationalistic emotions to get together. They may have patriotic emotions towards where they live or in which society they live in premodern time too. Therefore, these emotions can not be a direct signifier of a national consciousness, but helps figuring out how people define themselves through arts. The study hereby analyse the patriotic feelings and check whether the playwrights use these patriotic emphasises with modern terms to refer nationalistic feelings under Ancient Greek theme.

Afif Obay tries to be objective culturally while making Elektra Turkish, however the language of the preamble reflects the translator's feeling of sameness and difference, by distinguishing his identity from the Greek culture. Although he puts the narrative identity across the Greek civilization, this preamble is important to observe the starting point of the history perception. The history starts in Greek civilization for the State Theater, which took place in Troy. Troy is in the borders of the Turkish Republic and transformed into a museum today. Although this playscript is a translation, the preamble demonstrates that the State Theater dissimilates Turkish identity from Western identity while putting Ancient Greek culture and religion as oppose to the sameness of Turkishness (Sophokles n.d.).

When examined, the narrative and national identity analysis indicates that the historical start of the Western civilization also reflects the very beginning of the constructive other of the Turkish identity. However, this perception does not remain as the only constructive feature of the other. It is also “the other” that is to be reached out to be the part of “the modern” right away. That is to say, it also demonstrates that the Ancient Greek past of Ionia is a shared past with Turkish identity at the end of the day, although it perceives it as the beginning of a narrative identity of “the other.”

### **Subtheme of Birth of Europe**

The narrative and national identity in Renaissance Europe, is the mutual construction while taking the Birth of Europe as the second milestone of “the other” identity that reborns. Therefore this subtheme with an analysis of narrative and national identity will reveal the mutual construction, with a bulk on Turkish national identity.

The narrative sameness of the *Ölü Kraliçe* (Dead Queen) is seen through the speech of the King Ferrante. He talks about his people as his nation, his land as hometown: “He is the King of Portugal, the Victor of the Africans, the conqueror of the India, Ferrante the great whom the nobles tremble in the face of, the poor sinner...” (Montherland n.d. 62). Centralization shows up and hatred of the noble rise. The sovereignty becomes visible through the King’s ownership and body. However, the transformation of power relations is demonstrated on the stage by using modern imagination.

The translation of Don Carlos includes victimhood and different sameness structures in the context of narrative and national identity. Schiller uses "oppressed nations" to mention Spain. Homeland, freedom, big and powerful nation and the oppressed nation are the phrases that Schiller use to romanticise the related emotions. The other of the text is the British, who claim that the sun never sets their country<sup>31</sup>. Sidonya feels oppressed under the British artillery fire (Schiller n.d. 44). Mutually constructed identities feel sameness with the oppressed nations, in modern terminology under the British political power.

The cues of Maria Stuart include modern terms such as homeland as *vatan* in Turkish, nation as *millet* in Turkish. *Vatan* is a Turkish word usually used by the rightest stance in Turkish political life in order to define homeland. Turkish word: *millet* both defines nation

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<sup>31</sup> Refers to the phrase that is for the British Empire “The sun never sets on the British Empire”.

in modern terms and refers to the *millet* system in Ottoman administrative system. However, the given meaning by the translator tends to be closer to the meaning of a modern “nation” rather than Ottoman millet system. Assuming that the translator, Recai Bilgin gives an objective look in terms of translating the words “nation” and “homeland”, the text gives the audience of a feeling that, nationalistic and patriotic feelings in Europe are not new but have roots in the history of Europe, starting from the rebirth of Europe.

Another aspect in the context of narrative and national identity in Renaissance Europe that is striking is the place of the languages in construction of identities. Language is an important symbol for unbundling of the “nations”. Each nation is gathered up under the specific language that they speak. While Kennedy says “These are French scripts”, Paulet responds “So (*ya*) it’s worse! The enemies of England speak this language.” (Schiller n.d., 3). “The others” of the England identity are the speakers of a different language, more specifically French in this case. The good and virtuous features are attributed to the English, that is to say: “He came from Paris and Reims and he again brought his heart that keeps his old English loyalty as it was.” (Schiller n.d., 8) And the main character Maria talks on behalf of the belief of uniting the two “nations” for peace: “Why shall I deny this? Yes, I was growing the hope for uniting these two noble nations as free and happy, under the shadows of olive clovers. I was not assuming that I could be the sacrifice of their national hatred;... ” (Schiller n.d., 19). Elisabeth, the Queen of England calls her people “My nation” in Turkish “*Benim milletim*” where her counselor calls them “people”. On the other hand Maria calls the people “subjects” which is more suitable to define the status of the people of England by that time.

Considering that Europe is introvert during the Birth of the Europe, one should admit that although “the other” of the European Christian identity is based upon Muslimhood, the playwrights are more interested in sectarian and the inner conflicts between the feudals. Still, heroism and patriotism remains as old values for Europe. So it caused the birth of modernity and nationalism. The language of the plays, talk about a nation when they call their people. A general romanticism of the oppressed nations and their victimhood is visible. While romanticising the identities translations call the nations “*millet*” and homeland “*vatan*” and these indicate the preferences of the translators.

The high number of playscripts under the Renaissance Europe theme indicates that the perception of the European civilization's turning point is Renaissance and the sectarian conflicts are taken seriously. This turning point is the one that leads to secularism and the starting point of civilized modern Europe. This Europe is the one that Turkish national identity tries to catch up with in terms of secularism and civilization.

Correspondingly (İnalçık 2011) the Turkish modernists who are also humanists, and human life and human dignity are the core matters for them; those are the Western values, that embodied in Renaissance Europe throughout the translation playscripts. Languages are perceived as the main differentiating features of the nations. Though, religion is imagined as the basic solidarity formation for the societies. The number of the playscripts staged in the context of birth of Europe probably because the State Theater pays attention to the beginning of humanism, the proliferation of nationalisms and nation states in Europe. Romantic reflexions of "nation", as well as patriotism are given as the cores of the rebirth of the modern, secular Europe. At the same time though, basic sameness and dissemination are set up on the mutual construction of Muslim and Christian identities.

### **Sub-Theme of World War Two**

In this subsection I will elaborate the data that I derived from the historical translated playscripts under the subtheme of World War Two. Examining the data with regards to the mutual construction of national identities, focusing on Turkish national identity building unravels the patterns of how narrative and national identities are built under the shadow of World War Two and shaped the historical perception of identities.

The first play; in Anne Frank<sup>32</sup>, narrative and national identity discourse is traceable through victimhood that overlaps with the sameness. The "us" in the playscript is the Jews, who are victimized by their "others": the Nazis and the men of the gestapo (A. Hackett and F. Goodrich n.d., 24, 39): "We don't like the Nazis, that's all." (A.Hackett and F. Goodrich n.d., 24). The identity which is fully negated lets the Jews to pass until a certain border in a

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<sup>32</sup> Even though it is not possible to deduce a meaning directly from the screenplay; it is an apparent fact that Turkey had been home to many German citizens and Jewish elites who fled under the oppression of Nazi Germany until the end of World War Two; and had been affected by them intellectually. Carl Ebert had been a guest in Turkey and contributed into the establishment and context of the State Conservatory and the State Theater. The play was staged on during 1957-1958 season which more than a decade makes the war to be discussed; however, can be a weak discomfort for what happened to the non-Muslims in 6-7 September events in 1955.



city: "...we would go to Oasis to grab some ice cream. That was the only place that the Jews were allowed to get in..." (A. Hackett and F. Goodrich n.d., 55). The victimization turns out to be a deep acceptance in Anne's words: "We are not the only ones who suffer, ha. Sometimes it becomes the faith of some nations... Sometimes a race's, sometimes an other, talking to Peter." (A. Hackett and F. Goodrich n.d., 55) The sameness of the play is the Allied Powers during the World War Two, secondarily. The positive manners that were attributed to those who take place in this alliance, such as the British, the American, the French, the Dutch, the Norwegian, are the object for the hope. The character Miep talks to Mr. Frank about "the great news... The Allied Powers' armies have landed. They are moving forward." (A. Hackett and F. Goodrich n.d., 61-62).

Schiller's lifetime does not fit into the establishment of the modern Germany and the year that the *Robbers* was published almost a century ago, however, it inspires the youth for an ideal of unification of the German states around the pride of being Prussian. It reflects a transition in terms of identity, and is elaborated in the World War Two subtheme for being an inspiration for the Nazi youth organisations in Germany during Weimar Republic. The narrative identity is hard to be classified as a national identity throughout the text, yet the characters are not still Germans in modern terms, nonetheless their pride and patriotism for being Prussian is an important clue. But this play was staged for two full seasons between 1954-1956. The reason I suggest for it is that it was an inspiration for German Youth in ways of getting organised to worship German pride that would let German nationalism in 1930s (D. Anderson 2006). It seems wavy relationship with rightest nationalist movements in Turkey continues.

Although Prussia has established its unitary identity relatively late, Schiller's literary style contains cues with national identity traces, particularly in the *Robbers*. There are patriotic expressions regarding Prussian identity, and translated as German national identity: "If you still have German blood in your veins... March on!" (Schiller n.d., 12). These expressions also help contributing the romanticism and legendary narration while giving clues about the genealogical perception of nation. Franz says; "I know this very well. You would always say, the openheartedness, the compassion and the mercy... that manly daring... that childish passion... the invincible ambition and patience... the beautiful and bright traits that bushes out in the body of the father's son... that makes him utterly sensitive for the charm of the great and the beautiful things would make him a fiery friend for his friends, a

perfect citizen, a hero, a great great man... Yes, you would say these! Here, see my dear father... That fiery soul has improved, spreaded, produced marvelous fruits.” While keeping on speaking of how him and the youth are not devoted for the common good enough but are more into earthly desires (Schiller n.d., 4).

Also there are points that emphasize French Revolutionary ideas such as freedom in many cues: “It seems as if the curtains before my eyes fall down! How mad I was!.. My soul had a thirst for an act, my breath had a thirst for the freedom! The murderers, the robbers!... By these words, the law is sprawls over my feet...” (Schiller n.d. 15). These cues are also to mesmerize the audience by the romantic feeling of enlightenment and freedom. The characters speak on the love of homeland and the symbolic virtue of the Prussian flag among the Prussian youth. For instance when the father of a virtuos young boy searches for a news from his son through Hermann’s memories, Hermann says: “They gave him a flag. He pursued the flight of the Prussia towards the victory.” and with a romanticism in it, “He always talked about his father and his hopes that flew off. Our eyes would tear up.” The yearning and the sublimation of the homeland is very clear; “...We are headed to the place where I was born, my homeland.”, “Greetings, the land of my homeland! (*kisses the land*). The skies of my homeland! The sun of my homeland!.. The meadows, the hills, the creeks and the woods! Greetings from me to you all! How sweet the wind that blows from the mountains from my homeland is! What a delightful air enwraps this miserable exile! Paradise! A World of poems!” (Schiller n.d., 51). This data reinforces Hans Kohn’s argument on that Schiller’s works might be the source of enthusiasted youth to establish associations for the training of patriotic fighters while embedding student unions with nationalistic feelings (Kohn 1965).

Sameness is generally based upon the collective victimhood in World War Two Europe. Youth, pride, modern patriotism that leads to the pride of a nation becomes observable. Genealogical nationalist feelings are also visible through the texts in a prideful way, however, the way that both the playwrights and the translators convey their perception regarding national identity is controversial. The audience gets critical messages about the nationalism when it is taken too far and ends up with discrimination based on either religion or kinship; on the other hand the playscripts also give prideful and firing cues about nationalistic feelings. These feelings do not only refer to the German geist but also French Revolutionary ideas for being virtuos. These indications, might be evaluated as

having more than one national and narrative identity perceptions in the State Theater regarding the translation playscripts.

In order to generally conclude the subsection, this study indicates that the trust in the young generations for the future of the country, pride of being a member of a certain nation and modern patriotism becomes observable through World War Two subtheme. Nationalist feelings emerge in the playscripts in a pridefully and romantically however, the attitude of the State Theater towards nationalism remains controversial under this subtheme. The perception regarding nationalism is critical as it is taken too far and ends up with discrimination. However, other than messages of getting together under the same sky or the different Gods, Turkish identity continues to be prudent about feeling prideful for its own identity. The self positioning of Turkish identity chooses to demonstrate the evil of radicalism of nationalism but does not leave nationalist feelings behind especially embracing French Revolutionary ideas.

### **2.3. Children's Historical Playscripts of Local Playwrights**

This section covers how Turkish identity is built by remaking history for the future generations of Turkish nation, through the lens of local playwrights. Being a nation requires remembering and forgetting collectively (Renan 1996). And collective memory is founded upon a collective past. This past includes what an imagined community had experienced and how this collective event was perceived. The collective memories of the peoples build the conscious of being a nation under the name of history. Thereby history becomes the glue of among the people, and it is inevitable to neglect. State and its official tools are used in order to perceive history in a certain way as well as how to remember or forget it. The way of perceiving, remembering and forgetting, as well as the collective memory about "who we are" are the legacy for the future generations in a fictive nation. The State Theater catalyzes the perception regarding history, through the plays that are performed in order to affect the historical imagination of the future generations of the nation. Children's plays are important to let this legacy to be reached out by the future members of the Turkish nation state. Local authors' of the State Theater playscripts are important to reflect how the actual members, who affect the national identity construction and get affected by the official history of the Turkish nation, perceive history as a legacy or remembrance.

This study examines the playscript “*Oyuncak*” (“The Toy”) under the historical playscripts theme by decomposing the historical perception into three components: religion, state, national and narrative identity. *Oyuncak* is an early performance in the State Theater which reflects the dark and poor days of the post World War II conditions. It is a play that teaches to be thankful for what the children have got and appreciate getting over the obstacles such as earthquake and a war campaign for World War Two, altogether as a nation in solidarity and reliance.

*Oyuncak* is written by Hakkı Bigeç and performed by the State Theater in 1950-1951 season. The space of *Oyuncak* is a toy store. On the shelves the audience see a naval cadet, a villager, a hand fan, a stuffed donkey, a teddy bear, a rabbit, dark dolls, dancer dolls, “*zenci*” (as the playwright mentions, literally “negro” in Turkish, means black) dolls, ancient Egyptian dolls, a stuffed demon, a Fino dog with glasses... It snows outside in the evening. An old man lets a stranger boy in to protect him from the cold outside. The kid who is called Erhan, lost his family during a big earthquake years ago. He begs on the streets to live. When he gets into the store, he finds a spot, which is a space in a wall clock, to sleep in. The toys in the shop get together and think that they will be dispersed in the first day of the Eid holiday after being sold to different children in different houses. They decide to have fun in their last night together. The villager doll, invites them all to his village, and so their travel adventure begins. They wake Erhan up and invite him as well. They pass a desert then arrive at a hannibals village. Afterwards they find themselves in a *mihrace* palace in India. The Indians show respect to their “Turk” guests. However, our characters hide that they are after the treasure of the *mihrace*. When the *mihrace* figures that out he sends them to the dungeons. Suddenly a character called Sabu comes up and saves them from the dungeon and tries to pick them up by a plane. The plane crushes so they have to leave by the help of the Naval doll. When they see the Turkish boat with the Turkish flag on it, they feel amazed. So the toys get back to the toy store. The vender of the store comes in, in the morning and starts selling the toys. A customer talks about his lost son in the earthquake (probably in the 1920s) and the audience figures out that Erhan is the son of that customer.

Next section analyze the playscript in terms of the representations of religion, state, narrative and national identity in order to illuminate how Turkish national identity is built for the younger generations by Turkish playwrights multidimensionally.

### 2.3.1. Religion

This section elaborates the given place and representations of religion within Turkish national identity, sameness and difference based upon religion for younger members of Turkish nation.

Religion perception reflects the authors' and their given messages' view towards beliefs and traditions as well as religion. Since the playscript takes place in the recent history, these views belong to a past that is remembered well with its traumas, after the proclamation of the Republic. I hereby aim at reaching out the religion based sameness and difference in the context of historically imagined national identity.

*Oyuncak's* perception of religion is not very clear, yet, the meaning of this light emphasis on religion might demonstrate the silent effect of the religion. The silence in religiosity might be a preference for the State Theater under the history theme of the children's plays written by the local authors. The characters are clearly Muslim, since they use Islamic phrases such as "Allah Allah", "Aman Allahım" (Oh my Allah), "Yarabbi, it is just like a dream", "Allahaismarladık"<sup>33</sup> (goodbye in English) (Bigeç n.d., 36-48). And there are no repetitions or codings other than these. The number of religion related codings remains low. These phrases indicate that religious identity in Turkish national identity building is constructed upon Muslimhood for future members of Turkish nation.

Religion is part of the daily language and social lives, but we can see nothing more than that. The sublime message that the playscript under the history theme to be conveyed is that "the religion Islam is a social phenomenon that takes place in daily lives in recent history", however it is also possible to deduce that, even though the society has started transforming in terms of practice of the religion in a secular public sphere, they don't abandon their habits of language.

### 2.3.2. State

State is not visible in history theme within local children's playscripts. As it indicates that "state" representations under history theme are not settled and seen as a legacy to inherit to the younger generations yet. So it is not a part of early history of young Turkish Republic.

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<sup>33</sup> Goodbye in English

### 2.3.3. Narrative and National Identity

In the narrative and national identity section under children's local playscripts, this study focus on how "us" and "them" are constructed in the project of Turkish nation building in the 1950s for young Turks.

Who "we" are and who are "them" constitutes the main concern of this section. Turkish nation overall seems and felt to be left alone in the international arena, but fully respected even on the other edge of earth. Although characters are imagined as respected individuals they fall after the treasure of Mihrace; so respect is not enough. But imagination advises you to expand their geography, wealth and adventures with *Oyuncak*.

When the toys get ready to travel, the villager doll finds a stick and starts dancing a national dance. The playwright prefers using "*oyynamak*" (which means to play in English. However means to dance in premodern terms and would be used by the authors until the Western and modern affect of language of dancing.) So after the leadership of villager doll, some other villagers get onto the stage to dance with *davul* and *zurna*. They leave for the village, the village is an unknown and uncertain place, which is far away from where they are in the city, at the toy shop (Bigeç n.d.,16):

"This is a nice travel  
Isn't it Erhan, the kid?  
We are going to the far  
We are hurrying",

and then they start searching for a treasure. So Bigeç, wants future nation to be adventurous, who enjoys their own roots and for further. However this imagination includes a discreet distinction of "our" and "their" homelands. He objectifies "our hometown" as Türkiye, this way he gives a hint for embracing the World in terms of being a member of universal citizenry. But the children's responsibility of representing Turkey at their best with their folkloric features, remains the same.

There are a couple of reductions in the original text of the Toy, about a shift between "our hometown" and "foreign hometowns". The original text has an objective language where it

prefers using “Türkiye” for the name of modern Turkey, instead of “our hometown”. This objectivity is distorted by the changes that probably made by the director.

The characters travel to get to Turkey, but arrive at another country accidentally. Therefore, the toys, the characters become “the others” of the arrived place. The text looks as: “How nice they dance. Dear guests. Now, a circus and a theater company which came from ~~Türkiye~~ foreign countries will demonstrate its skills. (*Claps hands*) Go ahead ~~Turk~~ artists shall come!” (Bigeç n.d., 31). The Turks in the play, tell their hosts that they are going to dance *Harmandalı*. *Harmandalı* is a folkloric dance, danced by the Eagean coast people. The playwright again uses the Word “*oyynamak*” instead of “to dance”, since *Harmandalı* is a folkloric game in Turkish; *Harmandalı oyunu*. After *Harmandalı* they also dance waltz, and again the audience hear that the characters would play waltz, as if they are playing *Harmandalı*. The characters and the playwright is trying to demonstrate that, culturally Turkey and Turkish people are in harmony with their own essence and Western values. Interestingly enough, the playwright doesn’t stop by stirring these two up, but also adds a bear dancing scene onto the stage. The rabbit comes up with playing a *tef*, to make the bear dance on it. It seems Turkish artists are in the “international play” recently, and the playwright seems proud of being in the international stage. However, the director has a slight restraint about using the word “Turk” to define the Turkish artists. On the other hand, another cue looks like: “Yes, we made it to India instead of making it to ~~Türkiye~~ our homeland.” (Bigeç n.d., 32) while the main characters have a talk amongst each other. These little edits reflect the restraint over the definition of what homeland and the adjective before the modern Turkey’s citizens. This restraint arrives at confusion at some level, torn between a civic perception of citizenship and a geneological citizenship with a reference to Smith’s conceptualization. The director does not prefer altering the word “Turk” with “Turkish citizen” or “Turkey citizen” but rather prefers deleting the word itself. The audience also catches the yearning of the characters to their homeland, as if they are in exile. The Fino –dog- with glasses regrets being away from homeland: “Yes, we made it to India instead of going back to ~~Turkey~~ our homeland.” The Fino with glasses wishes to be in its homeland, and regrets for not going back to Turkey right away.

For the playscript *Oyuncak*, the definition of the homeland and the symbols that represent the homeland are central underlying messages to convey the children who sees this play. This definitions pathway provides the audience to discern themselves from the other

nations, based upon their homeland where it is located in somewhere “the others” don’t settle and represented with different symbols such as a distinguishing flag or a distinctive historical past.

The history perspective in *Oyuncak* finds its roots in India, on south Central Asia congruent with the local authors’ works for adults. The maharajah wants her daughter to get marry and the celebrations takes place in the palace. The talks have clues on the historical perspective of the playwright, so of the State Theater with messages to convey the children. The original text has a couple of words which are struck by the director again: “Turk” and “Turks”. This time, the word that was shuffled through becomes “us”, which draws a clean distinction between “us” and “them”. The characters speak on a treasure that was buried in India by the “~~Turk~~ *hakan*”<sup>34</sup>: “I discovered that, that treasure is ~~the Turks~~ ours according to the historical researches that I did. Back then, ~~Turk~~ *hakans* (khans), who got down to India and ruled in India, buried these riches in these lands during a defeat with a hope of getting them back one day. And they could never get back.” (Bigeç n.d.,33). This large imagination of an historical space and territory is to define endless lands of the homeland of the nation. This broad imagination also brings about an idea of the age of the nation. It is timeless, dateless, old and long standing. Moreover, another cue reinforces this imagination: “After that, the kids of these khans has lost their populations, the new dynasties took over, numerous migrations fled them backwards and forwards and some of them settled down in Anatolia with Seljuk armies who came there. Yaman hanem’s grandchildren, whose treasure is buried in your garden, still live in ~~Amasya~~ here, ~~in Turkey~~ today. ~~And they are called Yamanoğulları~~”<sup>35</sup> –So if we can manage to take this treasure back to our country we will be enriching both our country and ourselves.” (Bigeç n.d.,33).

Obscure messages are given to make children uptake, stalwart for the enemies and opportunities at the same time. The homeland and the nation is represented by Turkish flag. The excitement and respect towards Turkish flag is apparent and gives an ideal attitude towards Turkish flag. When Turkish (toy) characters see the boat with a Turkish flag, there to take them back to the homeland, romantically admires it and its strength, yet

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<sup>34</sup> *Hakan* is a Turkish word for *khan* for its reference to Turkic sovereignty in Central Asia, khan.

<sup>35</sup> *Yamanoğulları* is a combined word. *Yaman* means stalwart in English, where *oğulları* adds the meaning of their sons. Altogether it is a surname with a meaning of the sons of the stalwart.



it is the symbol of a strong nation to back up its citizens who seek for asylum underneath with pride of its spotlessness (Bigeç n.d., 40):

“Spick and span, very clean.

(*With excitement*) It has the Turkish flag on it.

Yes yes Turkish flag...”

The others of the story is a group of pirots, who attack the Turkish boat. The silent others of the playscript are the foreigner children on the pirots’ boat who wait for someone to save them. Those kids are from different nations: English, Chinese, African, American. The children are classified according to their nations. The pirots are fearful about the Turks but they are decisive about defending themselves: “(*to the man with a whip*) Whip the paddlers. A boat of Turks is attacking over us.” (Bigeç n.d., 40). The pirots don’t have any nationality, so the playwright prefers not to refer any nation to be enemy, but at the same time he wants to demonstrate how strong “the Turks” are by this stage.

There are two side findings in this playscript which are hard to classify under the general titles, but found related either to the political history or to the gender inequality. The character, the stuffed demon is known to take the good people away from their route to be good. In a dialogue, he says “If you follow the right track, you will find anything you are searching for. The other road will be a hell’s *azab* for you.” The respond of the donkey to that cue is “Children... Turn left. And let’s always walk through the opposite direction that the demon tells us to.” (Bigeç n.d., 22) However the director, Agah Ün, changed the some of the words by stripping the rights and lefts of the cue and uses this version of the dialogue: “If you follow the ~~right~~ left track, you will find anything you are searching for. The other road will be a hell’s *azab* for you.” The respond of the donkey to that cue is “Children... Turn ~~left~~ right. And let’s always walk through the opposite direction that the demon tells us to.” (Bigeç n.d.,22). The block system has its affect on the arts, and Turkey has mentioned its block after the World War Two. “Left” represents the “left” where the “right” represents the democratic block, and the political climate of the blocks policy must have affected the artists of the State Theater and made them change the demon’s road from right to left, where the road to track should be the “right” one.

Secondly, the gender roles are clear in the play. The playscript *Oyuncak*, to represent the historical children’s plays, has distinct and passive gender roles for the girls. When the

Naval doll, who is pictured as a boy, tries to save the children on the boat, a clash between the pirates and the male characters occurs. The cue for the director by the playwright, is about the girl characters who are to hug each other in panic and fear at a far corner, passively. The male characters are the heroes of the nation. And the girls are the ones who are waiting to be saved.

In local children's plays under historical theme, the playwrights convey obscure messages in the context of religion, narrative and national identity. It is clear that future generations of Turkish nation are Muslim. However I cannot run into any "difference" or any practices related to religions. I assume that it is a playscript which was written to define the 1920s; so religion as a social phenomenon accepted as something in the recent past. It seems peace is made gradually. I caught contradictions between being a part of universal civilization by feeling a part/citizenship of earth as a single homeland for everybody, but at the same time feeling responsible to be the representatives of Turkey in the international arena with their cultural roots. This is reinforced by symbolic values that are significant for national identity building such as Turkish flag.

### **2.3. Children's Historical Translated Playscripts**

By examining children's historical translated playscripts, reveals the patterns of mutually constructed identities in Turkish national identity building in the 1950s in opposition to the European and Christian identity.

Children's plays under the historical theme are important to visualize a certain image of history for the young citizens, yet the young citizens supposedly have that certain image of history inherits the similar image to the future generations. History provides solidarity between the members of the nation based on a historical sameness. Not only it points out the historical units of being the same, but also gives clues about the "other's" historical features. The translations of children's plays are significant demonstratives of the European history perceived by the State Theater. Local playwrights' works tend to focus on "the sameness" and "the difference" through the lens of the local authors; where the translations will figure out the accepted opinions of the authors that indicate the historical perception of the foreign works. The repertory of the State Theater was largely borrowed from European literature, it is more likely that the State Theater paid more attention to European art and history.

Under the historical theme the playscripts *Little Columbus* and *Little Mozart*, both written by Jacop Lorey, are picked as representatives. *Little Columbus* draws a historical outline for 16th century Europe and the age of exploration. Therefore the State Theater intends to start the European history from the age of exploration in the children's plays. On the other hand, *Little Mozart* is a playscript that takes place in the late 18th century, in which the story subjects the gifted little composer, Amadeus Wolfgang Mozart. *Little Mozart* is a piece that makes the audience imagine 18th century Europe, changing stratum as well as the given importance to the arts. Both playscripts pick a character from the history and idealize them.

*Little Columbus*, written by Jacop Lorey, was staged by the State Theater in 1957-1958 season, by Sevim Akman's translation. *Little Columbus* is the character to act Christopher Columbus' childhood. Columbus has known for his naval voyages. He reached out the America continent while aiming at reaching the Indian coast in order to find a new route for Asian trade. This fictional childhood begins in 16th century with his birth and convey messages about the importance of the scientific passions to chase. Those passions are the flames of renaissance of Europe. Therefore this historical Children's playscript that is a translation, have a slight representation for renaissance of Europe subtheme.

The space of the *Little Columbus* is Geneva in 1460, a house's living room. The main character, Columbus is a kid that wants to discover the rest of the World rather than being a weaver just like his dad used to be. He is interested in astronomy, maths and books. His father wants him to be a weaver like their previous generations, but his mother believes in him and supports him for being a captain. Domenico tries to send him to Padua to have him trained under the patronage of a weaving master. But Kristof Columbus' friends, who take him away from this future projection, are also interested in sailing. They dream of sailing with a big ship some day, and the name of the ship is "Santa Maria". They decide to give a ceremony of name giving to the ship altogether. This ceremony gets distracted by the attack of the son of the mayor, Amadeo. The kids criticise his jealousy and talk about his laziness. Therefore the story clears itself out of the bad character. The second act starts in the classroom of the school, with a fight about Columbus' new discoveries between several kids. Since he discovers new places, the rest of the class have to study more. Professor Kolonna, who runs the school and represents the religion at school, comes into the class to control the ongoing education. Kolonna figures out that Columbus believes

that the World is round and their teacher Barbucci agrees with him. They put Barbucci into jail to come against the religious authority. Kristof and his friends decide to help Barbucci to escape. By coincidence, while these kids were getting prepared to save Barbucci, Isabella, the princess falls down on the sea. Since Columbus is a good swimmer, he jumps in and saves her life, leaves the place immediately for meeting up with his friends to save Barbucci. When Amodei, the beast character of the play, hears about the award for saving the princess' life, he claims that he was the one who saved her life. Columbus and his friends get caught and arrested for trying to help Barbucci. When Columbus begins his confession he tells the truth. Based on his confessions and his promising intelligence, the king decides to send him to the Lisbon Naval School, and Isabella asks him to work for her service after her crowning.

Little Mozart is a more simple story, translated by Saip San. The play was performed in again 1957-1958 season. The space of the playscript is the apartment of Mozart family with maids. The curtains show 19th century Salzburg city, therefore the audience gets that the play takes place in Salzburg. The Mozart family talks about their trip in Europe and particularly about Wolfgang's and his father's concert tour in Paris. In the second act, the audience runs into a Turkish character, Osman. Osman is the "good" character of the story. He runs a Turkish coffee shop in the city square. Osman is a character who misses his country so much. He has a deep pain about his leaving son. He wants him back, but can not find him. He finds solace in Wolfgang's compositions. One day, Osman hears two men talking about sabotaging Mozart's concert and he wants to let the family know about this plan. However, since he is not a family or an important person for arts, he cannot make them listen to him. Mozart gets sick after a distracted concert. Although Mozart family has maids, they lack of Money. Osman lends his saved money to have a doctor for Wolfgang. Coincidentally, Wolfgang's father runs into Osman's son in the woods and lets him know that his father Osman is not angry with him at all. The play ends up with many happy reunions.

### **2.3.1. Religion**

This section demonstrates the place and representations of religion as a social formation within the cues and dialogues of translated children's playscripts. Thereby aims at

explaining how history is reconstructed in the eyes of young Turkish generations in the context of religion.

Translations have the hints of the translators' styles as well as the original authors' styles. Translators, who bring up a tradition of adaptation starting from Tanzimat Theater, prefer using Islamic daily sayings in the dialogues. Religion has become somewhat impossible to run away from for the translators in this sense. They apply their cultural and religious backgrounds to the translation children's plays. Therefore an automatic sameness with the characters is provided, especially when the main characters are children, just like the target audience. However, in both representative playscripts, it is possible to run into the usage of "*Tanrı*" and "*Allah*" as well as "*Yarabbi*" interchangeably without an ideological aim.

In *Little Columbus*, "*Aman Yarabbi*", "*Allah aşkına*", "*Allah seni korusun*" (Lorey 1987, 15-28) are used very often within dialogues of the family characters. On the other hand, if the author and the translator wants to make an emphasis on the Christian entity of the European history, preference of the secular word "*Tanrı*" for God rises. For instance Alessandro prefers using word "*Tanrı*" when he wants to convince his friends for God's sake over the ship that they are dreaming of: "The cross that's on the topsail is the sign of *Tanrı* to protect this ship." (Lorey 1987, 7).

Given "Jerusalem" as sacred, it is accepted as the center of the world. "*Mukaddes Kudüs Şehri*" (Lorey 1987, 13) is what the common point in religions. The characters go to school in Italy, where the Catholic Church is located. According to the Church, world is plain like a plate and *Little Columbus* rejects this statement and surprises Professor and his friends. He claims that the world is as round as a turnip. Professor goes mad and asks "Who told you this?" (Lorey 1987, 14):

Kristof – Noone. I see myself. When if a ship appears in the horizon, at first its poles, then the observatory tower, then its sails, captain bridge, deck appears...

Prof. – *Aman Allahım*. It is scientifically proven that our world is plain. A brat like you, can dare mooting another theory? Barbucci, what is this boy's name?

Barbucci- Kristof Columbus, my lord. The Weaver Domenico Columbus' son. He is a magnificent student of mine, indeed. Smart, decent...

Prof.- Teacher Barbucci. I see that impious ideas have spread out. It is your duty to punish these with severity.

In this cue of Professor, the audience witnesses the antagonism between science and religion. According to the Professor, the owners of these new ideas are to be perceived as infidels. They must be condemned for violating the God's rules and because they are nonbelievers. Professor defines himself as a beggar for religious innate science and scientific knowledge: "Me? A beggar of the innate... I mean, a poor subservient for the innate science... my absence would not transpire. Shall all the infidels be killed... Whenever I see this dark tower, it puts my mind at ease." (Lorey 1987, 29) The translator uses a Turkish idiom to define the feeling of putting his mind at ease: "*içime su serpiyor*". This saying literally means spilling water in my heart. The dark tower indeed represent the darkness of the Catholicism. Although seeing the heights of the darkness gives a relief to the professor, the image that his cue draws gives gloom to the audience as a matter of negativism. Professor defines this change of mind as a betrayal towards himself. He continues, "that damn guy now found plenty of time to think but he will be found hanging at the end of a rope soon... stupid... world is round... A betrayal to a wiseman like me..." (Lorey 1987, 29). This antagonism is won by science in accordance with Turkish positivism at its peak. So these cues demonstrate the inevitable victory of science against bigots. By this meansi these messages are contradictory with those conveyed in adults' playscripts. Rather it seems, adults are getting peace but the symbols of the 1930s remained the same, congruently with Esra Dicle Başbuğ's findings in her exploration in People's Houses Theaters (Başbuğ 2013).

The second children's playscript with the historical theme, *Little Mozart*, will be examined through the religion component. Just like *Little Columbus*, the translation of *Little Mozart* also uses several Islamic sayings without a specific aim or message. In this manner the audience get the sense that even if the characters are non-Muslim, they are alike and they are not so different from the target audience in terms of daily language. "*Allah razı olsun*" ("May Allah be pleased with you") (Lorey 1987, 4) , "*Allah'ın bizimle beraber olduğunu biliyordum.*" (I knew Allah was with us") (Lorey 1987, 4), "*Allah'tan sonra o gelir benim için,*" (He comes after Allah for me") (Lorey 1987, 14), "*Sözümü tutmazsam Allah belanı*

*versin.*” (May Allah damn me if I do not keep my promise”) (Lorey 1987, 45) “*Allahınıza dua edin.*” (Pray for your Allah) (Lorey 1987, 52). The common word is usually “Allah” even if the dialogue is more about Christianity. However, the translation also uses the word “Tanrı” interchangeably: “*Tanrı aramızda*” (*Tanrı* is among us or with us), “*Tanrının büyüklüğü*” (The almightiness of *Tanrı*) (Lorey 1987, 47). The dialogue involving the Christian priest indicates to the audience that the main characters are Christian, while the “otherness” of the main characters is set up on Muslim identity.

The prime example of this is the Turkish-Muslim character Osman, who lives in Europe but is not particularly proud of his identity and wants to prove that even though he is a Muslim, he is indeed a good person at heart. According to him, even though the main characters—including Wolfgang Mozart’s father—are good people they cannot help but be prejudice toward Turkish-Muslim identity in Europe. He proclaims, “Father Mozart must forgive me. Osman is not a Christian, he is a Muslim; but a good person.” Furthermore, while at the home of a sick Wolfgang he says he will pray for the latter’s health because he is universally important: “Osman has been waiting for him for weeks but the keyboard is silent. Neither work nor *alaturka*. This kid must get better, I beg Allah and the prophets” (Lorey 1987, 34). Instead of welcoming his well-wishing, however, Wolfgang’s father orders him to leave since it is a Christian home (Lorey 1987, 34). After hearing about the presumptuous approach of the father about Turkish-Muslim identity, the audience or the readers start expecting to hear an affirmation about their own identity from another main character. In accordance with this general expectation of “Western perception” regarding Turkish-Muslim people, this affirmation comes out of Anna’s, Wolfgang’s mother’s mouth. She grumbles to her husband: “(comes in with a tea cup) Leopold don’t be inconsiderate that much. Our most precious neighbours, the Christians, have not asked about how we were, not even once. A Turk has come, first of all. Have a seat Osman.” (Lorey 1987, 35). Osman is the mirror of Turkish identity in translated children’s plays. He represents the good Muslim, even though he is ignorant he values Mozart’s talent, not because of his talent but because of human dignity he has.

### **2.3.2. State**

“State” representations in Children’s translation playscripts are not sharp. The state is an entity and the virtue is only seen through “law”. Other than that, a few data with state

representations in children's plays can be considered as silent indicative. It is possible to deduce that state is not shown in a certain way for the target audience, other than the law by force (Lorey 1987, 45).

### **2.3.3. Narrative and National Identity**

This section that focuses on narrative and national identity aims at decoding how the self is constructed in opposition to the other narrative and national identities mutually through the lens of foreign authors. Thereby, this study explains how Turkish national identity in the 1950s is constructed in the context of history through the lens of foreign works for the upcoming generations of Turkish nation.

National and narrative identities that are given in the playscripts tend to create an image of certain frameworks of certain identities. Although the historical children's plays have their spaces in medieval ages, before the emergence of modern national identities they use a language to make the audience feel that the nation states and national cultures are given and very old entities. Because the texts use "nation, national" words in historical scenes.

In *Little Columbus* the children are introduced to the "other's" culture right after the curtains open in 16th century Italian style living room with a floor looking like a chess mate (Lorey n.d., 4). Again the hidden cues that are given on the playscript in order to help the director includes an imaginary Europe, particularly via a woman's body: "They (the characters) pull a girl wearing Italian national dress and clamour noisely." (Lorey n.d., 20) The little characters of the playscript, from the mouth of Alessandro, the audience hear something about their –the target audience's "sameness". When Tullio and Alessandro tries to blow up the wall of the cell of Barbucci in the jail, he says he is capable of blowing up anything he wants, since he got the gun powder from a Turk Pasha: "(He takes out a pouch and a wick from his pocket) GUNPOWDER!!! I got it from a Turk Pasha years ago. I can blow up whatever I want. I know this through my own leg. Boom (*Güm*)... the leg blew up." (Lorey n.d., 26). The gunpowder is perceived by the characters as "Turkish gunpowder" automatically: "After a few minutes we will hear a strong boom. Let's set the Turkish gunpowder between the thumb lock." (Lorey n.d., 27) Meltem Ahıska's *occidentalism* (Ahıska 2003) can have a place to discuss here. Turkey is not considered as a postcolonial case, shows similar reactions to the "West" and "Westernization" based modernization movements, as the Orient. Turkey reinforces the dignity of its own identity



through occidentalism, by conveying that “Turks were progressed enough back then, but not anymore.”

Another “other” of the playscript *Little Columbus* is “the African savages”. Alessandro, Tullio and Alessandro talk about Alessandro’s ruptured leg, and make jokes about it: “Now, a ~~cannon ball~~ gunpowder, *Allah* knows, one day you will tell that African savages cut your leg off.” (Lorey n.d., 27) Even though there is only one sentence related to the Africans in terms of the “other identity” of the playscript, it is an implication that Jacop Lorey was affected by the 1930s conflict of Italian invasion in Africa. Thereby not only the space and scenes make the play historical but some historical connections do.

At the end of the play, the King forgives Columbus and his friends since the information that he wanted to share was not a new one but a result of the scientific knowledge that have already been used by the strong naval nations: “Dear ladies and gentlemen! Just like the other naval nations of Europe, such as, Germany, Belgium, Holland; Spain has also embraced the theory of world is round. This youth has not told me something new, not at all!” (Lorey, n.d., 36). Therefore, even in Europe as a continent, there are big countries who accepted the scientific positivism and later on, some other who are backward had to accept it too in time.

There is also a hint for having multiple identities in the play that’s performed by the State Theater. The cues given for the director shows that the directors used classical ballet performances during the plays (Lorey n.d., 34). These are put onto the stage to introduce the samples of general classical Western arts, and collaborates with the State Theater’s translation perspective with the projection of West.

The playscript is more focused on the positive features of the “West”. These positive features include scientific knowledge and support for exploration. The State Theater perceives the West as a geographical “other” to be caught up with in a progressive manner. This way, the translation gives the message of advanced West and backward east (Ahiska 2003; Said 1985). Thus, Turkish nation needs adventurous, curious, questioning and passionate youth to catch up with the Western progression.

The second play *Little Mozart*’s space has set up in 18. Century, in which it is possible to observe the emergence of the national cultures, and the competition between them. The

recent emergence of the nations and their essential cultural works causes a rivalry among them. The character Wolfgang Mozart clarifies this rivalry and distinction over the cultural essences of the nations with a cue: “I am an artist... Italians have Italian Music. The French have French, Turks have Turkish. I will compose my own music.” (Lorey 1987, 12). As the historical period witnesses the rise of the nations, characters start to classify each other according to their nations such as: “Alas! The French saw us.” (Lorey 1987, 18), “British flutist Mister *Conson* (Johnson) was also like that exactly a few ago.” (Lorey 1987, 26), “The French ambassador is downstairs” (Lorey 1987, 31), “Real Turkish coffee.” (Lorey 1987, 22). The essence of each nation is valued and perceived as given. Those cultural differences are the cores of nations as imagined by the State Theater; and this point of view shows that *narodnik* nationalism, with Blue Anatolianism (Karacasu 2009), is still popular in children’s plays.

The plot also helps the audience to set their own identity on the contrary of the European identity of main characters. Therefore, the children, who are the target audience, see their place in the new system of nations. “The other” identity of the plot: Muslim-Turkish Osman, yearningly talks about his homeland. Interestingly enough he has never seen Turkey in his life as he lived in Salzburg, but heard a lot about his homeland from his dad. His dad’s Ottoman past and identity are all he can hold on to: “(While rubbing his hands) *Offf* it’s so chilly. I am freezing head to toe (“*Tepeden turnağa çivi kesiyorum*”, literally translation of this phrase is “cutting as a nail from head to toe”) Ah, dear Türkiye my hometown. My dear İstanbul. My poor dad did not know the death of winter was like the one here.” (Lorey 1987) No matter how far he is from his homeland Turkey, and no matter how progressed that country that he is currently living in, he will miss Turkey so much. The tacit message of longing for the homeland is inevitable when far. So young generations must know that they would watch for an opportunity to come back to the homeland. The most beautiful and embracing climate is in Turkey for Turks, as imagined.

He would tell about the days that he used to walk under the sycamore trees. He fought in the army of *Kanuni*<sup>36</sup> *Sultan Süleyman* against Vienna. He was the cook of the Pasha. He was captured and then set free. He opened this coffee shop. As he said, his only fund was five sacks of coffee. *Allah* knows where he could get that. Dad is dead, having no mom,

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<sup>36</sup> *Kanuni* is a nickname for Magnificent Soleiman, having meaning of legal and lawmaker.

having no wife, *ah* this Salzburg is so cold, so much.” (Lorey 1987, 19). Osman not only likes Mozart because he is gifted but also likes him for reminding him of his homeland by playing music. Because Mozart uses some hints to define “Turks” and Turkish cultural essence<sup>37</sup>: “He is a little boy; but he works just like a big artist. They are (pieces) so beautiful that a breeze brings them from their homeland, Turkey. When he starts playing, the Jannissary drums, clarions, bells tinkle in my ears.” (Lorey 1987, 20)

As a result for Children’s playscripts that holds a significant part of constructing Turkish national identity while remaking the Turkish history this study demonstrates that future generations are expected to be adventurous with a scientific perspective. However, they should also care about their essence and traditions. Yet, the playscripts put an antagonism between religion and science. Although religion is seen as the glue for sameness, science will be the principle to catch up with the civilization.

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<sup>37</sup> It is possible to remember Mozart’s Turkish March piece, which is inspired from Ottoman Mehter Band. This march is also played by Turkish Republic Presidential Symphony Orchestra in certain parades.

## CHAPTER 3

### REPRESENTATION OF FAMILY: FAMILY STUCK BETWEEN THE MODERNISTS AND TRADITIONALISTS

Second step of the nation building process is to define who the nation is. In this chapter, I will interpret the data that I derive from the State Theater playscripts that mainly focus on the families. These playscripts put the family, its life style and social transformation into the core of the playscripts. Clearly identified familial theme, most often find itself discussing the place of the family for the modern society, transformation in identities with industrialization and modernization, the inquiry of being both a member of nation and the family at the same time.

There is a satisfying literature in gender studies which take Turkey as a case and family as the object of their curiosity as a part of private sphere. One of these studies are made by Deniz Kandiyoti. Kandiyoti looks at the production within household, the institutional and ideological bonds of the patriarchal symbolization within the household in Turkish novel as well as the inadequacy of the identity concept in terms of explaining the gender with regards to the modernization and nation building projects, by taking Turkey as the case (Kandiyoti 2013). Kandiyoti discusses the place of the household in Turkey during the capitalist transformation. She draws attention to the “classical” patriarchal features of Anatolian villagers’ households (Kandiyoti 2013, 57). Though, by pursuing this transformation through industrialization, she suggests that the patriarchal chains are getting weaker by the loss of the previous generations’ control over the younger generation. However, this does not mean that a new form of patriarchy does not arise in the household. She continues her discussion with the structural bonds of patriarchy with ideology and the state by comparative methods. She is more concerned about the difference between the “survived” and the “emancipated”. She discusses the role of the state and the legal system as well as secularism within the Turkish case. Kandiyoti points out the relationship between the rights and the emancipation, while addressing the limit that has drawn by the

state's ideology and institutions before the women activism. Thereby the state and the society could maintain their control over women's sexuality, independent from the role of Islam in the social life (Kandiyoti, 2013). She sees these interventions, which are family oriented, as the expansion of the state.

Suad Joseph argues that any imagined public and private boundary leads to a power relation which encompass gender, ethnic and religious contestations (Joseph 1997). Nation state is an imaginative initiation to create an homogenous actor which melts individuals in a single nation pot. State divides the sphere into two as private and public spheres to constitute a division of labour which is full of rights and responsibilities. Thereby nation state works to construct a statehood filled with the loyalty of its citizens (Joseph 1997). The division between private and public sphere, the border amidst, the responsibilities and the imagined nature of the citizen, apprehensions of gender and family changes in time and geography. But one way or another these imaginations help to build "patriarchal connectivity" (Joseph 1997) in different levels provided by the nation state. Patriarchal connectivities or patriarchal categories are reproduced in familial involvements (Kandiyoti 2013).

Carol Pateman (Pateman 1989) argues that, social contract theories naturalize "family" as the basic unit of the society and draws the border between the private and the public<sup>38</sup>. "Most often the boundaries [*that are*] visualize[d] are imagined by ruling elites trying to construct political communities." (Joseph 1997, 77–78) The members of nation face a distinction between modern civil society that is constituted through the original separation and opposition between the modern and either public civil World or private as well as conjugal family sphere, as Pateman argues. Generation by generation, these boundaries are inherited by texts, narratives, behaviour. Political communities that are imagined and embodied in this legacy may naturalize the behavioural patterns and the phenomenon of "family" in nation state. This argument is to demonstrate the link between patriarchal structures of the establishment of the state and family.

By and large, the patriarchal connectivities are traced in civil codes or constitutions. Yet, nation state emerges as the main actor to determine the familial relations and the

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<sup>38</sup> This division ends up with the subordination of women by locking women into the private sphere (Pateman 1989)

boundaries of familial citizenship (Sirman 2005). State regulates the rules of marriage, sometimes the number of the kids in a family, even the roles of each member of the family implicitly or explicitly<sup>39</sup>,<sup>40</sup>. And the success of a state is closely related to the level of consolidation of these regulations in the society as well as the institutionalization of national identities and subordination or elimination of others (Joseph 1997).

The place of religion has been a serious concern for secular nation states, yet their nation building projects often competed with the importance of religion for people's social lives. Visibility of religion is discussed and the place of religion for the nation in modernizing projects are explored by many scholars (Çınar 2005, 2008; Najmabadi 1991). Once secularism was imposed to the public sphere then religion's place remained in the private sphere. This assumption is related to the imagined construction of nations. In Turkish case,

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<sup>39</sup> In Turkish case, these regulations show up in four articles of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (1982 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, n.d.) that was accepted in 1982. First article that the state calls attention to the importance of the family is 12th, under the title of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms: ARTICLE 12- Everyone possesses inherent fundamental rights and freedoms, which are inviolable and inalienable.

The fundamental rights and freedoms also comprise the duties and responsibilities of the individual to the society, his/her family, and other individuals.”(1982 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey n.d., 5). Having a family is defined as a right, but a citizen must consider that he/she has certain responsibilities to his/her family as well as other individuals. So it is the public face of the family. On the other hand, Article 20 locates the family under the title of Privacy and Private Life: “Everyone has the right to demand respect for his/her private and family life. Privacy of private or family life shall not be violated. (Sentence repealed on May 3, 2001; Act No. 4709) (1982 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey n.d., 9). This indicates that Turkish Republic and nation state, defines family's place as the private sphere, in congruence with Carol Pateman's argument. Also, the constitution sees the family as the basic unit of the society, and nationalize this society by calling it “Turkish”: “(Paragraph added on October 3, 2001; Act No. 4709) Family is the foundation of the Turkish society and based on the equality between the spouses. The State shall take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organization to protect peace and welfare of the family, especially mother and children, and to ensure the instruction of family planning and its practice.” Interestingly though, this article regulates social and economic rights and responsibilities. Therefore, family is not only the social basic unit of Turkish nation but also it is an economic unit with labor patterns. Furthermore, the kids, who are the future generations of the nation are under the state protection: “(Paragraph added on September 12, 2010; Act No. 5982) The State shall take measures for the protection of the children against all kinds of abuse and violence.” (1982 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey n.d., 19). Finally, the constitution also pays attention to those who work abroad and looks out for the younger representatives of Turkish nation outside the borders with the article 62: “The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure family unity, the education of the children, the cultural needs, and the social security of Turkish citizens working abroad, and to safeguard their ties with the home country and to help them on their return home.” (1982 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey n.d., 28).

<sup>40</sup> If one traces back to the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey that was accepted by the Grand National Assembly in 1924, could see that the only provision with regards to “family” is the ban of the privileges between families. This can only be explained by the deploy of the ancien regime and the Ottoman dynasty. The civil rights were regulated in detail with the Swiss Civic Code that was inured in 1926. Public and private sphere division was rather clean because of the social patterns, without any needs for regulation except *Mecelle* which is the first civic code based upon Islamic rule during the first modernization movements in Ottoman Empire.(C. O. Karahasanoglu n.d.). Yet the new civic code, that was translated from Swiss Code brought the obligation of having an official/civil marriage, monogamy, right for work for women in any occupation, and equality before the law.

While giving an historical background in her study about the rise of Islam in current politics, Yeşim Arat points out to the power of political legitimization of the patriarchal rule of Ottoman dynasty (Arat 2004). Turkish identity could never let Islamic symbols let go away from the nation state despite the strict secularist applications. Rather, even the secular “founding fathers” of the Republic, tried to set control over religion, its content and its declamation over the nation-state’s shrunk borders because of Islam’s universalistic claims. However, the allegiance to the state has changed and replaced Islam with “nation” (Arat 2004).

Above, I explained how family helps reproducing and making the national identity discourse with patriarchal categories a legacy. Families inherit their identities to the future generations by the help of oral or written narratives. In these narratives the family works as a center of manufacturing the discursive construction of “us” and “them”. Furthermore, as the national responsibilities are looked out for by the constitution that leads to statehood, “the self” becomes reproduced in the national identity level as well. Family shows up as the basic unit to transform subnational social transformations into national loyalty. Therefore, the private sphere prepares the member of the nation to the public sphere, where the nation states invests in to commemorate the national symbols (S. Roy 2006).

This study will test whether this imagination is reproduced in the 1950s within family boundaries. The playscripts under family theme also reflect the personal imaginary world of both the playwrights and translators. Thereby, it contributes to the knowledge on the place of religion in Turkish nation building Project in the 1950s.

In the light of these discussions this chapter will seek for the imaginations of the family in relationship with the nation-state, to unravel the patriarchal connectivities with religion to attest the place of Islam for Turkish family image. Then, the representations and perceptions of state within family construction will be searched by taking the gendered family division of labour in reproducing the national identity building discourse. When the playscripts scanned, the body of the nation becomes traceable through the family theme. The family theme shows up in the playscripts that usually have common spaces as a family house, with its members in it.

### 3.1. Family Playscripts of the Local Playwrights

This section looks up at the representations, the borders of the private-public sphere drawn by the national identity building process in the 1950s. The way the local playwrights imagine Turkish family, and give how body, who the Turkish case is designed.

In this respect, this section examines, *Eski Şarkı* by Reşat Nuri Güntekin (nd), *Branda Bezi* by Nazım Kurşunlu (1952), *Akif Bey* by Namık Kemal (nd), *Finten* by Abdülhak Hamid (nd.), *Bu Gece Başka Gece* by Reşat Nuri Güntekin (nd), *Tablodaki Adam* by Cevat Fehmi Başkut (1972), *Harputta Bir Amerikalı* (An American in Harput) by Cevat Fehmi Başkut, *Çemberler* (The Circles) by Çetin Altan (1964) are taken into consideration in this section. These authors were popular for their contributions to the repertoire of State Theater.

The common features of these playscripts are their spaces mainly. The spaces of the playscripts are the houses of households in which the families live in all together, except Reşat Nuri Güntekin's *Eski Şarkı* whose space is an abandoned hotel. These families usually reflect the middle class or upper middle class family life, who are in a livelihood struggle one way or another.

*Eski Şarkı* by Reşat Nuri Güntekin (nd), tells a story about an immigrant family which starts to run an abandoned port hotel when they first moved to the island from Crete Island. The story takes place on an island on the South coast of Anatolia. The family brings their religio cultural world and nationalistic feelings against the invaders there. The characters are Babaefendi, who is an immigrant from Crete Island; *Deli* (Mad) Zehra, Babaefendi's daughter in-law; Hacer, Babaefendi's youngest daughter; Müşerref and Ahmetçik, grandchildren of Babaefendi; Kaptan (The Captain), who is from Blacksea Region; Gendermerie, who is old and in worn out outfits; Kaymakam (the District Governor), in huntsman outfits, in his mid 40s, having a smart, nice, energetic face. The story tells about the love between two different cultures; the Western culture and Anatolian culture. The relationships of the characters reflect the tension and their indispensibility to each other. The study takes 1971 edition of the playscript with a preamble by both the playwright Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister<sup>41</sup>. The copies

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<sup>41</sup> Süleyman Demirel, speaking on the publication of the series "1000 Basic Pieces" by National Educational Ministry, mentions, "The old Turkish authors' works will be launched after being simplified for the new generations to comprehend, the Western culture's pieces will be translated and published... Beyond taking



in the State Theater archives typings are lost and a previous publication is not available neither in National Library nor in booksellers. The State Theater uses 1971 version, and claims that this edition is loyal to the previous typings in the archives, as it is mentioned in the preface. Thereby this study relies on that statement.

*Branda Bezi* by Nazım Kurşunlu (1952), tells a middle class family story, trying to hold onto life with their future expectations. Middle class life is reflected through the relationship between tenant-owner. Life of a Turkish family in a city confronts with the degenerated modern life that is full of fraud. Abdullah Efendi, the owner of the apartment represents this degenerated life, as the bad character of the play. Osman and his family attempt to buy their own apartment when Abdullah Efendi forces them out and offers his land to sell. Osman prefers buying an isolated land instead of Abdullah Efendi's place and set the base right away. During a storm he rushes to the base to protect the materials and asks for a piece of canvas from Abdullah Efendi. Abdullah Efendi lends a worn out piece, intentionally. However, Osman can't make it to the land in the storm and witnesses the streak of lightning that demolishes Abdullah Efendi's wall and his dead body under it while he was trying to get the canvas back from Osman. The canvas becomes his shroud, where the author gives what the bad character deserves in the play. The playscript was put onto the stage in 1952 by the State Theater and it is the critic of transforming culture of enrichment.

*Akif Bey* was written by Namık Kemal (nd) in 1874 and it was adapted by Reşat Nuri Güntekin for theater. As mentioned in the preface of the playscript, the State Theater acted the playscript with Reşat Nuri Güntekin's adaptation in 1955. The playscript is a clear example of Tanzimat Theater for its being romantic, while carrying fears of excessive modernization. The story develops around the main character Akif Bey, who is a former soldier, married to Dilruba. Dilruba is a morally weak woman who envies the Western lifestyle, would marry to another man while Akif Bey is away at the fronts. When Akif

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the case of national education into account as a schools case, we embrace the approach of a state for the education of a citizen in all aspects, just like all the Western countries do. This education ushers a great scope and meaning to leave it to the private publication companies' potential... The basic books that should be picked carefully in terms of the values that we want to have country's intellectual life, aims at developing Turkish youth's talents and constituting a library that our all citizens benefit." (Güntekin, nd). This statement involves many cues on indoctrination of a certain high culture embodied in Turkish youth identity, as well as using state's apparatuses while making this real. However, this preface was written in 1971 edition of the screenplay. Therefore, this study does not take this preface into account.

Bey comes back in town, he divorces Dilruba, fights with her current husband. The story ends up with the murder of Dilruba by her father. The immoral behaviour of the women characters in Namık Kemal's theaters, his definition of morality in the body of women and Western values are striking. The death of three main characters at the end of the playscript reinforces the dramatic style of the author.

*Finten* was written by Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (nd.) in London during his service as a diplomate between 1886- 1887. The publication of the text was not allowed in autocratic period under Abdülhamit II until it was first published as a whole in 1917. Abdülhak Hamid is an important author for his period because of his diplomatic and bureaucratic background in London. This playscript is distinguished by its Western style amongst the author's other pieces. In the play, the main character Finten is an eager and wealthy character who wants to be a part of high society in London. She tries to find a way to get marry to a noble and uses her lover, Davalaciro. The playscript was acted by the State Theater actors and actresses in 1956-1957 season. This playscript that was borrowed by the State Theater from early 20th century can be considered as a cutback. This playscript is also important for reflecting the lifestyles, identities and the perception of civilization of the people who come from colonial World. Sevim Kebeli (2007), claims that it is possible to find Abdülhak Hamid's opinions on the arrogance of the British nation in the preface of the text. Although the text from the State Theater archives does not include this preface, the playscript possibly be assessed as an interpretive piece on how an Ottoman bureaucrate perceives Britain and West in general (Kebeli, 2007).

*Bu Gece Başka Gece* is a comedy written by Reşat Nuri Güntekin (nd) and was staged in the season of 1956-1957 by the State Theater. The story tells the moods of a couple that are in a prearranged marriage for twenty years. Reşat Nuri's general approach for perception of modernization emphasizes his critical view on modernizations usually in the spaces of the playscripts. He despises the decoration of the family's house by saying "so-called modernized". "An old house's so called modernized and disharmonious buffet, chairs, two couches, and some other trumped up furnishings and an equipped downstairs sofa in Langa". Therefore, the play is picked as representative for its reflection of the East-West antagonism in Turkish national identity building.

*Tablodaki Adam* by Cevat Fehmi Başkut (1972) staged in 1958-1959 season. The main character, a rich man, wants to take shelter under nature and natural values, to revert to his honest and moral essence, tries to run away from the degeneration and the hypocrisy of the modern society. This rich man runs away from interdiction and comes his own place as a thief, changes places with the pasha portrait on the wall. He watches his family and the pasha when the pasha gets involved with his life. He convinces the pasha on the portrait for how his behavior is legitimate when he is in his place.

*Harput'ta Bir Amerikalı* basically criticises the admiration towards foreign cultures, countries and specifically draws attention to the admiration for America in 1950s. The playscript is written by Cevat Fehmi Başkut who has many playscripts in the repertory and be counted as popular for this reason. The main story develops on an immigrant in the United States who migrates from Harput (Elazığ) and becomes rich after moving to the States. The main character searches for his real brother in İstanbul in order to use him in his company's advertisement and the events unfold in this frame. The playscript was put onto the stage during 1955-1956 season.

*Çemberler* by Çetin Altan draws attention to the degenerated individual and family life remarking the shift of the location of the admiration to the West from Europe to America. The transformation of the lifestyles in Turkey is reflected by the disengagement of the family members. Every individual is trying to run away from the lives that they are in one way or other, but the invisible circles around them keeps them trapped. What they are trying to run away from the old school traditions, patriarchy in the family which is visible by the father's authority.

All these plays have certain intersection points other than their spaces. They are all about family and household relations, but in a broader sense they reflect a confusion of how to form a family with changing positions of women as well as changing values and lifestyles evident by modernization and Westernization. These playscripts will be examined in the context of religion, state and narrative and national identity.

### **3.1.1. Religion**

In this chapter, religion as one of the most significant complement of a self-identification will be searched through family theme related playscripts. As mentioned before, *Eski Şarkı*

by Reşat Nuri Güntekin (Güntekin 1971), *Branda Bezi* by Nazım Kurşunlu (Kurşunlu 1952), *Akif Bey* by Namık Kemal (Kemal 1967), *Finten* by Abdülhak Hamid (Hamid n.d.) , *Bu Gece Başka Gece* by Reşat Nuri Güntekin(Güntekin n.d.), *Tablodaki Adam* (Başkut 1972b), *Harpüt'ta Bir Amerikalı* (Başkut 1972a) by Cevat Fehmi Başkut, *Çemberler*(Altan 1964) by *Çetin Altan* will be interpreted through religion in order to reveal the relationship between the religion and identity in the context of national identity building process. Thereby this study mentions the place of the religion in the context of Turkish family whose image is stuck between being Eastern and Western, in Turkish nation building process in the 1950s.

Even though if secularism became valid both in public sphere and field of the nation state which tried to alter the role of the religion with nation in order to mobilize the masses in Turkish modernization (Çınar 2005); the religion has never lost its room in the peoples' lives (Mitchell 2006). Religion has remained as an important component of the collective and individual identities. The peoples and the individuals may define themselves by their race, religion, region or nation; however even if they are nonbelievers, their perception of religion or the place of the religious systems has a place in their lives. Their attitudes and the meanings that they attribute a religion determines the significance of the religion in defining oneself. And the stance towards religion or religious practices are first taught in families. After the division of public and private spheres by modernization; family remains in private. Even though religion has not lost its place in language it was tried to made invisible in public space. This study gives place to the religion related codings throughout four playscripts that are examined, and their interpretations.

When *Eski Şarkı* is first examined, the characters' usage of Islamic phrases in the dialogues strikes the audience such as "May *Allah* damn you" in Turkish original: "*Allah belanızı versin*" (God damn you all), "*Vallahi*" (means "for sure, I swear" in English) throughout the text. These cues indicate how Islamic values are intrinsic in daily lives of the characters. Aside of these daily usage, the perception of religion is also embodied in the district governor's personality who represents the state on the island. He is assigned on the island to make citizens' responsibilities fulfilled, such as collecting the taxes from the old dwellers of the island. He emphasizes the poverty of the island while he also talks about the beauties of Anatolia. While the character Yusuf and the district governor chats about how the people of the island could raise the future generations we see the author

pitying on the poverty of the country. The district governor uses the religious phrase “*Amin*” to mock the belief of Yusuf who believes that sound faith can solve any problem and helps overcoming obstacles (Güntekin n.d., 19):

The district Governor: - Good. But how will we raise them? [*future generations*]

Yusuf: - (*thoughtful*) Well, that’s the case... But, is that also not the case for the rest of the country?

The district Governor: - May be. But I have no tools other than my two hands. (*laughing*) Even that is not so, because one of them is crippled.

Yusuf: - May it be enough, if someone has got a sound faith...

The district Governor: - (*mockingly*) Amen.

Basically, the representative of the state doesn’t think that religion solve it all. But still he feels like he has to accept its place. Because he gave his hand and youth for the common good for his country.

The district governor seems a bit broken hearted for not being remembered by the dwellers of the island despite his efforts for the island’s infrastructural developments and his fight for the country in Balkan War, then in Iraq, Battle of Dardanelles and Syrian fronts as well as the Independence War. After his assignment in the east of Anatolia, for the sake of the country. However the playwright asks for an appreciation from the audience for this character’s virtuous personality, by giving Yusuf a cue (Güntekin n.d., 129);

Yusuf: - (*by stroking his- The district governor’s- crippled hand*) What has this hand not done? (*demonstrating the maps, papers*) Even these village plans, these maps for the mines and the roads are enough.

Although place of religion seems irreconcilable, *Eski Şarkı* must be valued because it is the one and only play in which the characters talk about the place of the religion in their lives. They chat about their memories related to their prayers, deeds, sins and rituals:

Light Keeper: - ... the friends pushed me to drink some *raki*<sup>42</sup>. Then we got back to the boat, the horn for the pray hits, *those son of a bitch* went for praying drunk. The sergeant asked me why I was not going to the pray. I told him that I wouldn’t come

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<sup>42</sup> Raki: Turkish alcoholic beverage.

into Allah's presence with this sin; he took me to the duty officer; they got me bastinado like school kids and then one week prison. (*Noisy laughter*)

The language of *Branda Bezi* written by Nazım Kurşunlu intrinsically and culturally, refers to the Islamic phrases in daily routine. However, the author reflects the hypocrisy of the characters, especially through Abdullah who is religious but swindler at the same time. Namık Kemal uses religious daily phrases as well in *Akif Bey*, with a slight difference. He overlaps the wish of being martyr for the homeland with Islamic emphasis romantically with Ottomanism. The religion, the sameness through Islamic elements and romanticism are intermingled. Abdülhak Hamid (1852-1937), who spent most of his life in Europe as a diplomat of Ottoman Empire, wrote *Finten* in London. This play has many representations regarding religion with the use of daily religious phrases. The interesting point in this usage is, his characters are mainly have origins from European countries. He adapts the language of the characters to his linguistic world, though the play has many common points with Shakespeare's writings (Kebeli 2007).

Reşat Nuri Güntekin draws a space with a "so called modernized house" in *Bu Gece Başka Gece* (Güntekin n.d., 2). Aside of the usage of daily Islamic phrases, he prefers putting modernization against tradition, assuming the modernization has gotten wrong by the people. The same interpretation is also valid for *Tablodaki Adam* of Cevat Fehmi Başkut with an important difference. In this play, the script is very Western typed as well as its main theme. The characters are family members having Westernized life style, which the authors perceive it as modernization. On the other hand, they have clear phrases referencing Islam, as they pray, believe in *Allah*, and they culturally inherit religion in the family: "Did your mom not teach you anything? Fear of Allah and pangs of conscience? Did she not take care of you ever?" (Başkut 1972, 64). It is striking that women's responsibility in the family is to teach religion, inherit the traditional values. If she doesn't do it, she fails to do her primary responsibility in a family, in nation: to take care of children, who are the future of nation.

This is valid for *Çemberler* and *Harput'ta Bir Amerikalı* as well, yet the representation of the *hoca*<sup>43</sup> at the *mektep*<sup>44</sup> with turban in *Harput'ta Bir Amerikalı* is remarkable. The

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<sup>43</sup> *Hoca*. Means both imam and teacher.

<sup>44</sup> *Mektep*. School in old Turkish

teacher who represents another world before the Republic and is responsible for religious education of the children is pictured as a drubber: "My *hoca* in my first *mektep* was so thirsty to paddle me, there is something in me that seduces the drubbers." (Başkut n.d., 70). Normalizing and making this memory something to laugh on puts a distance between the periods. This generation is old enough to remember how they were paddled by religious teachers, imams. New stance towards religion is to leave it to the mothers in the family, in private sphere by withdrawing it from public sphere.

Religion perceptions of the local playwrights in constructing Turkish national identity basically includes accepting the existence of Islam as a social formation in the 1950s. Religion is a cultural glue that's inherited through family, taught in the private sphere. However religion and modernization of the Turkish family is reflected on a contrast since modernization would be something for the public sphere whereas religion, tradition must be in the private sphere. Therefore family is constructed as the basic unit of Turkish nation that's caught in the middle of being as religious, traditional and Western as modern and secular.

### **3.1.2. State**

Under this section, the relationship between the state and the citizen in the family unit of the nation will be examined as an important complement of an identity for being a determinant for the self settlement of the citizens before the state, in national identity building process. Through the deconstruction, the study connects the cues on the institutionalization of the national identity building process by analysing the conceptualization of "the state" in the playscripts of the local authors. Nation building projects tend to count on traditions as the legacy resources of nation and cultural renewal. These real or invented traditions are generally patriarchal and strictly involved with the relation between nationalism and masculinity (Nagel 1998) and become visible through the body of the nation: family. The reflection of the nation on family, perceives people within this relation.

The perception and the role of the state while defining the self, the sameness and the otherness is also an important component for the construction of an identity. The indoctrination of the identity through the tools of the state becomes visible through its relationship between people and state's institutions. Nations are attributed some of the

state's features such as legal rights and duties of the nation's members, as Montserrat Guibernau (2004) argues. Therefore the state and nation are not to be separated in the modern national identity construction. .

Old generation is ready to embrace new power relations in the same framework with what it believed in pre-republican period. Thereby, old grandfather becomes the most passionate member of the family to greet "the state power" like he greets the caliphate or sultan in *Eski Şarkı*. One can anticipate a sarcasm in Güntekin's play with regards to the power of the political leaders. The main character Babaefendi of *Eski Şarkı*, who once fought with Colonel Vaso as a guerilla in Crete before leaving, still sees the district governor as the messenger of the caliphate, and sees the state as an apparatus which smartens its citizens up by beating legitimately. Also the state is worshipped by religious elements: "If our elders don't beat up, how will this huge mother country will make progress?..The district governor means the prophet Omar of the island... He is the deputy of the Sultan." This also shows that the old generation lives in the young Republic has still a perception of continuity from Ottoman Empire (Güntekin, n.d., 16). The country is pictured as mother where the state is pictured with patriarchal codes. The feeling admiration continues towards the colonels: "...The Colonel Omar, whom Yusuf Bey worships as if he was *Allah*..." (Güntekin, n.d., 30). There is another dialogue that Güntekin wants to reflect the differentiated perception towards of the new state and the young republic and its new order: "...By coincidence, Atatürk visits Antalya. The crowd awaits to see him. Babaefendi holds a seat at the forefront with his oldster beard, starts to applause. However what would you like to hear from him? He yells, 'Long live my Sultan!'" (Güntekin n.d., 16). As we usually see in Güntekin's texts, he criticises one man power in this playscript. He also criticises the hypocrisy of the administrative elites by the help of the character The District Governor. He touches the relationship between modernization process and the headscarf issue as well as young age marriages by the bureaucrate's permission (Güntekin n.d., 59). Thereby as an exceptional playscript *Eski Şarkı* criticizes the unsuccessful transformation of the cultural attitude of Kemalism.

Yet the force of law is reinforced in general moods of the plays. For instance it is represented by the legitimate use of force. Also, the middle class family in *Branda Bezi* playscript, has a sound belief in state of law: "There is law, undoubtedly, law!" says



Osman (Kurşunlu 1952, 18), while he admits that he believes in justice soundly against the fraud.

Namık Kemal's *Akif Bey*, has several data in the context of patriarchy which sees the state above all, "May Allah keep our state away from harm" (Kemal n.d., 20). The sameness over the state is visible for the muslim society. There are personifications of the state, as if it is hierarchically above of every subject in the Empire. Powerful state is an object for the subject and their efforts. "That way, there will be no harm given to the empire..." (Kemal n.d., 6).

The perception of the state becomes visible particularly in *Harput'ta Bir Amerikalı*. The playscript has some intersections of national identity, state and religion codings on the unification of the state and the nation under the protection of *Allah*. But the main bulk is on the unification of the nation and the state and the individuals' sacrificable happiness for the common good of the nation and the state. The state is embodied in the body of a police commissioner, *Komiser*. Komiser knows the best for the citizens, he can even beat a thief suspect for the good of the state and the nation, like a patriarch like a father: "Did I beat him for my own pleasure? I beat him for the good of the nation and the state. I beat him to make the things go well for the nation and the state. But look how I am treated. Ingrateful we are, ingrateful..." (Başkut 1972, 24). Although the power of the state is praised, the space of the play which takes place in an administrative office of the municipality reflects the misery of the service. Everything looks like forgotten and poor. However, despite these conditions of the office, the appearance of the old *mayor* at the Office, is perceived as cute by the author and complements the look of the office and the need for service of the Anatolia. The state is portrayed as the unifying entity of the national identity, state and religion.

As a section result, the state and its representative institutions are perceived as the units of a patriarchal power. This power expects the citizens and families to sacrifice their interests and themselves for the common good of the nation or the state's interests. This is a very republican view of citizen role in this context. Although there is not an explicit phrase for "the other" identity of the state, it has insider traitors who breaks the peace of the society down for being thieves, for not being "good" citizens inadequately.

### 3.1.3. Narrative and National Identity

In this section of narrative and national identity under family theme reveals the sameness and differences that are attributed by the State Theater to the Turkish national identity in the 1950s. While doing this the borders of private- public sphere and the oscillation between the Eastern/tradition and Western/modern will also be observed.

Nation building projects aim at having a certain type of society and a citizen for the nation state. These projects may not only reflect the responsibilities of a society, which is called nation, but also tries to set the features of an identity that are first thought in families. The identity that was drawn by a national identity building project includes more than one, sometimes contradictory or conflictive identity features at a time, and reflect multiple identities. In Turkish national identity building case, deconstruction of the indoctrination reveals the oscillation of the national identity between being Eastern and Western. This oscillation causes a paradox as well as a tension between multiple identities in a single body. One can question the division of public/private spheres but it must also be evaluated what is reproduced in terms of identity within private sphere: so in family. These conceptualizations provide a brief understanding the character of the identity of the nation during the institutionalization and indoctrination of the national identity. Additionally, this effort unravels that multiple nation building projects and lack of a consistent national identity perception. Thus, analysing narrative and national identity discourses by defining “us” and “them” will help providing a map for deconstruction of the overall identity building.

The examination of the narrative and national identity discourse in the content defines both the individual and collective identities in terms of premodern or modern identities. “Us” and “them” of the content gains importance where the modern nation conceptualization also is related to the territory of the nation, the members of the nation and how old is the nation. This chapter probes the national and narrative identity cues within family theme, considering the roles of the characters in a family, their responsibilities and good and bad manners that are attributed to them.

Reşat Nuri Güntekin is an author who aims at reflecting the local lifestyle, including important national events. He is usually considered as one of the prominent the country literary movement together with Ahmet Kutsi Tecer. In *Eski Şarkı*, narrative identity could

be analysed through the different life styles and the different perceptions of the freedom between the village life and the city life. The villages are full of illiterate people, according to the text which are waiting for an illumination and service from the state. The villager character is sympathetic and he is thankful for the ability for reaching the health services through Yusuf: “May *Allah* bless you... Open your eyes and see, there is a godsend here, he writes a note to the head of the hospital, don’t feel afraid anymore...”, “There are lots of uneducated people in our hometown, they make her believe that she might have been killed at the hospital...” (Güntekin 1971, 217). The feeling of backwardness over the “essence” of villagers point out attention. Essence of Turkish nation lies in village life and is very good in heart, but needs to be illuminated and cared by the officials. The woman character Züleyha in the play sees the influential elders in the village as feudals’ grandchildren. And feels superior to Ayşe as having a modern and Westernized lifestyle: “...Ayşe, how Anatolia made you this Eastern (*like lecturing*)...” (Güntekin 1971,154). However, the audience faces Güntekin’s sarcasm again. He doesn’t glorify this woman image rather want to tell how Westernization is embodied in women’s presence wrongly.

In the text overall, Turkish language as perceived is the standard and common communicative apparatus for the members of the homeland, even though the characters may have different dialects: “Do you not understand Turkish!?”(Güntekin 1971, 13). “Do they not understand Turkish *bre*, I am gonna be crazy!” (Güntekin 1971, 22). These different dialects are seen as the treasure of Anatolia, however everyone indeed is expected to understand the dialect of İstanbul. “*bre*”, written by italics is an emphasis on the difference of the characters. Yet he must be non-muslim as it is acknowledged from his different dialect. Minority issue has been a big debate even after the population exchange; yet they have Turkish origins, Turkish speakers, and they are welcomed. To speak on sameness through *Eski Şarkı*, Güntekin feels sameness for a generation rather than a specific ethnicity. The characters share their memories on wars or migrations and find common features in those memories even though they were experienced in different continents. Wars and the migrations construct the history full of shared emotions and memories and becomes a selecte memory for a national feeling of sameness (Güntekin 1971, 20):

The District Governor: - ... When I made it to the Balkans [war] I was in the last year of high school, then Dardanelles, then Sarıkamış, then Iraq, Syria. And then, War of Independence... After all, provincial directory for four years in the East.

Yusuf : - Well, [as if] you tell about my history except Balkans and East experience.

The District Governor: - It is not yours or mine my sir, it is history of our generation, (*with having a sigh*), that's life, it's inevitable.

Nazım Kurşunlu's *Branda Bezi* play is also about an immigrant family, who set their common memories on war, and embraced a never seen homeland under the symbol of a flag. Previous generation who witnessed the immigration and the war, transfer their family's stories to the next generation. However, that day's generation has a different problem with a link with the previous generation: making a livelihood in a city as a middle class family which has no inheritance but their memories, struggles and hopes.

Namık Kemal's *Akif Bey* is a clean example of Tanzimat Theater. The playscript has romantic features, including romanticism over nationalistic feelings. Akif Bey is a navy officer whose aim of life is to be a martyr for his homeland. Even if this is not a classical family theme playscript, it is to be evaluated under family theme, since the story is all about moral values of a family and the space is family houses. Sameness of the characters rely on blood, hometown, flag and national values including Islam. The character's homeland is the land which Ottoman Empire draws the borders, the glorious flag is the Empire's flag where the religion is undoubtedly Islam. There are two silent others: one of them is the barkeeper, that we understand that he is Christian by his crossing himself, but there is no sign for the characters perceive him as "the other" with a certain emphasis on differences. The second other is again Western world called "*firengistan*"<sup>45</sup>. Congruent with the features of Tanzimat Theater, gender is another identity in the space as the other. Gender based antagonisms is also reflected by being Yezidi or being from "*firengistan*": "The Yezidi dame, what has she done to this brave!..Evil with an angel face, it is even hard to find one like this not only in West but also in hell!" (Kemal 1967, 7). There is also a side note for the director of the play from Reşat Nuri Güntekin, who re-adaptated the play:

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<sup>45</sup> *Firengistan*. Frank and istan. The country of Franks, French, the European.

“I was hesitant for changing the original *a la turca* music. However, instead I prefer... Black Sea region’s local music with *kemençe* or better than that (in order to reinforce the effect of disaster or terror) or Asiatic composition written by modern rules for caucasian instruments... This will be more influential since the council is Georgian.” (Kemal 1967, 46). This hint gives clues on Eastern identity that was built as opposed to the modern and the Western identity. But still by promoting modern musical rules, Güntekin tries to combine eastern identity with West’s goods such as artistic values, where he perceives modernity overall as a Western Project to be understood well and applied carefully without abandoning “our own essence.”

The conqueror of the lands of the empire are the ancestors in *Akif Bey*. The characters set the link between the generations through fathers and grandfathers: "...(*While pointing the far away*) If our dads who conquered these lands, would have seen you, 'He is not one of us' they'd say..." (Kemal 1967, 6) "...Without wishing to boast, but I am really coming from those fathers' blood." The characters measure the favorableness of a subject by his contribution to the homeland or society (Kemal 1967, 43). They also respect Akif Bey, the main character who is a member of army, for being so virtuous when it comes to the homeland and state (Kemal 1967, 54). Blood, national pride, virtue are inherited in a paternal chain. Homelan, family, nation are the manly concepts.

*Finten* of Abdülhak Hamid is an atypical playscript in many ways. It is not only important because it was written by a bureacrate of Ottoman Empire based upon his observations of the European life style but also because he writes the playscript down as if he is a part of that life style. The colonialism is a given condition and the otherhood of the Europe is reflected as the members of the colonial World (Kebeli 2007): "...The wildest hindu sint monsters!" (Kemal 1967, 36), "...a Canadian thug sits in front of us..." (Kemal 1967, 50).

Although Reşat Nuri Güntekin is critical about wrong comprehension of modernization, he also criticises the traditions in *Bu Gece Başka Gece*; such as prearranged marriages. The playscript has dialogues about the Republic, state and the reforms with a perspective that tries to combine traditional values and the reforms. The main character Haydar wins an important international scientific award; however he is not happy in his prearranged marriage. Although he is a character, who was raised in a modern educational system, he cannot abandon his traditional values including rude behaviour. He basicly demonstrates

the wrong comprehension and implementations of an ideal of East-West synthesis that Ziya Gökalp suggests. The author is supportive of the reforms more or less, but he basically tries to demonstrate the reflections and perceptions of the nation building process starting from the script and language policies among people (Güntekin n.d., 49):

HAYDAR: Good. Do you have enough time? I have a book to have it typed, urgently.

TYPIST : (*with the same suspect all the time.*) I will do my best, sir.

HAYDAR: But it is in old Turkish.

TYPIST : I've heard, sir.

HAYDAR: So you know old Turkish?

TYPIST : Quite a lot, sir.

HAYDAR: The young ones don't know the old script.

TYPIST : (*with a tenous smile on her face*) I am not one of those young, sir.

*Çemberler* by Çetin Altan draws attention to the degenerated individual and family life remarking the shift of the location of the admiration to the West from Europe to America. The transformation of the lifestyles in Turkey is reflected by the disengagement of the family members. Every individual is trying to run away from the lives that they are in one way or other, but the invisible circles around them keeps them trapped. In *Çemberler* playscript, the perception of West shifts to America from Europe as well as the admiration. The characters are tend to feel admiration to the American companies and see the way of growing into a man requires learning English: "No way for you to grow into a man! Would you not have gotten a job by the Americans? Learn English?!" (Altan n.d., 6). However, Europe doesn't loose its admirable place. Nejat, one of the characters says, "This time, they will present me as the chair of the society... They say they need someone who got European culture, who saw Europe, executed this work; there is no stronger candidate than me." (Altan n.d., 13) and he uses French words such as "*bonjur*" (bonjour).

Narrative and national identities rely on the direct definitions of the sameness and the difference. Additionally, narrative discourse to define "us" and "them" may have patriotic values, historically before the embrace of the modern definition of a nation, and national homeland as well as the nation's members as citizens. The individuals and the peoples may

have patriotic emotions towards where they live or in which society they live. However these emotions can not be a direct signifier of national consciousness, but may help a reinvention of the traditions to serve national identity building. Multiple identities in a single national identity with contradictions under narrative and national identity reflects how the nation building process is perceived by the playwrights through characters and their dialogues.

The attitude towards Westernization through the family in Turkish nation emerges with an indecisive swing. Westernization becomes visible in the lifestyle of the family; in private space as it was not appreciated. The Westernization that gets into the decoration of the houses as well as lifestyles becomes visible according to the family theme playscripts. Modernization is perceived as Westernization where the West is Europe predominantly. The Westernization in the family bonds causes an anxiety of excessive and misunderstood Westernization. These plays usually use woman characters as well as the ones who are trying to run away from the patriarchal structure of the Turkish family to tell this case. Modernization is again perceived as a progressive process in which Turkish people are late to embrace. The feeling of backwardness is more attributed to the traditions that were invalidated and affect the Turkish family life as the base of the social structure. So the local authors are trying to validate a true modernization by not letting the essence of the nation fade away, while sorting out the outdated traditions. State and the law are above all. Although language remains as the core of all of reforms during national identity building process, the local authors such as Reşat Nuri Güntekin prefers evoking the disconnection between the generations which was caused by the alphabet reform. The sameness of the playscripts relies on Muslimhood especially in the private sphere. The religion is used as a reference for the true way of having a lifestyle. The narrative sameness of the plays is a specific generation rather than an ethnic composition. This generation is the one which started a modernization process and included the founder generation of the Republic. Therefore, the differences between the generations come along with a generation based narrative sameness. The timeline of the family theme playscripts gives us a clue about the changing grenade of the Westernization. Until the play *Çemberler* that's been put onto the stage in 1957-1958 season, the meaning of Westernization relies on the European, more specifically French bourgeois lifestyle, however, Çetin Altan draws an intermingled perception of Westernization which includes European life style as well as

Americanization. Both European and American lifestyles become the representatives of the degenerated life styles. This generation causes disengagements in families, ends up with weakening of the patriarchal relations in the basic unit of Turkish nation.

The most explicit instances for those signifiers can be seen in *Harpüt'ta Bir Amerikalı*. The play greets the audience with spatial symbols such as an Atatürk portrait hung on the wall at mayor's office. The office is worn out. Although the portrait of Atatürk symbolizes a sound future for the Republic as well as the bureaucratic and ideological indoctrination, the lack of facilities seems tearing the image down. The mayor's Office is a showcase of the capabilities of the state organisation, yet it is far from being a visage for a strong state, ironically. Cevat Fehmi Başkut draws national and cultural identity based on the characters in the play, for which the native language is an extremely important part of being Turkish. The language determines how one thinks and manages his or her world of thought. If one intends to use the *others'* languages to manage that cannot be counted as smart: "You leave the language the Allah gave and use the scripts and say the *others'* words as if they are yours. And ask of being counted as a smart person. Nothing doing so!" There is a call for turning back to the cultural essence of being Turkish reflecting an anxiety over losing the real Turkish identity by degenerating Turkish language (Başkut n.d., 56-65). When the character that searches for his brother arrives from America, he was asked to speak in Turkish, and he was found strange to have a name in English: "Why does he say that he is Turkish, but then he carries a *gavur* name?" (Başkut n.d., 65). The word "*gavur*" refers to an identity combination that was fictionalized on being non-Muslim and non-Turkish at the same time. And in Turkish daily language it is used for mocking the non-Muslim and non-Turkish, as it is done in the playscript. The author implies and mocks the admiration for the Americans, American lifestyle, American artistic and scientific level. When he defines the character of *Katip* Necmettin, whose nickname emphasizes that he is a clerk, he often implies that the character was not Americanized although he was graduated from an American private high school. He draws a framework for a well and correctly understood Westernization and progressive approach, where he puts the character Oktay on the contrary. The sameness of the play relies on being "Eastern" generally and focuses on what is lacking in the eastern culture and essence. The lack of artistic past or a sculpture école are the signs of the backwardness, causes a feeling of inequality. The incompetence and the inequality start at being both sociologically and economically Eastern, reinforces



the feeling of backwardness by the "Westernized" part of the society. They use French words while talking such as "*monşer*" (mon cher), adding "In truth (*vallahi*) *monşer*, we never grow into manhood. Our sociological essence is not compatible with that. We are Eastern, Eastern... We born this way, we will die this way." (Başkut n.d.) Using the gender biased discourse helps coinciding with the civilization, manhood and West at once. Although the feeling of backwardness is paramount, the beautiful moral values are to be attributed to this eastern identity on behalf of Turkish.

On the other hand being captivated in the inequality between Western and Eastern civilization eventuates in favor of Western civilization by a visible admiration. The beauty is defined through the body of two women. One is Celile Kızılççek and her daughter Ayşe Kızılççek. "Celile Kızılççek is a typical characteristic example for American admirer loose (*hafif*) woman that invades the high society in big cities. Despite her advanced age, she likes wearing outfits and make up like a young girl. Her daughter never resembles her mother. She is a neat, serious and a pretty girl." The playwright uses "*kızcağız*" instead of "*kız*" which means "girl" in English, to reflect an embrace and compassion. Thus, deducing the embrace for the plain, pure essence on the contrary of a rejection of a superficial West admiration on the horizon of America, is possible. "Loose woman", *hafif kadın*, as an interpretation is an instance for a gender biased phrase, while criticising the admiration for West in the body of America (Başkut n.d., 26). Loose women fail to be good mothers, because what they understand about Westernization is wrong. However new generation of woman ro arise new national youth who would represent Turkey without admiring Western lifestyle (both European and American).

Gender bias in family, oscillation between Easternness and Westernness are observed in this section as to generalize. The sameness of the Turkish identity is designed as the backward Eastern in the family theme, congruent with postcolonial nationalisms.

### **3.2. Translated Family Playscripts**

Analysing translated family playscripts clarifies how Turkish State Theater constructs the "other" and the family and life style image of "the other" in the 1950s. Since national identities are not constructed one sidedly, rather they are constructed mutually.

Family layout in the translations shows up as the daily routine. Family theme and indicated life styles in it help the audience to conceive of how family is constituted in the “others” and what kind of a life style does “the other” have. “The other” or “them” is well constructed upon who “we” or “us” indeed. Thereby, sameness of Turkish identity is based upon the differentiating points in “Western” literary works, in a discreet manner. These playscripts indicate the body of the nation through the comedies, life styles and family bonds in the context of the perception of history of the State Theater repertory. The fiction of the family of a national identity demonstrates the sameness as well as the "other" of the main identity. The family bonds and the physical entity of the basic unit of a nation is shown comedies which usually have daily routine themes. Translations are powerful enough to demonstrate how “the other” lives, how their families are formed, the place of nation in those playscripts and “their” lifestyles. Thereby Turkish identity locates itself as opposed to the other, which is European in this case.

The literary board of the State Theater usually shows a will of choosing the playscripts that are written in Europe, more specifically borrowed from the French vodville tradition in the context of comedies. However, by the time, the board extends its preferences by The culture of Anglosaxon theater by adding Edmund Morris and John Osborne’s works into the repertory and including an example from Serbian theater through Brannislav Nusic’s playscript. There are many vodvilles which reflect daily routines of the constructed identities. However again, the criteria of having high number of codings, being selected as a popular playwright and translator by the literary board have been applied. Thereby, seven representative examples among the playscripts under the family theme is selected.

The body of the indoctrinated identity perception is examined through Molière’s The Deceits of Scapin (*Scapin’in Dolapları*) (Moliere 1981) translated by Orhan Veli Kanık’s translation, performed in 1949-1950 season; Henrik Ibsen’s Peer Gynt (Ibsen n.d.) by Seniha Bedri Göknil’s translation, performed in 1949-1950 season, Georges Feydeau’s The Gaby (*Avanak*) (Feydeau n.d.) translated by Lütfi Ay and performed in 1953-1954 season; Brannislav Nusic’s The Mourning Family (*Yash Aile*)(Nusic n.d.), translated by Ömer Akkan and Ömer Cenap Kiner, performed in 1954-1955 season; Jean de Hartog’s On the Same Pillow (*Bir Yastıkta*) (Hartog 1982) translated by Armağan Sancar, performed in 1956-1957 season; Edmund Morris’ Wooden Pots (*Tahta Çanaklar*) (Morris n.d.) translated by Seniha Bedri Göknil and performed in 1956-1957 season.

The Deceits of Scapin (*Scapin'in Dolapları*) is a classical vodville, written by French playwright Molière. The hero of the play is Scapin who tricks everyone around to put himself forward. He is arrogant and cunning. The Deceits of Scapin is translated by Orhan Veli Kanık, at the Translation Office of National Ministry of Education. The State Theater performs Kanık's translation in its first season. The play includes many coded segments to picture "the Turk" and the perception of the "Turk" as well as the clues related with the construction of Western identity as an opponent. This vodville by Moliere is important because since Tanzimat Theater till the 1960s, vodvilles became the primary source of translations to introduce Western people with Turkey. They were pretty popular because they were funny, easy to understand; but at the same time were criticized for being shallow and inadequate to educate Turkish people.

Henrik Ibsen, who was a Norwegian playwright, published Peer Gynt in 1845. The State Theater performs the play by Seniha Bedri Göknil's translation, in 1949-1950 season. The text is a satyrical one, which blends the country's folkloric legends and the theater. Peer Gynt is an important art piece for Norway's literature; however, in this study, the significant part of the text is its reflexion of the emergence of the national feelings, where the piece also claims on universal and cosmopolitan values of art. The sameness that relies on both religion and race in the translation also gives clues about the invention of the "national" for Norway. The playscript has various spaces from Norway shores to Cairo and to Morocco. This is picked as representative although it looks exceptional because, it reflects daily lives and lifestyles that make Norwegian people a nation.

Georges Feydeau's The Gaby (*Avanak*) which is introduced by Lütfi Ay into Turkish and performed in 1953-1954 season by the State Theater, 57 years after Palais Royal's performance in Paris. The original text in the State Theater archives, which is typed, has some missing pages. The Gaby is a French vodville, which mentions men-women relationships in France. The play builds an image of "the West" through degenerated pairwise relationships in the Turkish audience by its translation. Its space is Vatelín's house in Paris.

Ömer Akkan's translation of Brannislav Nusic's The Mourning Family (*Yaslı Aile*), was performed in 1954-1955 season by the State Theater. The text in general has many religion based coded segments. The text that this study borrows from the archives is missing

beginning from 84th page. The space of the playscript is mentioned as “The event takes place any time and any where.” (Nusic n.d.,3).

Jean de Hartog’s *On the Same Pillow* (not the original name) (*Bir Yastıkta*) translated by Armağan Sancar, performed in 1956-1957 season; is an example of Dutch literature. Jean de Hartog is more known for his detective novels, wrote this piece that takes an ordinary life of a couple. The love relationship of a married couple is mentioned in their place, under a certain way of the reflection of the marriage as a flawed institution; which is the basic constitutive unit of a society. Although this institution is full of flaws and troubles for the two individuals of the Western society they still prefer staying in it because of love. The space of the playscript is a bedroom with four columns, having a sink on the left wall, and a chair. The room is dark, the gaslight chandeliers shines barely above the bed.

The second half of the 1950s witnesses American literature examples in the State Theater in the context of the body of the identity. Edmund Morris’ *Wooden Dish* (*Tahta Çanaklar*) translated by Seniha Bedri Göknil is one of those examples to be performed in 1956-1957 season. The perception of West starts to include American pieces during Democrat Party government precisely. The immigrant past of Morris from Kenya to United States and his popular writing vited about the politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan constitutes his interest in the relationship between the arts and the politics. The piece concerns about the tension between the Clara and her father in law with the cues regarding her husband, giving some clues about the perception of the marriage in an American family house. The stage is divided into two, the livingroom of the Dennison family in left and the kitchen in right. There is a door in the living room that opens to the tenant Ed Mason’s room. The audience sees wooden stairs that goes up to the bedrooms.

Subsequent sections will examine the translated playscripts that are mentioned above with the help of the representations of religion, state, narrative and national identity.

### **3.2.1. Religion**

The section with regards to the religion of “the other” identity is pursued in the context of family construction and the representations of “the other”’s life-styles.

Religion has protected its significance for being the dissimilating tool of societies. The translated playscripts of the State Theater under family theme indicates the perception of

“the other”’s religion which also contributes to the construction of the “self” of Turkish identity, in the context of lifestyles and family bonds. Religion’s signifiers in private sphere as it is defined after modernization, imagination of the place of religion in the family are taken into account. In this section, translations in the repertory of the State Theater will be examined by using the indicators that are related to the perception of religion, by tracing “us” and “the other” referenced to the religion while paying attention to the adapted words by the translator of the piece.

Peer Gynt, as one of the first performances of the State Theater, has many coded segments in the context of religion in daily conversational level. Most of these cues come from the style of translation of Seniha Bedri Göknil. Although Göknil prefers using and adapting daily Islamic words and phrases in the text, he does not change the cues over Christianity and Bible. The translator is not consistent while using *Tanrı* and *Allah*, he uses both interchangeably. The playscript is known for its importance for the national Norwegian literature, having focused on the egoism of the people of the country, reveals approach of the general perspective for religion. Henrik Ibsen tells about the so called freedom of religion, sarcastically through the King’s mouth (Ibsen n.d., 30):

Peer Gynt: Let’s see what will you ask of me? Shall I give up on my religion and beliefs? Shall I deny the Christianity, too?

The King: Certainly not, the religion is free. You can keep it if you like. The entrance of the belief is free, in us, no tax is applied. The genies are distinguished by their outfits. You shall look like us with your behaviour and attitudes, outfits, yet, you can believe in whatever you want! We call “fear” is what you call “the belief”!

By this cue, one could deduce that The religion relies on fear, in the hands of the political power, however it is not defined as an important feature of the sameness. The outfits, behaviour, and the look of a person are components of the sameness in the text. However, for the people, religion has always been at the first place, even to the degree of approaching Peer Gynt as a prophet. Peer Gynt does not ruin the people’s beliefs while protecting his identity of Christian by saying: “In the holy book, it is written that, noone

can be prophets of their own hometown. So true.” (Ibsen n.d., 66). However he is against bigotry.

It is possible to observe the different usage of *Tanrı* and *Allah* in *Avanak (the Gaby)* too. However, *Tanrı*, as the secular and Turkish word for the creator, is only used once by the translator; “*Tanrı* has created him that way!” (Feydeau n.d., 23). The rest of the codings are full of instances of Islamic daily phrases with the preference of *Allah*, as seen in “*Allaha ismarladık!*” which literally means “We entrusted God” and means “Goodbye!”; “*Allahaşkına!*” (for the sake of God), “*Allah cezanı versin!*” (May Allah damn it), “*Hey Allah’ım sen bilirsin!*” (Hey God, that’s how you know it!), “*Hay Allah!...*”, “*Allah kahretsin!*” (May Allah damn it!), “*Allah Allah!*”, “*Alimallah*” (by God!), “*Allah razı olsun*” (For God’s sake) (Feydeau n.d., 5-132). Besides, a cue also refers to the other of the playscript as the British, “*Allah* has given feet to the British, *hani!*” (Feydeau n.d.,103). This cue is striking since it reflects the translator’s sameness built upon Muslimhood with a mocking word *hani*, which means “actually, as you know or to tell the truth”; as well as the playwrights perception of “the other” as British. Translations with these preferences of Islamic phrases indicate that the translators of the playscripts can hardly dissimilate their own Muslim identities from the original author’s characters’ identities.

*The Mourning Family* is not so different from the other playscripts in terms of coded segments of religion. The slight difference is Ömer Akkan’s consistent preference of word *Allah* never changes. The religious cues are more on daily conversational basis. “*Ya Rabbi- ...*”, “*Allah aşkına*”, “*Allah korusun!*” (May Allah protect us!), “*Allah kahretsin!*” (May Allah damn it!), “*Allah aşkına*” (For Allah’s sake!), “*Allah aşkına, rahmet-*” (For Allah’s sake, mercy-), “*Hay Allahım, sen ne büyüsun!*” (May almighty Allah/ My Allah, how great/almighty you are!), “*Allah rahmet eylesin!*” (*Allah* rest his soul!), “*Allah’in hikmetine bak.*” (Look how almighty is *Allah!*” (Nusic n.d., 5-83). Interestingly enough, the audience become sure that the characters are Christian when only they see the characters crosses themselves between the cues. The character Sarka is warned for singing in the mourning house, then he crosses himself; Sarka: “(by crossing himself ) May Allah be with us.” (Nusic n.d.,64). The audience witness the voluntary acceptance of the characters of the power of the God above everything: on their loss, Vida says “There you are (*ne yaparsın*), uncle Froka this is how Allah orders, can we not bow to the inevitable?” (Nusic n.d.,4). Besides, we understand that the others’ religion demonstrates the wealth

and the level of being loved by the size of the funeral, and the rituals of it. Thereby, Sarka tells Gina, “(to Gina who is weeping) Gina, *Allah aşkına*, enough! It doesn’t look well to have the ritual with one priest. Hani, whatever it costs... The deceased deserved a brighter ritual, to tell the truth.” And Tanasie and Vida agrees. (Nusic n.d.,5). When they are talking on the will of the deceased, they think that leaving the property to the church rather than an illegitimate child. (Nusic n.d., 59). Thereby we figure out about the society’s ethical and social values strictly arouse by the religious rules.

Hartog’s *On the Same Pillow* is translated by Armağan Sancar. The translator is inconsistent in his preference on using either *Tanrı* or *Allah*. The translator prefers using *Tanrı*, while he talks about the creator generally: “Shall *Tanrı* see your demanour (stance)” (Hartog 1982,4), “The generous *Tanrı* has organised this way.” (Hartog 1982, 42) except: “You are the worst creation of *Allah* has created until now!” (Hartog 1982, 30). However, he often uses the daily Islamic phrases such as when he wants to give an emotion between the cues such as “*Allahaşkına* doctor!” (*Please* for the sake of *Allah*, for begging, *please* is added by me), “*Allah kahretsin!*” (May *Allah* damn it!), “*Allah korusun*” (May *Allah* protect...). (Hartog 1982, 5-48). The audience figure out that the characters are Christian by hearing “the bells on the church tower” (Hartog 1982, 46).

Same inconsistency also exists in *The Wooden Pots*. Seniha Bedri Göknül, as the translator of the playscript, also uses daily Islamic phrases such as “*Allahaşkına.*”, “*Allah’a şükür.*”, “*Allah müstehakını versin.*” (Damn him! Or May the God give what he deserves!) (Morris n.d., 6-49). However, she prefers translating “May God be my witness” as “*Tanrı şahidimdir.*”

Translations use “*Tanrı*” and “*Allah*” words interchangeably, as if there is no difference between them in terms of meaning and usage. There are touches on freedom of religion, and debates on it. The religion relies on fear, in the hands of the political power. The playscript and the translation preferences on this matter are to negate this type of political power. Though, it is to be considered that it is not used as a component of the Turkish identity and its sameness.

Sameness and the differences in this section arise out of dualism of Muslimhood and Christianity. Interestingly enough, the Islamic daily phrases from the Christian characters’

cues create a sympathy on the audience about the “other” and the other’s family structure and life-styles.

### 3.2.2. State

This section focuses on the representations of the state in “the other”’s narratives with regards to the familial identity by the help of the translated playscripts.

“State” representations indicate the otherness with reference of Turkish identity in the context of family bonds and lifestyles. The codes of patriarchy and state are explicit in the body of the King in *Peer Gynt*. The King is wise, powerful and overgenerous. King’s words “I will make an operation in your eyes. I will scratch your left eye a bit, put the right one out. In this way, you will see blurrily; but everything you will see will seem beautiful and joyful.” (Ibsen n.d., 31). So the representation of the political power, hand of the state is omnipotent to make the things look beautiful even if it is not so but it is through legitimate pain.

The state is embodied in the presence of Agaton in *the Mourning Family*, who is the governor of a district with 52374 population. For him, the administration means the fear and authority; Agaton: “Do you know what a 52374 population means? It means 52374 people. And I, all alone, alone Agaton! Yes, me, as all alone, when I say once and yell: ‘Take a stand before me, line up, march march!’ those 52374 people stands before me, stares into my eyes and tremble (- *tremble like a leaf- tir tir titreşmek*) Yes, they tremble. Here, my dear Trifun, this is what administration means.” (Nusic n.d., 43). Also, when the advocate catches the corruption of Agaton while relying on his authority over the people, about the will, by saying “Everything can be forgiven. But you, you tell that you are a law’s man.”; Agaton responds, “Yes... You shall believe me that I have never done this. May *Allah* forbid. (*Allah korusun.*) Violating law even didn’t cross my mind. But I saw a big crowd filled the house. There is no one to provide the discipline (*inzibat*). What could I do in this situation? That’s why, I settled down in here. For nothing else... Only to provide the discipline...” (Nusic n.d.,43).

To conclude the state section; under the family theme, through the state codes it is possible to deduce that the state codings overlap patriarchy. The power of the administration is omnipotent. Moreover, administration and state includes a meaning of fear and authority



that discipline the subjects or the citizens. The bulk of the coded segments have a very republican perspective that sublimates the virtue of a sacrificable citizen for the state. There are no clear evidences for the formation of family relations rather there are the critics about atomization and changing values in the society by modernization.

### 3.2.3. Narrative and National Identity

This section analyses the construction of the sameness and the difference in the playscripts that are the products of “the other” culture but embraced by Turkish State Theater as taken into the repertory. Thereby this study examines how narrative and national identity of Turkish national identity mutually constructed in the 1950s.

Narrative and national identity tool to decompose national identity building process is the third step of the analysis. Sameness will be demonstrated on the stage by the other’s and the differences’ textual signifiers.

The Deceits of Scapin, includes many coded segments that to point out who “the Turk” is and the perception of the “Turk” in a Western originated piece as well as the clues related with the construction of Western identity as the opponent identity of Turkish. The trickier character Scapin, makes up many stories to reach out the richness that the notables have, while helping a couple to get together with this money. One of those stories mentions a Turk in his fabrication, that captivates Scapin on his galiot to demand a ransom from the notable G ronte, or he would kidnap G ronte’s son as a compensation. Scapin first tells how hospitable the Turk was, then adds his mercilessness. Scapin also tells about the lack of law on the ocean, where the galiot was en route towards Algeria<sup>46</sup>. Scapin convinces G ronte that this Turk was a robber (Moli re 1981, 25-28):

G ronte: Tell that Turk that he was a robber.

Scapin: Alright.

G ronte: Tell that Turk that he was a thug.

Scapin: Alright.

G ronte: Tell that, he was an impious, a thief.

Scapin: Leave the rest to me.

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<sup>46</sup> Reminds the audience of Barbarossa Hayrettin Pasha (1478-1546), First *Kaptan-ı Derya* (chief admiral) in Ottoman Empire

Géronte: Tell him that, he takes this money unjustly.

Scapin: Alright.

Géronte: Oh the galiot the cruel, oh the despicable Turk. Hope the sky falls down on you.

“The other” of the playscript automatically becomes “the Turk”, who is imagined, unseen and stays as a fiction to which the bad manners are attributed. The second other figure of the playscript is the Copt (“*Kipti*”) who is embodied in the lover of the Géronte’s son. When Géronte figures out that he was tricked by his lovers and Scapin, he accuses a *Kipti* girl for alluring his son who was a good boy of a good family indeed (Molière 1981, 37).

Religion and sameness often overlap in Peer Gynt, evident by the Priest’s preach after a citizen’s, whose one finger was cut off right in front of the the draft, passing by: “It was obvious that this man was not a good citizen. He was a barren tree for both Church and the government. However in the up, upon the hill, where our route never passes by, there was a big man for the works that calls him; yet, he was himself.” (Ibsen n.d., 95). And the character Peer Gynt, likewise the Priest did through Christianity, reinforces these sentences by emphasizing realizing oneself. Peer Gynt also adds that the citizen really cut his finger off while cutting firewood, yet he witnessed the event. Peer Gynt sees virtue through honesty, realizing oneself, incorrupted even though he is poor and real Christianity claims on these manners. Although he emphasizes the virtue in this sense, he thinks that in order to reach out the realization of oneself through material power: money. Peer Gynt identifies himself by having a cosmopolitan soul whose origin is Norweigan (Ibsen n.d., 56). Thus the character wants to have a supranational identity. Main character finds the real virtue of being a good citizen in honesty, and oneself as an individual, rather than obeying unquestioned symbols of citizenry. This a bit overlaps with the hümanist approach that rose in the 1950s among the authors.

*Avanak (The Gaby)* has less significant cues in terms of narrative and national identity and they are also less in number. The dissimmilation shows of under the tension between the “French” and “British” identities that comes up after the completion of these two “nation”’s nation building and nation state building processes. The sameness of the author is obviously identified by “French”ness however, he prefers reflecting the tension by giving both sides’ perceptions such as; “*Pis* (messy) French!” (Feydeau n.d.,84), “*Ah!* These

British!” (Feydeau n.d., 103). These cues demonstrate the inevitable antagonisms and dualisms between national identities in the context of dissimilation.

It is possible to observe nation and nation state building processes throughout the texts through the modernization of the common peoples’ lives. “The others” of the narrative and national identities under the family theme which represents the body of a nation as well as ideal lifestyles, are “Turk” and “Muslim”. The playscripts draw attention to the degeneration of the lifestyles with modernization. Materialism takes over the religion with modernization and the degeneration. However there are some characters that truly embrace the new modern lifestyle as an affirmation of the modernization. Examining the translations with this perspective helps us understanding that the anxiety of excessive Westernization appears as excessive modernization in European playwrights.

Exceptionally and inconsistently, there are coded segments that praise supranational, humanist, cosmopolitan identity. Peer Gynt stands as an exceptional playscript in this sense in the repertory.

The results of this section shows that “the other” of these plays refer to the good manners of the civilized and the modern “other” of Turkish identity for its emphasis on the virtuous citizen. At the same time though, this repertory calls attention to the degenerative power of the modernization in the essence of a national identity. And by re-reading the cues, this essence still relies on being “Turks” and “Muslim”.

### **3.3. Family Related Children’s Playscripts of Local Playwrights**

This section examines the local children’s playscripts in the repertory of Turkish State Theater under family theme in order to unravel the picture of the Turkish family that is constructed within national identity building process in the 1950s in Turkey. Thereby this study unearths the meanings in the context of who the nation is, how this nation’s life-style is imagined and who is excluded from these imaginations.

This part of the study takes Deniz’in Mektubu as the only representative playscript in the repertory. And it is examined through the representations of religion, state, narrative and national identity in the content, to reveal the construction and the oscillation of Turkish familial identity in the 1950s.

*Deniz'in Mektubu* (Letter from Deniz) is written by Sevil Dinçer (Dinçer n.d.) and performed in the seasons of 1958-1959 by the State Theater. The story has two spaces mainly, one is the family houses, and the second is the May 19 Elementary School in a little town. The perception of the elementary school is drawn as the second family for the kids after their own family. The teacher of the school opens the first act and starts talking to the audience. The teacher doesn't give a certain place or a town's name for it can be anywhere, any town throughout Turkey. Most probably to give the sense that every town is pictured like this. It can also be a part of imagination or dreams as the teacher says, as it complements the embrace of the citizens' homeland perception, no matter where they come from to Ankara, to watch the play. The first two main characters of the play are the teacher and the doctor Ekrem. Later on, the audience meets the post Office manager, who is a very hardworking and responsible citizen. Time of the play differs according to the acts, the seasons change, the holidays change. When the stage lights illuminate the scene, an Atatürk portrait shines up, with flags around it. The teacher leaves the speech to one of the students, called Deniz<sup>47</sup> to read Talak Tekin's poem of "Atatürk Smiled". The bright citizen; the post manager of the town stands up, claps his hands to appreciate the emotions that the poem propagated. Ekrem and Selma, Deniz's parents kisses her to congratulate her. The teacher distributes the gifts to congratulate the successful students of the semester. Crayons, pens, a story book about Polyanna's childhood, Snow White (translated as Cotton Princess and Seven Dwarves into Turkish), some examples of Western literature are pieces of the presents. The most successful student among the 5th grades gets the book of "The Life of Atatürk and the Revolutions" (Dinçer n.d.,9). They finish the parade with May 19 March. It must be the biggest honor to get a pioneering book like that.

The second space is the post Office in the town. The manager Hüseyin could figure out that some kids write letters to themselves to provide an image of a beloved person in the town. He could recognize everybody's handwriting as he is an expert for it. This stage is to be clue for what will be important about the letters and the handwritings of the town dwellers in the future acts.

Afterwards, the bulk of the spaces passes to the family houses. The family is pictured as a nuclear one, includes father, mother and two children. The gender roles are explicitly

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<sup>47</sup> Deniz means "sea" and is a unisex secular name.

divided between the husband and wife, together with a slight difference between the girl and the boy in the family. The projection is on Ekrem's apartment, where Selma, his wife, decorates home, makes the place a livable and warm one. She is a character that is looked down for being religious and less intellectual, as well as for being woman. Deniz and Selma has a dialogue on that. Selma tells her husband first, then Deniz: "Pass your jacket to me, don't put that down there. Deniz, bring your dad's slippers!". Deniz, doesn't like this gendered orders and grumbles: "My brother shall bring them,". But Selma insists harshly on it. Home is where the borders of a woman's responsibilities are drawn by the husband Ekrem (to Selma): "You would be picked as number 1. if there would be a 'best house wife' contest." He honors his wife for being the best housewife ever. But she cannot find a specific reason to make him best amongst men, Selma can only say, "You would be picked as number 1 among men." (Dinçer n.d.,24). Ekrem keeps reinforcing his gender based perception by buying a huge sleeping doll for her daughter Deniz. On the other hand, the audience always sees Ekrem in proud of his son for his being hardworking and ambitious to be an engineer in future. He is not so into religion as his mother or sister, but always reads scientific or historical sources. Intelligence comes first for Cengiz, as the author puts forward an antagonism between ratio and science and religion.

The family talks about everything, including religion and the audience hear the family members making plans for a vacation. The couple starts his plans of vacation over İstanbul they talk about visiting Abant and then dream about going to Europe. While they were pretty happy in their nuclear family, Cengiz suddenly catches cold and dies in winter. The trauma of the family becomes so deep that the rest three have hard time getting over it. The rest of the town tries to help the family, but that doesn't work. The family gets over the mourning by the help of the blooming climate of approaching April 23, national holiday of National Sovereignty and Children. Deniz wants to participate the celebrations, however Ekrem feels too depressed to think about it. So he decides to write down a letter to Allah, and sends it to the post office, to be received by North Pole Star, as she thinks Allah lives in there. Hüseyin, the post office manager runs to Ekrem to let him know about his daughter's letter. Ekrem reads the letter and sees how Deniz tells about her unhappiness after the loss of her brother. She wishes to have her brother for one day, during the celebrations of April 23. She wants to participate as well, but she says she couldn't get her father's permission to do so. She asks for these wishes from her "father Allah". Ekrem

writes down a letter in the name of Allah, and gives it to Deniz, not to shake her devotion and faith. Ekrem says in the letter in the name of Allah, “I like children who are wellbehaved, who loves their mothers and fathers, does not upset them, loves their teacher and friends at school, help the poor.” Deniz drifts off after reading the letter and gives a hug to her brother in her dreams. The curtains fall down with a ballet dance.

### 3.3.1. Religion

In this subsection this study focuses on the representations of religion to reveal the place of the religion in nation building process in the 1950s, as a social formation that defines a collective identity using the feeling of sameness and the difference.

Religion in national identity building Project in the context of family theme in children’s plays, reflect the ideal place of religion in future generations’ minds. Throughout the playscript Letter from Deniz, Islam as the characters’ the religion is one of the main topics to be discussed in the family. The kids are curious about what is sin or what is deed, who is Allah and where Allah is. Daily Islamic words, as well as some prayers are the routines of the main child character Deniz’s family.

The family sits on the dinner table and has a talk about the thankfulness about their plentifulness of their table (Dinçer n.d., 21):

- I am full, mom. I don’t have appetite. May *Allah* give plentifulness to our table, give long life to you and my dad.
- Where did this prayer come from?
- Hih...He says he heard this from my mom.
- Ya... I learned it by myself.
- Don’t make it up. My mom always says so... Besides, did you not asked “Mom, is the one who gives plentifulness to our table Allah?”

The dialogue above points out that Ekrem, the father of the family glances at this family members, questioning where this pray is coming from. Ekrem, as a doctor and the father of the family, represents the mind of the family, where the mother represents the spirituality and moral values regarding religion. Religion is taught by the mother, who is the decorator of the private sphere. Religion’s place is home, and it is now for women and it is women’s work to teach children who they are indeed and what they must believe.

Allah is drawn as “Father *Allah*” in the eyes of the kid, Deniz, when Cengiz, Deniz’s brother, feels himself assigned for telling her about their religion (Dinçer n.d., 27):

Cengiz: What did he say?

Deniz : Father *Allah*, sends his sun in daytime, and the lights of the stars in night time on earth. If the humans don’t get scared of *Allah*, they combat or kill each other.

Cengiz : Twaddle... Father *Allah* is invisible...

Deniz : I know. But he (*Allah*) sees us. He holds these lights to do that.

Cengiz : Would my father not tell all the time that “Father *Allah* does not need anything to see us”?

Deniz: How would he see us in the dark? When you turn off the light, could you see me?

Cengiz: But he is not like us...

Deniz : How so?

Cengiz : How would I know?

This dialogue continues (Dinçer n.d., 28):

Deniz : Brother, does Father *Allah* have got a house like ours?

Cengiz: You ignorant! Nothing of that kind house *Allah* has?

Deniz: Why not?

Cengiz: He, is so great, where could he fit in?

*Allah* is pictured as a man again, personificated as the most powerful father. Also, Deniz’s family is where he learns about the difference between the sin and the deed. It is still hard to physically imagine Allah and understand the religion that they are affiliated to for Deniz as a kid. Moreover he learns what is good or bad to talk about in the family (Dinçer n.d., 34):

Deniz: If I had gone instead of him, I wouldn’t take anything from our home. I would only get my toys with me.

Selma: Shut up, my daughter/girl. Talking about these is sin.

Deniz: Why? Is it because Father *Allah* would hear?

Selma: Yes.

Deniz: He has closed the sky's face with dark clouds for two months... I can't see the polestar. Maybe Father *Allah* can not see us too!

Selma, as the mother of the family is also assigned to send the kids to the school and legitimize what the teacher teaches at school by using religion: "Your teacher shows. The real teacher is *Allah*." (Dinçer n.d., 35) This "good" and "bad" talk, values, virtue, morality are to be taught in family again. And they overlap with religion. Even though it is common to run into nationalistic symbols in public sphere, at home, kids are taught only religion could give them: values, morality. This finding reinforces Şerif Mardin's (Mardin 1990) theory of the place of religion in Turkish society which Kemalism failed to fill. However, what these imaginations suggest is to set religion into public sphere, let it be a component for sameness but not let it go too far into the field of science. Given the gendered cues, science and rationalism are imagined as the property of men.

Besides, outside the family, daily Islamic phrases such as "*Maşallah*" (Dinçer n.d.,17), "*Allahaismarladık*", "May *Allah* not leave anyone fatherless..." (Dinçer n.d., 15), "*Allahaşkına*", "What happened to us, my *Allah*?" (Dinçer n.d, 34), "Maybe *Allah* sends your brother back one day", "*Allah razı olsun*" (Dinçer n.d., 35), "*Evvel Allah sonra sizin sayenizde*" (in English "First Allah, then because of you") (Dinçer n.d., 41).

The story's knot is on the letter that Deniz writes to *Allah*. Deniz is a pure hearted believer. He thinks if he writes a letter to Allah, he could get answers to all of his questions with a letter in return. So, not to shatter Deniz's sound belief in *Allah*, Ekrem thinks of writing a letter as if it came from *Allah*.

Although religion is something taught within the families, the confusion regarding Westernization and being mixed up in two different cultures are striking. When the new years eve arrives, families start getting prepared for celebrations. They seem to be celebrating the newyear, however they call it "Noel". Their muslim identity is disrupted by the popular trends of celebrations of Noel. The kids are amused by this new fancy practice, that includes decoration of a Noel tree. The father of the house, Ekrem, does not seem moving along with this new practice, but he appreciates the mother and the wife of the house, Selma, for decorating and making their house more beautiful (Dinçer n.d.,21):

Ekrem: *Maşallah* Selma... You made a good job decorating the house...



Selma: The kids made the decoration... They also asked for a Noel tree but, I didn't show consent on it, they couldn't trick me.

Ekrem: Well, that's the only lack. If there were a tree, that would have been completed. Would have been a real Noel.

Characters all have hesitations while moving along with Western trends that change their lifestyles but see no harm adding them into their lives. They do not synthesize these because it is a Christian holiday, even if they call it "Noel" but what they say that they celebrate is for the new year. They prefer not to think about the roots of that trendy change of lifestyle with this cover.

This section helps us to clarify that the place of religion is designed and held in the private sphere. Religion is accepted as a cultural and social formation which reinforces the feeling of sameness in national identity building. On the other hand as a given inheritance it is to be reproduced in the public sphere and not exuberate to the public sphere. Yet, public sphere is defined with modern symbols. However, the unreasonable Western and Christian applications are seen as a part of the modern world but should not sneak into the private sphere.

### **3.3.2. State**

This subsection urges upon the representations of the state as a component of the national identity building process in the 1950s in Turkish State Theater's repertory. Local works of the repertory reflect how Turkish playwrights see and want to construct the place of the state to the young generations of Turkish Republic. Local playwrights' view of state in children's plays indicates the demonstration of the place of the state in the national identity for future members of Turkish nation.

In *The Letter from Deniz*, the state is embodied in the elementary school. The elementary school is called May 19 Elementary School. The name of the school is remarkable since it is the date of when Mustafa Kemal showed up in Samsun and gave a start to the organisation of Turkish Independence War. When the space is defined, the audience sees a Atatürk portrait or a sculpture. The saloon is decorated with the colorful papers and Turkish flags.

During the eid, even if it is holiday for everyone, the post office manager works. Regarding the administrative structure of the post office, it is to deduce that the state is on duty even if it is a religious holiday, when it comes to the virtue of conveying people's postcards; "The assignment is an assignment.": "*Vazife vazifedir.*" in Turkish. After the illumination of the stage, the audience confronts the Atatürk picture and a decorated saloon with the flags for the school report day. The teacher on the stage leaves the word to Deniz, the main character who is a student at the same time. Deniz starts reading the poem called "Atatürk Gülümsedi", "Atatürk Smiled" (Dinçer n.d., 6-7):

"Atatürk Smiled

Atatürk smiled my teacher  
When you entered the classroom  
Has been bloomed the bud.

He saw that the school  
You are new, ideas are new,  
Atatürk smiled my teacher  
Couldn't hide his joy.

He saw that you are young, knowledgable  
Educating on his way, with his method  
Atatürk smiled my teacher  
He became happy so

He saw that you are amongst us  
Drawing our roads  
Atatürk smiled my teacher  
His eyes in tears

Apparently all summer  
Atatürk didn't wink his eye  
Because the desks were all empty  
Because, not a single letter was read

Darkest clouds got down  
To the lightened eyes of him  
Atatürk like a hurricane, like a storm  
I think directed to the illetracy

But, he saw the morning has broken  
We have arrived at the school in a breath long  
Have the books opened with longing  
A relish in the boy, in the girl

He saw that the bell rang, you go to the class  
All the looks upon you  
Says good morning, starts the class  
A warm love in your eyes

The dark clouds dispersed,  
When we enter the class,  
Atatürk smiled my teacher  
When he saw himself on the lectern.”

Atatürk here is sanctified. Children, both girls and boys make it to the school on the first day of the school after a long break, and they think that they make Atatürk happy by coming back to school, and he is proud of them. Because they are eager to show that they follow the road of Atatürk, his rationality, methods. In this context, we anticipate that education is the most important Project for Kemalism to build the national identity of the younger generations. Yet, the State Theater imagines that Atatürk could illuminated the people of Turkey even with literacy. During summer vacation, according to the children and teacher, Atatürk must be worried because Turkish nation must work harder to catch up with the progressed modern nations. There is no time for holidays, no time to cease studying and learning.

Also, sanctification of Atatürk pictures him as alive among the nation in the poem. Thus, loads responsibility to the younger generations to discharge what he has given to Turkish nation by working hard and representing Turkey at their best among the other modern nations.

Mustafa receives a gift from his friend, and the gift is a framed picture of Atatürk (Dinçer n.d., 8). And Ayten's gift is not so different from it. She opens the package and sees that the gift she received is a book on “Atatürk's biography and revolutions”. (Dinçer n.d.,9) The environment and the tools at their school helps building up a national identity and integrate the children as the new generation of the Republic who are equipped by the newest and the most beneficial ideas for the nation.

The coded segments in the context of state go hand in hand with the coded segments of “Atatürk”. This is also observable through the playscripts of the 1920s and 1930s evident by Başbuğ’s findings for People’s Houses Theaters (Başbuğ 2013), even though this is not the case for adults’ plays in Turkish State Theater.

The results indicate that the embedded imagination of state and Atatürk continues in children’s plays, because Atatürk anticipates what the Turkish youth to do or do not. The data is congruent with the results that are derived in the studies on the 1920s and 1930s.

### 3.3.3. Narrative and National Identity

This section looks for how the sameness and the difference of the representative playscript that are constructed through the lens of the local playwrights. Thereby the study will fill out the picture of Turkish modern national identity that is presented for younger generations of the nation.

The only representative playscript, Deniz’in Mektubu has a dialogue to put this presentation forward. In April kids become so excited for the upcoming national holiday of National Sovereignty and Children’s Day. They organise a celebration at school with their teacher. Deniz wants his elder brother to join them for the holiday, knows its impossibility because of their loss.

A dialogue in the playscript, interestingly demonstrates the dilemma of catching up with the latest developments in the Western world and excessive embrace of their cultures. The critical way of pointing out these excessive efforts shows a true way of Westernization and modernization. The cultural differences and the essence of Turkish identity is given as the counter identity of Western and Christian identity, yet, the clues are given over the New Year Celebrations (Dinçer n.d., 16)

Hüseyin: What kind of an event is this? A bunch of expenditure. I looked over it that, on the showcase of the stores... Each is a different ball of wax... Decorating pine trees, making it snow cotton balls, *yok efendim* colorful lights, decorations...

Ekrem: Eeeee... We have to catch up with the World’s turning around, Hüseyin Bey...

Hüseyin: Could we catch up with this way *yahu*, look at these what we have on our laps... Is this keeping pace? A man would baffled his walk under this expenditure.

Ekrem: Why did you buy them, then?

Hüseyin: Would I get them if I was capable? But I am scared of home. If I don't get them they would nag at me. Anyways... My arm is tired, I won't be able to talk more. *Eyvallah!*

Ekrem: Goodbye... Are you guys coming to the entertainment tonight?

....

The curtains fall down while ballet dancers are on the stage. Hesitations and anxiety of excessive modernization does not change the authors' preference of introducing a Western classical art with future generations of Turkish nation. This indicates the self-assignment of the State Theater with regards to education.

The processing of the data with regards to the construction of narrative and national identity demonstrates that the sameness feeling is put on being secular, modern but Muslim at the same time. The "other" of Turkish identity is presented as the "modern" and "civilized". While trying not to influence the unique essence of Turkishness by contaminating it with the Western and Christian culture, Turkish national identity tries to be the part of that civilized by citing Western artistic implementations such as ballet etc.

### **3.4. Family Related Children's Playscripts of Foreign Playwrights**

This section looks at how "the other" of Turkish identity, perceives Turkishness in the 1950s, in the context of the construction of family as the body unit of a national identity. While doing this the study also focuses on how the place of the religion and the state is represented as well as the imagination of the narrative and national identity. This way, children's playscripts will demonstrate the ideal life-style and the way of being "the family" for Turkish nation while observing the life-style and the construction of the family of the differentiated identity.

Who and how these new generations will be constructed is determined by the perceptions regarding family. The framework that is drawn for the national identity through family theme, given by the State Theater is important to help self-positioning of Turkish identity in the other's pieces. The translation children's playscript under the body theme, focuses on Christian families and their lifestyles. The State Theater's children playscripts somewhat touch Noel holiday, particularly in translation playscripts under the body theme.

Interestingly enough, local works also tell about Noel, gives the sense that they might be partially adaptations of European playscripts.

This part examines *Blue Bird (Mavi Kuş)* (Maeterlinck n.d.), written by Maurice Maeterlinck and translated by Reşat Gögen, was performed by the State Theater in 1955-1956 season. Act 1 starts with a woman whom we'd understand that she is the mother of Tilttil and Mitil. Their mother comes in and shows them affection and compassion until she becomes sure that the kids fall asleep. The audience witnesses the kids and their nuclear family's poor, but not miserable cottage. When the sun rises in the morning, a fantastic world with an adventure greets the two kids: Tilttil and Mitil. Their adventure begins in a Noel day, with a scene that two kids are in their beds, sleeping. They look through their window and envy the cookies and cakes they see in their neighbours' place. They are able to see the rich kids' Noel celebrations through the window. They talk about St. Nicholas, using name Father Noel (*Noel Baba* in Turkish). They are aware that they are poor, so they don't even expect for presents from *Noel Baba*. Suddenly an old woman fairy with an hunchback comes in to their room. She says she is searching for a singing weed and a singing bird in order to heal her daughter's despair. Tilttil shows his blue bird, but she doesn't find the bird enough blue so she suggests them to search for both in an adventure, having the possibility of seeing their grandparents, who passed away, once more, in return. The woman would give them a magical hat that would allow them to see their lost beloved ones if they pass through the "Land of Memories". There is a diamond in the hat that shows the souls and the beauties of every living or non-living thing. Suddenly, every object starts talking and acting, including lighter, a dog and water. The fairy warns the kids that, during the search, anything who wants to accompany with them will be there for them until the end of the duty, but then they will pass away after they are done. After hearing about this truth, objects get together and want to have a power to determine their future. The cat, fire and water suggest to be the leaders for the new world. Because if Tilttil and Mitil, as the humans of the plot, can find and rule the Blue Bird, they think they would live under the rule of the humanbeing forever. So they try to prevent this by scaring the kids during the trip. However, the light and the dog stay in the kids' side. They help kids to find the Blue Bird despite of many evils that they face. At the end of the plot, the audience gets that all the adventures that Tilttil and Mitil get through were just a dream. They wake up with the affection and the compassion of their mother.

Even though the playscript opens the curtains in a humble cottage of a lumberjack's family, the plot uses more than one space, including some fantastic elements. The second space of the playscript is the yard of an amazing palace. It is to be understood that this yard opens to the fairy's house. The third space is "the Land of Memories", full of trees and covered with fog, in which Tiltil and Mitil finds the opportunity to see their grandparents once more, even if they passed away. Then the characters face with another adventure to chase after the Blue Bird and the singing weed in the Nights Palace. The author defines this palace as a decoration that refers to the Egyptian and Greek temples, having a grave-like magnificence (Maeterlinck n.d., 20). After hearing that the Blue Bird that might be under the rule of "the Faith" they pass to the cemetery to chase if after. The Blue Bird was among the people's joy and happiness that are under the shelter of the Faith. The characters can't find the Blue Bird in the cemetery, so they decide to move to the Garden of Happiness (*Saadetlerin Bahçesi*). In this act, the target audience is convinced that the biggest happiness of all is the love of mothers. The characters talk to the "love of mother" under the magical personification. The last space that the plot uses is the Country of Future. Country of Future is full of the babies waiting for to be born and contribute the world with inventions and discoveries. The end of the story takes place in the Lumberjack's family cottage again.

Using many spaces provide and opportunity to observe different aspects of a "family" that is suggested by the State Theater, so by the perception of the national identity. Nation's body is the family, with a nuclear family. The family is poor and has a humble lifestyle with gratitude for what they have. The man of the family has a passive role during the act. As the audience does not see the father of the family, but gets that he is alive and he is a working father as a lumberjack. The mother of the family is assigned for giving compassion and affection to her kids. The whole playscript gives the message to the children, who are the target audience, that the biggest and the most important thing to get from a woman is "the love of woman".

Next step of this study is the examination of the Blue Bird by using the components of national identity: the presentations of the religion, state and narrative and national identity.

### 3.4.1. Religion

This section interpretes the place of the religion in the playscript that is written by “the other” identity but brought in to the repertory of Turkish identity. By interpreting the place and the representation of the religion, the study observes how religion as a component of national identity, is mutually constructed.

The playscript *Blue Bird* includes a religious holiday, Noel as a component of the space of the play. The spaces are one way or another related with religion, particularly Christianity and gives some clues about the way the playscript perceives the religion in a family under the body theme.

For instance, the space “*İstikbal Ülkesi*” which means “The Country of Future” in English has a decoration that is defined but not clarified in the given cues. However the audience understand that the Country of Future is somewhere the future borns are awaiting Correspondingly, Noel is the celebration of Jesus’ birth and it is a holiday for the Christian families to get together. Secondly, the kids, Tiltil and Mitil resemble “the light” with a soul to St. Mary and shout out “*Meryemana!*”<sup>48</sup> (Maeterlinck n.d., 9)

The target audience would feel like the human being comes right after God and St. Mary, before the animals and the objects, as the most important entity in the world. The dog, shows an ultimate respect that reaches to worshipping, to Tiltil and Mitil, the humans of the plot. The dog thinks that first the fairy is its *Tanrı*, God to worship, then the human. It says: “(by pushing the cat away) I will hug the little God” while talking about Tiltil (Maeterlinck n.d.,9). The dog also emphasizes its loyalty to the humankind by its cue: “(always loyal) Me against all of you! Always loyalty for the *Tanrılar*, Gods and the elders and the bests!” (Maeterlinck n.d.) The respect and loyalty that the animals show to the humankind as the biggest and strongest family on Earth, reflect human centered understanding of politics.

Not only the animals are under the service of humankind but also the Light is serving to the human. The only entities that human can’t rule are the faith and *Tanrı* (God). Human only can’t rule the Faith and the God. In this playscript, the God is helping the kids out

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<sup>48</sup> Means mother Mary in Turkish.



during their adventure. God is embodied in the fairy with a hunchback's appearance. The shelter of the faith gives both the deaths and alives joy in the Cemetary space.

The playscript, usually uses silent or non-dominating cues about religion. It gives the message of having an intimate relation with religion and praying is very important for their gratitude and remembering the older generations. When the kids meet up their grandparents along their adventure, the audience hears out the grandparents' wishes about being remebered: "Especially if they pray for us.", "Praying is to hold (us) in remembrance, it is to remember.". That way, the family ties the links between the older and the new generation through the religion. When their grandmother says "Our one and only joy, only holiday is to be remembered by you", the grandfather adds: "Indeed, we don't have anything else to console ourselves with." (Maeterlinck n.d., 21). This way, the playscript asks from the young audience to remember and don't forget about their past regarding their older generations, even if they are dead, and make it through the religion.

Apart from these deeper statements to analyze, it is possible to observe that the translator Reşat Gögen uses *Tanrı* and *Allah* interchangeably, no matter which religion he is talking for. For instance, the Wolf says: "Let's see, your time is running out! You have nothing to do but pray *Tanrı!*" (Maeterlinck n.d., 38). But on the other hand, the Islamic phrase "*Allah cezanı versin!*" (Maeterlinck n.d., 69) comes out in order to provide smoothness between the cues, without having a certain aim. But this phrase is to signify that it is not easy for the translator to abandon his Muslim background. This much emphasis on practicecs of Christianity is to introduce "the other"s religious practices. Not to make the audience admire them but rather show that how their religious practices are different and alike.

Religion is used as a tool for remembrance and glue between the generations. Translations that convert Chrstian daily phrases into Turkish and Islamic daily phrases might not have a direct aim, nevertheless helps to reinforce the feeling of sameness with the audience automatically. However, "the other" of Turkish identity is set as Christian identity in the opposition of Muslim identity, tacitly.

### 3.4.2. State

This section focuses on the representations of the state as a part of national identity building in the 1950s in the children's translated playscripts. While doing this, the section looks for the mutual construction of Turkish identity in opposition to the identity of "the other" since these translated playscripts are integrated into the repertory of Turkish State Theater by also means of demonstrating how "the other's" familial construction and the life-style, as well as the place of the state and patriarchy.

The state is not traceable directly through the children's playscripts, in *Blue Bird* when this playscript is taken into an account specifically. However, there are cues regarding "obedience" and "ruling", indirectly. These don't refer to an administrative apparatus, however give clues about how the State Theater perceives "obedience" and "ruling" when it comes to the target audience constituted of children. The ruler is stated as the humankind, where the obedient is the rest of the non-living and living things, including nature.

When the characters are in the Night's Palace, Night starts talking to scare the kids and make them give up on your ways. Night tells them how it is hard to maintain the obedience and the stability between the personalities that try to open the doors of evil and danger: "You said danger?.. I do not even know how to run away from the doorways of those doors which open to the dark and deep gaps... There, all evils, diseases, disasters, fears, the secrets that have lived ever since the world has showed up, lives right behind those basalt doors that take place all around the hall. Until now, I could hardly restrain them by the help of the Faith... It is not an easy job and I promise that it is almost impossible to bring about the public order these disobedient personalities... If one of them survives and reaches the earth, *vay halimize!*" (Maeterlinck n.d., 24).

The kids' adventure also turns out to be a confrontation with their parents' and their acts. Since Tilttil and Mitil are the children of a lumberjack, they learn that their father killed thousands of relatives of a tree. But Tilttil thinks that if he didn't have to, he would not do it. After considering that the characters "trees" are bad characters and they support the rioters who are the cat and its friends. It is to deduce that if something bad is done by the hands of a human for the sake of humanity, it is acceptable because the humankind is the ruler of the earth. The others must obey the humanbeing has its own priorities. And it is

also possible to follow the deep trust for what elder generation, especially father does is true. If it is not true, that is something done mistakenly or without a will. The following dialogue between the Oak and Tiltıl (Maeterlinck n.d., 33):

Meşe (The Oak) – Your father has done so much harm to us. He killed 600 sons, 475 uncles and aunts, 1200 grand uncle and grand aunts, 5388 nephews and 12000 grandsons of mine, only from my family.

Tiltıl – I don't know sir, my dad wouldn't do it willfully...

To conclude, the cues related to the state are not direct signifiers of how the relationship between the family in a nation and the administrative apparatus is perceived or organised. However, the dialogues and cues related to the obedience and the rule indirectly give an idea about the perception regarding the rule of the humankind and the role of the father, and its part in patriarchy in that. The rule of the humankind provides certain priorities and legitimacy to the harm given to the earth by the hands of humans. If this harm is given by the father of the family and is subjected to the inquiry, the father would do that for the sake of the family, in the bigger picture humankind. Humankind is perceived as the ruler of the earth and struggles with the rebellious entities on earth.

### **3.4.3. National and Narrative Identity**

Considering the family as the basic unit of a nation, the perception of the family of the other nation by the State Theater through children's translations is to be observed makes the playscript *Blue Bird* necessary to analyze. This section focuses on narrative and national identity construction of "the other" and "Turkishness" in the translated playscript. Dissimilations, the feelings of sameness are examined through the only representative playscript *Blue Bird* in family theme. Thereby this section provides an analysis of the content which will demonstrate how the others' family is constructed, perceived and how it helped future generations to reproduce narrative and national identity.

The narrative others of the playscript are the rich and "Arabic". "Rich" is the first and general narrative identity of the story. The main characters of the plot, live in the gratitude of having love, more specifically mother's love, at their home; even if they are hungry and live in a poor cottage. Their life is warm and genuine although they are thankful for what they have got in general, the two kids, Tiltıl and Mitil envy the cookies and the cakes that

the rich kids have for the celebrations of Noel. Moreover, even if the characters are little and naive kids or babies who are waiting to be born, they are aware of the importance of the money in modern life. Babies who wait to come to the World for instance talk like: (Maeterlinck n.d.59)

- Money! What is money?
- You buy everything with money.
- Ah!
- There are people who have got money, but there are many who don't!
- Why not?
- Because they are not rich... Are you rich? How old are you?
- I will be born in a few, only 12 years left to be born... Is being born, good?
- Oh yeah, it is full of fun!

The babies, waiting for their turn to come to the light, hear about the monetary system and the inequalities that are mentioned for them before they are born. Therefore this way of imagination asks poor to hold on to their lives, without asking for more. However the claim of announcing everyone equal doesn't work anymore, the 1950s are changing and the society transforms around the power relations, inequalities and monetary system. However people shouldn't be insurgents about their inequalities because the most important thing is love, compassion and affection that they can find in their mother.

Another "other" identity of the story is "Arabic" identity. However, it is hard to tell that this otherness is a part of a modern nations system. It is more like a prejudicial and presumptuous approach about a group of people. The Arabic look is used in the scene in order to reflect a splendid look of the act in Fairy's Palace as the second space: "He has decided finally, an Arabic dress decorated with jewels... A broadsword, a turban, all of them are done!" (Maeterlinck n.d.,12)

On the other hand, the playscript more delve into a normative approach on how the main characters should feel about their satisfaction regarding their poor life. They tend to hold onto life with what they already have with gratitude, particularly the love of a mother, and family ties. Therefore, the scenes give clues about how the target audience must feel about themselves and how they should establish their sameness with the main characters. When

Tilttil talks to “The Love of Mother”, it says there is no greater love and happiness than the motherly love: “Tilttil! Aaa! Mitil! Seeing you here again. I was not expecting that. I was all alone at home. There you are, both of you raised in the sky where the joy and happiness combines, amongst the souls of all mothers! There, you are both in my arms! Is there a greater joy or happiness other than this? Why do you not smile Tilttil? You too, Mitil? Do you not remember your mother’s love? There, my eyes, my lips, my arms, don’t they?” (Maeterlinck n.d., 53). But the kids seem disinterested because the outfit of the woman does not look like the outfit of their mother. They feel like she is a stranger to them. Therefore, the Love of Mother feels like she has to explain the situation with referring both material and mental “richness”: “I pull these outfit off all the time, however you can’t realize it. Because you cannot see anything when the eyes are shut. Each mother who loves her children are rich. They cannot be poor, ugly or old. Motherly love is the greatest love of all. Mothers may have dolesome moments, but a single kiss on their lips would turn those tears they have in their eyes into stars.” (Maeterlinck n.d., 54)

For the playscript, the sameness is related to the future. That’s the reason of having so much emphasis on mothers and the kids. The kids are the future of the country and the humanity in the space of the Country of Future. The playscript concretize this sameness by the dialogue (Maeterlinck n.d., 60):

Tilttil: - Yes. What did you do?

Kid: - I made 33 medicine to extend the lifetime... There, in the little blue bottles!

Kid.- (Departing the group that he/she has been) I will bring a light, which has not known by the human yet, to the world (Colorful lights flare when he/she touches the toys) How? Some stuff to grow curiosity about?

Kid:- (Pulling Tilttil’s arm) See mine. A machine that flies just like a bird without wings.

Kid: - No, no... First see mine. The treasure to be found on Moon!

By the help of this dialogue, it becomes possible to deduce that children do not have a nation. Rather they are the future of the World by their future inventions, dreams, adventures. While the author and the translator as well as the literary board seeing the kids as the future of the humanity, another character called the King of 9 Planets (*Dokuz Seyyareler Krali*) in the Country of Future, is more interested in a political unity between

the planets. His aim would be making a unity in the Solar System and become the King in that unity. When he talks about this aim, he also adds his dream of having “one party” to unite them all (Maeterlinck n.d., 60):

King of 9 Planets: - (A kid moves forward who can hardly stand up on his/her short legs, around 4) That’s me!

Tartil: - But you are not great at all!

King of 9 Planets: - But the thing that I will do is going to be great.

Tartil: - What are you going to do?

King of 9 Planets: - I will establish a unity among the all lightning stars.

Tartil:- Ah, really?

King of 9 Planets: - All of them will be a one party! Only Saturn and Neptune are too far to be included in the party (The King of 9 Planets moves away with conceit).

Tartil: - So interesting!

As a result, humanist approach that was followed by some literary board members might have an impact on the preferences of this play<sup>49</sup>. National and narrative identity under the family theme of children’s translation playscripts becomes visible through the perception of the family as the basic unit of a nation. This data brings about seeing also the gender bias and the narrative others of the story. The others of the story is more based upon religion or narrative identities rather than modern national identities. This patriarchal attitude though preaches to the children to accept their current circumstances, and if they are live in poverty they should learn how to be happy with it. The importance is given to the future generations to construct an image of sameness.

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<sup>49</sup> I tried to get the official names of the literary board members, but the State Theater could not find a consistent record for the board. I owe special thanks to Şaziye Dağyapan, who is currently working in the State Theater as a dramaturgist, for her personal efforts to provide me information.

## CHAPTER 4

### **RECONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL SPACE: HOW TO CIVILIZE PEASANTS?**

The aim of this chapter is to explain the spatial imaginations in Turkish nation building process in the 1950s, by taking space as a theme in the repertory of the State Theater. I plan to reveal the included and excluded identities in the imagined space of Turkish nation, the basic emotions that the negotiations towards the imagination of space by nation building project engendered.

The chapter will focus on how the inner space is constructed in the 1950s rather than the international borders. The reason behind this preference is a discreet direction given by the repertory. “Homeland” is given as the inside of the international borders, on the contrary of how homeland imaginations in history theme varied. In the repertory between 1949 and 1960, space theme takes Turkish international borders and focus on constructing the inner space of the nation. Just like family theme unravels how modernization divides sphere into two as public and private; nationalism turns private spheres to the places of home; the space theme unravels how the territory of the nation turned into public sphere that would be a stage for daily representations of identities. Therefore where and how in there the nation is imagined becomes significant to examine.

Correspondingly Ana Maria Alonso (Alonso 1994) grows curiosity on how identities are constructed within the space of nation state. Also she asks how the implementations of fragmentation and homogenization gave results, how those identities and the space is constructed and imagined. It is possible to trace the answers of these questions over narratives yet narratives demonstrate how those implementations and imaginations are settled in daily lives.

Although the separation of private and public spheres are studied heavily by the gender literature by focusing on how nationalism is reproduced within the public sphere; how nationalism was reproduced in public sphere is studied less. However, if any how the state

patriarchy becomes visible in the space, how it ends up when the state and different identities of citizens of nation state meet is important to complete the whole discourse.

This chapter examines the theme of space through religion, state, narrative and national identity which are the components of national identity building. At first section, this study is interested in the religious symbolism (Alonso 1994) in nation building in the imagined space of the nation. The section asks whether this symbolism and the practices of religion could affect the inheritance of national identity through generations by using the space of the nation. What Alonso suggests about the place of religion in national identity building in space is its dependency on time. It does not only give the current discursive constructions of religious imaginations in a space but also refers to multiple time zones (Alonso 1994, 388), with a reference to David Harvey (Harvey 2002). Thereby it takes over the power of helping sameness or otherness in the space during national identity building process, without mattering whether secularism was fostered or a certain religion was induced.

Second section examines the relationship between the state and the space in national building process by pacing Alonso's state definition in modern time, which includes "discipline" and a discursive construction in every day language, practices and rituals. State reproduces implicit power related categories in modern time with nationalizing it and giving it a "national character" (Alonso 1994, 380). State has agencies to draw a framework for how to operate, such as bureaucracy, law, legitimate force in everyday routine. At the same time, this kind of examination will help us to understand how nation building process imagines the included and excluded elements, by announcing some as "us" the rest as "them". Alonso suggests that selected tradition is determined by the state system and added in the hegemonic process of nation building process. Because the state is the most effective apparatus to make the perception of "us" and "them" consolidated in the imagined space of the nation.

Nationalism draws the borders of a nation and insight of the borders become the national property in which the sovereignty of the nation state is legitimate (Alonso 1994). By the hands of the nation state this perception of sovereignty, and the way this sovereignty implements imagined identities are inherited intergenerationally by using the space of the nation. This reciprocal act between the people who live within the space and the apparatus



of sovereignty provides a warranty of living in a certain way, protecting the homogeneously imagined identity. Thereby, the identity which is imagined as a homogeneous one (indeed fragmented) are subjected to the inclusion and called national identity. While the sovereignty by the state is used inside, space of the nations turns out to be the space of commemorating the state (Alonso 1994; Çınar and Bender 2007; S. Roy 2006). Additionally, the space of the nation becomes the legitimate territory to melt the differences of identities, if nothing works, to exclude them. Hegemonic nationalism uses the relationship between the people and nature, monuments, sculptures, architecture.

Alonso (Alonso 1994) stitches the relation of nation to the space with “roots” borrowing words from environmental vocabulary. Roots have the essence of the emotions to tie up with the land, and most of the time, these roots are imagined as going back to the agrarian societies. Especially in postcolonial nationalisms nationalism is related to the nature and the rural by representing the purity of the people out there, not being touched with the dirt of modernity. These natural ties arrives at the making of nostalgia of the rural, the villager life. Alonso points out Sinhalese nationalism as a clear instance for drawing attention to the “moral core of the nation” in villages (Alonso 1994).

The study examines the playscripts that can be evaluated under the space theme in this section. The theme is about the duality of patterning of the story on city life style and village lifestyle or city life with an oblivion. The common features of the playscripts are usually the space as a city, village or a non-developped settlement; the oblivion for pure and virtuous of the untouched village life style, the tension between the village and the city life styles. Mardin argues that the debates on what good and bad are eliminated during modernization process in Turkey. People who need the ethical and morality rules embrace peeping and causes *panoptikon* in Foucauldian terms. Mardin claims that the lack of depth of the republican values fell behind the Islamic values and couldn't sneak into the ordinary peoples' lives (Mardin 1990). Therefore, the village and the neighbourhood, where *panoptikon* is possible, remained as an important, virtuous unit (Toprak 2013). Besides, recent studies have started arguing the place of the space and the territory for nation building. Different territory and territoriality understandings help to define the spectrum of the nationalist thought that has emerged from the 18th century (Penrose 2002).

Jonathan Penrose talks about the emotional bond between the people and their land (Penrose 2002). So he points out the importance of geography of peoples to feel connected to their lands other than having physical obligations to stay there. Thereby, people tend to develop territoriality for their land with their need to survive. Penrose draws the borders of the territory in the modern world with the borders of nation states. He indicates the significance of the space for nation states so as their nationalist ideologies. He is concerned about macro level of spatial powers in his study, while bringing modern philosophers's ideas together about the transformation of those powers in the context of geography. But mainly Penrose argues that without referencing to the nationalist use of the spaces in modern era, a comprehensible knowledge regarding mobilization and recreation of the masses would remain simple-minded.

In a broader sense the borders of nations, in a less broad means the boundaries of spaces are defined well in narratives since narratives have the power to communicate how those boundaries are imagined and implemented. Prokkola anticipates the power of narratives about the space in nationalism and nation state discourse on the theater stage in Swedish-Finnish crossing border case (Prokkola 2008). Eeva-kaisa Prokkola's approach, which accepts that narratives both transmit and construct "knowledge" and "reality", can be applied for inner borders that are constructed in public space with tacit acts of inclusive and exclusive performances. And narratives are the best tools to observe those acts because borders "...mark the division between 'us' and 'them', and also negotiate the moral justification of the border." (Prokkola 2008, 658). This approach automatically includes a mutual construction of identities that would make narratives and arts, in particular theater, a stage of commemorations.

In the light of these discussions, this study first examines the narratives that are written by local playwrights. Narratives of Turkish playwrights with regards to the space of Turkish nation will indicate where and how the space of Turkish nation is imagined through local eyes. I found four representative playscripts in the repertoire of the State Theater between 1949 and 1960: Cevat Fehmi Başkut's *Küçük Şehir* (*The Small City*), Ahmet Kutsi Tecer's *Köşebaşı* (*The Neighbourhood*), Nazım Kurşunlu's *Çığ* (*The Snowslip*), Turgut Özakman's *Güneşte On Kişi* (*Ten People on the Sun*).

Later on this study takes the translated playscripts under the space theme in order to reveal the outsiders' (the nations who live outside of the Turkish national borders) perceive Turkish national identity while constructing their own spatial national identity. How "the other"s spatial organization is given determined the perception of the Turkish audience about the excluded identity from the space of the nation. The playscripts that were picked as representative are only three in the repertoire of the State Theater: Oliver Goldsmith's *Yanlışlıklar Gecesi* (She Stoops to Conquer) with Ali Rıza Seyfi's translation, Vern Sneider's *Çayhane- Ağustos Mehtabında* (The Teahouse Of the August Moon) with Ayşe Sarialp's translation, Paolo Levi's *Trafik Cezası* (The Traffic Ticket) with Tarık Levendođlu's translation.

Thirdly the spatial theme is analysed in children's playscripts with the same categorization. One is for local children's playscripts, and another one for the translated children's playscripts were representative for the space theme. Local children's plays would reflect the imagination of the national identity building in the context of space to advise what kind of a spatial imagination to be inherited through generations. The playscript that is examined in this study under local children's playscript is *Kara Boncuk* (The Black Bead), written by Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın. On the other hand translated playscript would echo how mutually Turkish identity and the others were constructed while demonstrating "their" will to imagine "their" own spaces. The only translated playscript under the spatial children's play is *Üç Çuval Yalan* (Three Sacks of Lies), written by Margarethe Cordes with Süleyman Tamer's translation.

#### **4.1. Space Related Playscripts of the Local Playwrights**

This section focuses on the imagination of the space in Turkish nation building in the 1950s through the eyes of Turkish playwrights. Thereby this study will provide knowledge on where Turkish nation is imagined, what and where Turkish identity's borders are and who is included and who is excluded from the territory of the Turkish nation.

In nation building relationship with the space and the memory is set by the nationalism. Since memories cannot emerge independent from their places and time, selected memories and traditions by nation building projects are allowed to speak to the minds of people to reproduce it (Alonso 1994). In Turkish case, these memories are constructed in cities if

they refer to modernity, and constructed in villages if they refer to the essence of the nation. The experience of spatial construction of nation emerges as a division between the village and the city as the modern is imagined for cities, and the traditional in villages.

The screeplays which have the village-city-neighbourhood tension within, include the opening play of the State Theater in Ankara 1949: *Küçük Şehir* (The Little City), written by Cevat Fehmi Başkut (Başkut 1969); *Köşebaşı* (The Neighbourhood) by Ahmet Kutsi Tecer (Tecer n.d.), *Çiğ* (The Snowlip) by Nazım Kurşunlu (Kurşunlu n.d.) and *Güneşte On Kişi* (Ten People in the Sun) by Turgut Özakman (Özakman n.d.). Even though the number of the plays with the village-city theme is low, the high number of codings in these plays makes them significant and representative. Moreover, the authors of these plays are quite popular local theater play writers for the State Theater dramaturgists.

*Küçük Şehir* (The Little City) by Cevat Fehmi Başkut (Başkut 1969) is on the little ordinary lives in a small town in Anatolia called Çiftkayalar, after the establishment of Republic. It is not a play that worships the reforms, instead it demonstrates the antagonism between the central and the peripheral life styles, sarcastically. A group of people stops by in the town for a few, and they bring evil from the city life, and stains both the pureness and the peace of the life in the town. The visitors from the city are greeted by the mayor of the town who makes everyone feel that he is the representative of the state there. The State Theater staged *Küçük Şehir* in 1949-1950 season.

*Köşebaşı* (The Neighbourhood) by Ahmet Kutsi Tecer (Tecer n.d.) Ahmet Kutsi Tecer is a playwright whose space is a neighbourhood in İstanbul. The characters intersect in the same corner in the neighbourhood, where Macit Bey, the main character, lived and passed, his son faces with his past while the play takes picture of residents' life styles. The play was put onto the stage in İstanbul City Theater (Darülbedayi) and then Tatbikat Theater before the State Theater took this play into the repertory. The State Theater put the play onto the stage in 1951-1952 season. Ahmet Kutsi Tecer's works, overlap with the period of seeking for a national identity. He tries to find folkloric elements of theater plays throughout Anatolia and keeps being faithful and respectful for the republican institutions at the same time (Koz n.d.).

Çığ (The Snowslip) by Nazım Kurşunlu (Kurşunlu n.d.). The space of Nazım Kurşunlu's Çığ is settled in a secluded village, in which the dwellers are aware of the difference between a villagers life and a city dweller's life. The author draws the adaptation failure of the villagers' lives in a city through their look while referring their well intention. Çığ was staged in 1952-1953 season by the State Theater.

Güneşte On Kişi (Özakman n.d.) was launched by Turgut Özakman during 1955-1956 season. Turgut Özakman worked as the dramaturgist once and the Head of the State Theater as well, subjects a group of journalists who are tired of the dirty system, the sovereignty of the money that they are dealing with as well as the difficulties of the city life. The first space of the play is the administrative office of the journal which is untidy and the second space is the apartment of Kenan where is decorated in a humble way. The playscript reflects the lack of inner peace of the characters, who mainly feels Anatolian, while they are trying to hold on to the city life and make a livelihood. Yet they feel like they are selling their souls to the system. The playscript is a good example in the repertory to get an understanding of the author's view on transformation of the values in Turkey by the time. These changing values are caused by to be caught between embracing Western lifestyle which brings about a push forward to make a livelihood in the market as a graduate and the possibility to take shelter in an Anatolian village where their roots rely.

There are not too many playscripts to reflect the space particularly; therefore one can interpret this low number of playscripts under space theme as paid less attention than it is paid to the construction of history and family.

Next sections will examine the space related local playscripts by first focusing on how Turkish national identity is constructed in its relationship with religion, secondly the place of the state as a component of Turkish identity and finally how narrative and national identity is constructed in Turkish national identity's spatial imagination.

#### **4.1.1. Religion**

This section urges upon the how the religion is represented in the national space and how religion contributed the national identity building process in the 1950s through the local playwright's eyes.

The daily usage of the Islamic phrases is the fainted indicators of the self definition. Even though the public sphere is modernized and secularized after the proclamation of the republic, religion never loses its place in either city dwellers' or villagers' lives. The innate behaviours and the cues in the context of religion provide an implicit solidarity among the characters, especially when they struggle with the narratives of the modern city lifestyle, where some enjoy Westernization. In this context, the study examines the city-village-neighbourhood theme through religion codings in this section. Because this examination will give us how religion and where religion is imagined for national identity building.

First, Cevat Fehmi Başkut's *Küçük Şehir* is on the little lives in a small town in Anatolia called Çiftekayalar, after the establishment of Republic. It is not a play that worships the reforms, but demonstrates the antagonism between the central and the peripheral life styles, sarcastically. A group of people stops by in the town for a few, and they carry evil from the city life, and put stains on the pure and peaceful life in the town. The visitors from the city are greeted by the mayor of the town who makes everyone feel that he is the representative of the state there. He thinks the visitors coming from İstanbul would bring virtuous values of the era such as science and knowledge and teach villagers how to earn money. They'd help transforming the town into a small city (Başkut 1969,8). However the visitors don't even know geographically where the town is, and don't seem to care. Undoubtedly religion is one of the most important part of the daily life in the town, therefore the religious phrases are very often in daily language. "Narrative others" of the play are the visitors and among them the "non-muslim" citizen who helps the thief to trick the pure villagers. The non-muslim, beautiful, singer woman character is called Eleni (Başkut 1969,22), who also uses Islamic phrases just like the way the Muslims and the villagers do: "*Hamdüsena olsun. Çok şükür Allah'a.*" (Başkut 1969, 21). Insider difference is used as a point to demonstrate that non-Muslim entities might be tricky. However for the villager woman Setaret (Bacı), Eleni is evil and a "non believer dame" (Başkut 1969,15). The villager perceives that the city dwellers abuse the villagers. The purity is attributed to the religious villagers, who represent the essence of Turkish nation, if one searches for the essence to hold on to as a characteristic feature of Turkish nation.

Çığ (Kurşunlu n.d.) has a space on a mountain road during winter; it is inside of a lodging. There are some details about the decoration of the lodging. We understand that it is inner Anatolia and it is not a luxurious place to stay in at all. The characters of the play are

Muslim, as they use Muslimhood referenced many phrases while talking. There is an unmarried couple that runs away from their families to get together. And the villagers around are looking for them, as well as the gendarmery officer. Since what the couple did was a sin, the villagers also use the term chastity in terms of religiosity. However, the main characters Mevlut and Dursun feel pity for the couple at the same time: "May Allah protect them, hope they can find a nook to take shelter in..." (Kurşunlu, nd). Author criticises the religiosity that's reflected on traditional practices, here to force the young couple to run away, even though they know that it was going to be perceived as sin to be punished. While defining nation as Muslim, he can't help criticising the place of Islam in defining the moral values and traditions in the society such as chastity.

The daily use of the Islamic phrases is the faintest indicators of the self definition. There are no foreigner characters or non-muslim characters, in that sense, or there is no particular emphasis on a counter feeling towards a specific character. The characters all use these phrases with or without aiming at putting emphasis on Muslimhood. But on the other hand, the Western lifestyles of the characters are portrayed as people who drink wine in *Güneşte On Kişi*. *Güneşte On Kişi* has several codings for religion in daily language basis. The characters are city dwellers however they question their existence and their values or use Islamic words such as "*Allah kahretsin!*", "*Allah belasını versin!*". City dwellers are the representatives of new, modern nation and citizenship. They are Muslim, without a doubt because their language often refers to Muslimhood with dialogues. On the other hand they also drink wine and the author makes wine a symbol of Westernized life style with their conflicts in their minds with regards to changing and degenerated values of their society while they miss villagers' purity.

As a result, the design of Turkish nation's space includes a division of city life- and villagers' lives. Nation is imagined with its new face in the cities however without the virtuous modern essence of the nationality. Local playwrights turn their faces to the villages for their being carriers of traditional, religious, specifically Islamic values. Therefore it is possible to deduce that the feeling of sameness is based on Muslimhood religionwise, in terms of national identity building.

#### 4.1.2. State

“State” section provides an outlook for how the state is represented in the city-village separation and the role of the state as a part of a national identity through the works of the local authors.

Nations are attributed some of the state’s features such as legal rights and duties of the nation’s members, who are the citizens of the nation state. The location of the citizens against, within or according to state gives important clues about the identity of the citizen. The cities have become the main intervening public space of the modernization, where the state defines the modern members of the state as the city dwellers. The playscripts do not only give information about the perception of the citizen through the state, but also indicate the place of the citizen within or out of the state. The coming across of citizens and the state, the meaning of these gatherings and the self-positionings of both state and the members of nation indicates the imagined Picture of the nation.

In *Küçük Şehir*, Cevat Fehmi Başkut draws a character of a mayor who emphasize that he is the representative of the state that he thinks it is powerful. He feels that he is strong because he is “the state” itself there, which is the construction of the omnipotence of the state in public space. However, the author draws a space that reflect the weakness and the poverty of the state in rural. The first space of the play is a municipality office of whose roof is not rain resist. The mayor does not accept the reality, so he gives an order to eliminate the vision of the bucket which was placed in the middle of the Mayor’s Office to deal with the dripping roof. The powerful state discourse comes into prominence when the mayor talks to the notable people of the town to make them feel that the state is there: “...You are talking to me as members/associates of the municipality; I am not letting you talk. If you are talking to me as the notables of the town; I am giving an order by the authority of a mayor to make you shut up and sit down. Do you not recognize me as the mayor?” (Başkut 1969, 7). This cue is critical in the sense that local political power, once been elected feels like the hand of the state in space, including villages, small towns. So state is everywhere. It sounds like people are not electing who is going to servet hem rather who is going to administer them and represent the power of the state in public space.

Another representative of the state in the rural is teacher. The figure gathers all important and good features of well educated Republican elite. The character is trustworthy, care



about getting together for the common good, compromising. On the other hand, the teacher is afraid of a touch between city-village culture as well as a communication between different social strata, expects evil from the “other” identity; city dweller in this case. The character basically wants a compromise between two different cultures but ends up with a sharper gap: “...People are divided in different types. Don’t bring a city-dweller to the village, he cannot survive. Don’t take the villager to the city, he cannot feel content. Therefore, I don’t interpret favorably, a delegation coming by from a big city like İstanbul and joining us, although they are coming for a certain time...” (Başkut 1969,9). This perception and the cultural tension is reinforced and regenerated by Ramazan Pasha: “Mercy! How could you think that a Pasha’s daughter would marry a dirt-poor peasant?”. However the answer by Adem is more inclusive: “Just like the way a Pasha’s son marries a villager girl...” (Başkut 1969, 37). Teacher is the state’s smiling, illuminating face shown to the villagers. Interestingly, this cue also draws attention to the social strata as well as gender bias in the movement between strata.

Cevat Fehmi Başkut criticises the bureaucracy and the bureaucratic procedures as well as elites sarcastically, in an discreet way. The greetings procedure, people who fly the flags reluctantly, the speech and getting prepared in neat outfits are all unnecessary details of the bureaucratic apparatus for the author. We can also pursue the clues of populism embedded in bureaucracy and political life in a small town. The ones who feel that they are representatives of the state, make populist promises, even though they are aware that it is impossible to make them real: “...we will build an ice factory this summer. We will found a 500 beds hospital. A book palace, an art gallery. However, sir, these are all intentions... all dreams...” (Başkut 1969, 5). And the former deputy who is among the visitors has no idea where they are geographically: “I was Kayseri deputy for sometime. But I have never heard of the name of Çiftekayalar Town until now.” This way, Başkut wants to call attention to the rising populism and degenerated political life. Politicians forget they are serving to the people, however have no idea who who that people is, what their expectations and wills are; they don’t even know their place on the map. What these people who want to speak up for their needs is to develop socioeconomically and become “modern” just like the bigger cities which are perceived as the cradle of Turkish nation. They want to be a part of that cradle, as putting their pure Turkish essence in it.

This section of the representations of the state as a component of the building of the national space in the 1950s demonstrates that the existence of the state is seen everywhere, including the villages. And the face of the state is a patriarchal fatherly one that knows the best and reinforces populism among masses in the small towns. Although the “modern” is pictured in the cities, the authors start criticising this view and asks state to consider the needs of the villagers and the country as a whole; a national space.

#### **4.1.3. Narrative and National Identity**

Narrative and national identity section focuses on how Turkish playwrights imagine collective sameness and difference in national terms in the construction of national space. Also checks how these images/representations contribute into the construction of the spatial perceptions in Turkish national identity building in the 1950s.

Narrative and national identity section analysis playscripts according to the characters’s sameness and otherness. The examination of the narrative and national identity discourse under the village-city-neighbourhood theme provides an arbitrary assessment for individual and collective identities in a public space. The imagination of state, territories, borders, how the characters, so the playwrights define the citizen of Turkish nation within that certain space gain importance since it is related to the territory of the nation. This study examines whether the member of Turkish nation is perceived as a city dweller or a village dweller, how those are affected by the modernization process.

The mayor in *Küçük Şehir* is a character who thinks he holds a position that makes him defend the common good and future automatically. The common good and future is something symbolic in his mind with Turkish flags and a common memory of “working under bullets” (Başkut 1969, 3). He sees himself hierarchically superior than everyone but the visitors from a big city. So he gives orders to the residents of the town and the caretaker Ali to greet the visitors as good as they can (Başkut 1969, 3). The narrative “other” of the play is the strangers that are coming from İstanbul, in general. The narrative other carries almost all bad features such as craftiness and fraud. The sameness of the play is constructed on common history; and Sultan Mehmet II is used symbolically: “...Our lineage has raised numerous heroes who were in the forefront of Fatih.” , “And our lineage goes until the (Ottoman) golden age (*devr-i saadet*).” (Başkut 1969,7). Therefore it is obvious that memories are working to build a common history, sameness while making

peace with the golden ages of Ottoman Empire, on the contrary of official Kemalist ideology of the 1930s.

The tension between the villager's life and city dweller's life emerges on different usage of daily language. Although sameness is constructed on "us" as a whole, city dwellers represent a certain type of a life style where the village represents perceive them as the opponent identity, while they represent purity and virtue. The visitors speak Turkish with foreign words and the locals don't feel it genuine: "Learn Turkish first and then come by!..." (Başkut 1969, 15). Therefore villagers' claim is that they are the real Turkish because what they are speaking is real Turkish. For example Adem asks visitor Eleni: "...do you not know any Turkish fairy tales? Only the French, English or German tell them? Do you think Turkish don't?" and sets the play's sameness on being Turkish, where he puts French, English and German to the forth as national others as well as having a non-muslim narrative insider other embodied in Eleni.

*Köşebaşı* (The Neighbourhood) by Ahmet Kutsi Tecer is a playscript whose space is a neighbourhood in İstanbul. The characters intersect in the same corner in the neighbourhood, where Macit Bey, the main character, lived and passed, his son faces with his past while the play takes picture of residents' life styles. The play was put onto the stage in İstanbul City Theater (Darülbedayi) and then Tatbikat Theater before the State Theater took this play into the repertoire. Ahmet Kutsi Tecer's works, overlap with the period of seeking for a national identity. He tries to find folkloric elements of theater plays throughout Anatolia and keeps being faithful and respectful for the republican institutions at the same time (Koz n.d.).

The main character Macit Bey in *Köşebaşı*, used to be a member of Union and Progress Party and he is one of the founders of the new regime, yet he didn't have much to legate. While the author emphasized the virtue of the character with him not getting involved in materialism, he also makes the audience comprehend that the young generation has started to forget about the difficult times that the country and the previous generations got through: The Grocery Man: "... Once upon a time there were *İttihatçı* (unifier) and *İtilafçı* (disunifier)... You don't know them. This is one of those *İttihatçı*. You know, of the Young Turks. Well, you don't know them either... To know the old things are good though. Those Young Turks deployed Abdulhamit from the throne..."(Tecer n.d., 8). One can easily see

that this old man is offended by being forgotten, depending on the changing lifestyles, caused by modernization in cities. What he tries to do is to congregate the memories and the new space to legate what has been done for the common good of this country.

The artistic features and cultural developments in terms of Westernization are perceived as rubbish by the ordinary people in *Köşebaşı*; "Look around, everywhere is full of theater! Did you get it *gavur* boy!" (Tecer n.d., 10). However, for the new generation they are fun and worth learning and following academically or socially. However none of the characters deny that they are Easterns who are living in a big city. Even the ones who go to the West to get well educated in terms of arts and sciences, construct their sameness on Eastern identity and difference on the positive manners of Western cultural identity. The narrative others are *ecnebiler* (foreigners) and *gavurlar* (non-believers) throughout the text (Tecer n.d., 10, 40). The characters are not willing to meet new people, especially with the foreigners by stepping out of the neighbourhood. The community culture in a big city like İstanbul is based on the perceptions of "the others" of the residents.

The multiple identity codings are prominent in *Köşebaşı* as well. Even though, the local neighborhood culture is based on being Muslim, Eastern and traditions, the residents, especially the new generation city dwellers prefer compromising native culture and the Western cultural elements such as going out to listen both *fasıl* (Turkish classical music) and jazz music at the same entertainment. The musician character is one of those, who is aware of the conflicting coexistence of the trendy Western style of living and the local cultural elements "I am a violinist, but I also play *cümbüş*, clarinet, or an other. Whenever I need to, I also play accordion, saxophone... You know, world for a living, we fit to the trend." (Tecer n.d., 57).

The author wants to reflect the gap between the ones who are educated in West and the people who are living in the neighborhood, and point out the miscomprehension of modernization. The young girl and the son of the Pasha represent the younger generation, having educated in West, using French words and referring European artists while talking. They feel they are Westernized, while reinforcing their Eastern identities with a constitutive other, which is again Europe (Tecer n.d., 42).

The space of Nazım Kurşunlu's *Çığ* (Kurşunlu n.d.) is settled in a secluded village, in which the dwellers are aware of the difference between a villagers life and a city dweller's life. The author shows the failure of adaptation of the villagers' living in a bigger city through their look while referring their well intention: "*Dursun appears, around twenty five years, although he resides in a city, he couldn't get rid of his villager look yet, a pure-minded young man.*" (Kurşunlu n.d., 2). The city dwellers are the roots for the bad intention because they represent the degenerated life style: "Would it be a favor from a girl who was born and raised in a city? We were told however, it went in at one ear and out at the other." (Kurşunlu n.d., 4). However, the ones who move to the village can't help enjoying city life too; "We couldn't do in the village, sergeant. City is a whole new ball game." (Kurşunlu n.d., 5). Neighborhood culture, for the late comers to the big cities are the follow-ups of smaller lives that they had back in their villages.

In *Güneşte On Kişi* the characters romanticise the village as their hometown after experiencing the profaning lifestyle in the city. The village is where the virtue stands and it is still pure in terms of social values. Although village represents safety for them the character Yıldız, doesn't want to have dinner with provincial journalists within her dialogue with Foto. When they chase the events, they disengage themselves from the rest of the society. For them, the society is the actor and they are the audience of what bad has done by the society. It is to deduce that characters have roots in villages they feel that they are Muslim, their daily language refers the prophet and Allah often, however they feel that they are not totally embraced by the new social values that were brought about by modernization. Their lifestyles turn out to be Westernized, more specifically the character Foto, uses some French words sarcastically in dialogues, both to refer to Yıldız and Cemal's constraining Westernized lifestyle and degenerated social values. Foto's mock demonstrates the tension between the synchronization and dissimulation of Western values and the essence of being Turkish: "Would you like to have some more *sucuk, sinyor?*" (Özakman n.d., 23). *Sucuk* is Turkish sausage. Foto is a character to represent the correct way of synthesising Western values and the essence of the possessed culture by Turkish nation. Because he is aware of many European literary works as well as the philosophical roots of it. He gives references to the Ancient Greek philosophers and European authors in his dialogues, who were not only popular those days but also indicated the correct way of understanding the modernization and Westernization. He salutes European culture, but he

also salutes the Amon-Ra, the Ancient Egyptian God of Sun. So he is not turning his back to the other civilizations too. The character Foto uses Western- European authors' works such as *Faust*, but refers to Tarık bin Ziyad who conquered Andalusia as an Emevi commander, in the same sentence, without a clue for what he exactly means. Similarly, Cemal asks Foto, "Has the war started? What a noble outfit, *üstad* (master)? Are you going to act Hamlet?" (Özakman n.d., 8). Foto is a sarcastic character who always mocks the other coworkers. We get that he is the photographer of the journal through his title: *Foto*, where his real name is Suat.

The characters' emotions of being trapped is related to the swing between the virtue of the village and the degenerated principles of the modern city life as well as Eastern and Western identities in the terms of not going Western properly. On the second scene, the character *Baba* (Father) sits and has a talk with Cemal while drinking some wine. *Baba* feels upset with the people he lives amongst. He refers to the memory of the peoples and says, "(by yelling) People? What is that said to be people? The people have no memory... I was the beloved of the people, once. What happened then? Look at here, the struggle with the eight-strand octopus". (Özakman n.d.) This quote seems significant for its indication for lack of trust in the masses in an elitist and implicit way.

This section demonstrates that narrative and national identity is stuck between being a villager and a city dweller, as it is stuck between being Eastern and Western, having the dilemma of being either carrier of the essence of the national identity or the presenter of modernization. The authors criticize the elitist way of doing politics tacitly and recommend Turkish national identity to refer and synthesize both Eastern and Western civilizations in the national space.

#### **4.2. Space Related Translated Playscripts**

This section looks at how the space of "the other" identity pictures its modern and national space, by the help of space related translated playscripts in Turkish State Theater's repertory. Thereby, the audience receives a construction of citizen of the other in their spatial design. At the same time these pictures help constructing Turkishness and the Westernness mutually at the same time.

Different understandings of territory and territoriality help to define the spectrum of the nationalist thought that has emerged from the 18th century (Penrose 2002). Geography for the nation and nation building process is to transform the living place of the society into a nation's eventual homeland (Alonso 1994). Homeland is for the citizens who are the members of the nation, sharing the same status, with equal rights and responsibilities. Space theme not only refers to the international borders of a nation but also reflects the perception of the citizens' place for living, through the lens of the nation building process. International relations is divided by national borders, thus people living in a certain territory starts being a member of a certain nation drawn by borders. Beyond those borders, another nation lives with different imaginations and constructions of public spaces with various religion, state, narrative and national identity.

In this section, the study takes the space as the common base of the playscripts to examine under space related theme. The study examines *Yanlışlıklar Gecesi* (She Stoops to Conquer)(Goldsmith 1981) , *Ağustos Mehtabında* (The Teahouse of the August Moon)(Sneider and Patric n.d.) and *Trafik Cezası* (The Traffic Ticket) (Levi n.d.) by Paolo Levi under the space related theme. The common space of these playscripts is the cities. The members of the nation experience being the nation in city life. The preferences of the playscripts and the playwrights under space related theme by the literary board demonstrates the perception of where the members of a nation would live, and the reason behind it. Besides, it is to reflect the perception of the view of the State Theater's literary board on how the members of the nation would live, experience religion, state and define themselves through their narrative and national identities. The playscripts are picked from the American and European literature that point out the perception of "West" and "the civilized" through the lens of the State Theater. Therefore examining the playscripts helps understanding the self location of the Turkish national identity as opposed to the Western identity.

*She Stoops to Conquer*, written by Oliver Goldsmith, is translated by Ali Rıza Seyfi as *Yanlışlıklar Gecesi* and performed as *Yanlış Yanlış Üstüne* in Turkish. Turkish translation's meaning is "Night of Mistakes". The typing from the archives is dated in

1981. The playscript is an example of Irish- British literature of 18th century<sup>50</sup>. There are multiple spaces in the playscript. The spaces are repeatedly either an apartment or a room in that apartment or a pub. Although some parts of the story takes part in an old fashion apartment, the cues throughout the playscript, more focus on the macro lives of the characters rather than their private spaces such as family relations. Besides, it is not possible to deny the place of the pub culture in society and the city life especially in Britain. Goldsmith is capable of reflecting the transforming lifestyles of the workers in the cities in 18th century. Although at first, the play seems related to the degenerated family relations, it is more related to the transforming values in the modern society. The rising importance of wealth and money, class differences, so changing attitudes towards the marriage and lifestyles become apparent. Goldsmith's friendship ties with the British conservatives such as Edmund Burke, becomes visible as the playscript ends up with the dignification of the values.

The Teahouse of the August Moon is written by Vern Sneider, and adapted by John Patric. It has been translated by Ayşe Sarialp as *Çayhane* or *Ağustos Mehtabı Kiraathanesi*. The spaces of the playscript are Cournel Purdy's office at the headquarters in Okinawa, a big city in Japan, as well as Tobiki, a village. The space of the third act of the playscript gives the play its name by taking place in The Teahouse of the August Moon. The translation also gives room for a look of a house's view on the stage. The east of the playscript is the far east with its Japanese culture. The main character Sakini is a calm and quiet person, who defines himself as an Okinawian translator. He introduces himself and his people by emphasizing who are the "others" of his identity to the audience. By referring to the Chinese pirates, British missionaries, Japanese nobles, American individuals, he introduces the different perceptions of civilizations and modernity of the Americans and far easterns.

*Trafik Cezası* (The Traffic Ticket) is written by Paolo Levi and translated by Tarık Levendoğlu. The play was staged by the State Theater in 1955-1956 season. Paolo Levi is an Italian playwright who is also known for his journalist and art critic identities. The space of the playscript is a city square at night surrounded by three houses.

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<sup>50</sup> The translation and the publishing is one of the series of National Ministry of Education, and its preamble is given by Hasan Ali Yücel. Hasan Ali Yücel is known for his being a Turkish humanist, under the effect of modernism movement in Turkey. He had a significant affect in Turkish educational system in the early republican era (İnalçık 2011).



Next, the study consists of a deep analysis of space related translated playscripts by using the representations of religion for its being a powerful helper of nation building and the feeling of sameness, state as a component of nation-state and national identity building, finally narrative and national identity in modern terms.

#### **4.2.1. Religion**

This section of religion in the context of national spatial design of translated playscripts deals with how religion is becoming a part of the national identity building of “the other” identity in its space, and the place of religion in that space.

Nation building projects of the opponent civilizations construct nationalist discourses by imagining samenesses and differences. These samenesses of societies can be based upon either languages, cultures, color, ethnies or religion. Religion of “other”s and how Turkish identity is perceived in “their” public space gives information about the mutually constructed identities.

The characters of the *She Stoops to Conquer* are Christian. Some cues have clues about the differences and the tension between churches such as Methodist Church and the other Protestant Churches. Their differences float only when the priests of each come up with an idea regarding the lifestyle of the ordinary people. These people feel confident and free to reject even the priests’ preaches: “If the Methodist church priest comes and says that drinking is a sin I will bet on money with those guys, that they preach better when they zonked out. But if you come down to buy a piece of his hollowed religion and belief with a pittance (*üç kuruş*) in your hand, I produce all the smart men witness, you are a good friend to me, you are a pigeon.” (Goldsmith 1981, 8) The translation of the playscript uses “Allah” and “Yarabbi!” in many phrases such as “*Aman Allahım!*”, “*Hay Allahım!*”, “*Allah kahretsin!*” (Allah damn it!), “*Allah Allah!*”, “*Yarabbi!*” (Goldsmith 1981,5-60). Ali Rıza Seyfi Turkishizes these emotional cues with the word “*Allah*” or “*Yarabbi*” with Quranic names for the God. These plays do not give place to representations of Turkishness rather, with these Islamic phrases and words, translators reflect their own religious identities on the narratives.

The *Teahouse of the August Moon*’s first space is Okinawa and the Tobiki’s village square. Specifically on an act, the author mentions a house that is divided by bamboo tea

tables and curtains. Throughout the playscript, the translator prefers using word “Allah”, when the playwright tends to use an emotional expression or a phrase regarding the characters’ religion, just like the other translators. “Allah kahretsin!” (Allah damn it!), “Allahın cezası,” (Allah damned!), “Allah rızası için,” (For Allah’s sake.), “Allahaşkına” (For heavens/Allah’s sake), “Allah selamet versin” (May Allah provide safety/ Godspeed), “Allahın sersem budalaları”(Allah’s goofy fools), “Allaha şükür!”(Thanks to Allah!), “Allahaismarladık” (Adieu!), “Allah kahretsin o Japon böceklerini!” (Allah damn those Japanese bugs) (Sneider and Patric n.d., 8–79). These phrases are commonly used in Muslim societies in everyday language, even amongst the secular people. Apart from the other data excluded from the other playscripts, in this play, being a city dweller is a God’s blessing: “I have been Okinawian by the gods’ blessings. The history of Okinawa has written by the certain/counted conquerors’ blood.” (Sneider and Patric n.d., 4). This cue is not only important for its religious content but also striking for its primordial emphasis through the blood of the society’s ancestors. Given the unseperable place of religion and being Japanese as opposed to British, one can observe mutual construction if identities in this cue. Also, religion is used as a reinforcing complement for identity. Japanese identity is given as a counter identity of the non-modern in front of a modern ally.

The Traffic Ticket’s coded segments in the context of religion are not so different from the other playscripts. The translation again prefers using “Allah” to translate the expressions of the characters in the original piece, and gives an impression of adaptation in this sense. “Allah rızası için” “Allah aşkına...” (For Allah’s sake), “Allah’ın kulu,” “Allah’ın belası mahluk...” (Allah damn critter), “Allah izin verirse,” (If Allah permits), are the everyday Islamic phrases that the translator uses in order to translate some emotional expressions while tying the cues each other (Levi n.d., 9-59). On the other hand, although the audience would assume that the characters are not Muslim right away, it takes them a while to see and hear which religion they belong to. The audience gets some clues on the perception of the religion and the belief system of the characters some time later. These cues provide a deduction for their religion, and make it possible to deduce that they are Christian. “...Innocent... Dear friend, noone is innocent from the moment they see the light of the day (from the moment they are born). There is noone who is guiltfree. Being alive is a guilt, do you understand? Living, being in a society is a guilt...” (Levi n.d., 9). Piocity is a given characteristic of people in the play. Even they were oppressed by another sect, religion or

policy, they assure that they wouldn't give up on their beliefs. In this society, being pious is a significant feature of a character (Levi n.d., 55);

- You are pious, aren't you?
- Of course, do you not know?
- Ok there you are, that's why I asked. You are pious, you believe in ... (not readable), afterlife purely, without any doubts, right?
- Of course.
- You are ready for withstand, tolerate any force and suppression with this belief, even if you'd know that you will die, right?
- Of course, dear... No such thing has happened to me, but, let's suppose it would, of course...

Also they put a tie between Christianity and arts. Aesthetics is something that comes from the West and its origin is perceived as Christianity. The characters praise the piety in Christianity by referring (Levi n.d., 55):

- Have a look at the numerous guards for Christianity. How charming and cute people all of them are, aren't they? Have a look at the paintings/icons in the churches...
- A divine light runs down even of the faces of the old beavers.
- Think about the paintings that subject the Jesus Christ's crucifixion. Climbed up on the rocks, tall and gracefull (like a pheasant) shapes, with their noble gestures, those beautiful young men; how they evoked the people...

The freedom of religion is again opened to debate under space theme with the freedom of rejecting even the preacher. Even though there is an option of rejecting preaches, the sameness of the playscripts rely on Christianity and correspondingly piety in Christianity is praised.

The intersection point of the space and the religion is striking. Space does not only refers to the borders or the land of a nation state, but more often refers to the distinction between the village and city life: modern and traditional life styles. According to the translation playscripts that are examined under the space theme, being a city dweller is a God given chance, a blessing, most of the time.

As a sum, religion does not lose its importance in peoples' lives in city public sphere but opens the debate of the place of religion. During war time, or even after the war or under an invasion or alliance, religion is the common ground and an important cultural shelter to the identities. It has been used as a primordial fact that brings up a historical common ground for the identities to be built upon. Even though a state starts up modernization with implicit dynamics, a religio-cultural resistance is inevitable. The place of religion in modern cities is debatable, with a profound line between cultural essence and religion by modernization.

#### **4.2.2. State**

The context of state will reveal the image of the state in the opponent identity's space. However there is no rich data under this section. The only coding for the state, more specifically for patriarchy and militarism is in *The Teahouse of the August Moon*. : The character Sakini, tells about Colonel Purdy's everyday routine in a sanctifying manner; "He looks up to the sky every morning at first. Afterwards certainly a mahdi comes up." Then Purdy really comes up with a mahdilike assumption: "It is not going to rain today." And Sakini concludes her talk sarcastically: "Do you believe that, it is not going to rain today, really. A rain has not been recorded in the history of Okinawa in this season. However our Colonel never mistakes, for sure." (Levi n.d., 7). Sakini is a calm and quiet character who acts like an obedient in general, but there is an underlying sarcasm in her talk. The potent of the Colonel is not something sustainable forever in her eyes.

The only code under the space related translation playscripts shows that the state is perceived as almighty in public space. However making a general statement is not possible with a single cue.

#### **4.2.3. Narrative and National Identity**

This section covers how narrative and national identities in translated playscripts are constructed with examining the feelings of sameness and the differences. Thereby this study provides knowledge on how Turkish identity is built as opposition to the Western and modern identity in space theme in the 1950s.

The space of *She Stoops to Conquer* relies also on the division between the big and modern city life style and the rural life style. The rural people talk to each other and

mention the perception of the trendy lifestyle lies in London, a modernized city: “You are an odd guy, *vesselam*<sup>51</sup>, Mr. Hardcastle. Wonder if there is someone else that doesn’t make it to London time to time in order to robb their rust out?” (Goldsmith 1981, 2). The answer of the Mr. Hardcastle, whose name implies that he has a stubborn character, is critical of the new lifestyle of the Londoner or the rural who envy them: “ Yes, they do but... they go but... They bring arrogancy and lameness that will be enough for them for a year! I wonder why London can not keep its own people at home, that surprises me. In my day, the mads of the city could snuggle in slowly.” (Goldsmith 1981, 15). London is the center for the new elitist lifestyle that is envied. But that doesn’t mean that the characters are only envy the new trends but they are also critical towards it to some level: “He has lived in London for two years, now he has been drawn to the net curtains, ornamented French rags too, just like the trueborn Londoners.” (Goldsmith 1981, 4).

- Do they look like Londoners?
- I think yes. Their appearances are truly French. (Goldsmith 1981, 9)

This cue becomes important when we all together think about the tension between the rural and the city identity of the new modern society. This duality becomes visible in dialogues on the different perceptions and the pursuit of entertainments in rural and city: “Of course a person like you who has been to the brightest meetings cannot find something to have fun at an unknown little corner of the rural world” (Goldsmith 1981, 22) Some rural characters use the love of London as a signifier of a higher stratum: “I am in love with London, there this love puts me into a more prominent position than some other villager neighbours” (Goldsmith 1981, 25)

It is also striking that the other of the English identity is seen as the French, as it corrupts the British culture with its cultural and materialistic productions, and becomes the symbol of the city dwellers. This tension also reflects upon the French wine (Goldsmith 1981, 37):

- Nectar, nectar? Yes, a drink but noone drinks that around here. I think it is a French drink. We, here, don’t keep French wine, master.
- The nectar that I talk about is a genuine British product!

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<sup>51</sup> Vesselam. Arabic originated Turkish word, means “that’s the thing”, “that’s it”, “there you are”, for more information check, Big Turkish Dictionary on [www.tdk.gov.tr](http://www.tdk.gov.tr)

Although the story of *She Stoops to Conquer* takes place in 18th century, the affects of Ottoman Empire in the nation building processes in European countries is a fact. “Turks” constructs “the other” identity of the European identity in mutual respect: “Good, very good, thank you. *Kah, kah, kah!* This ingenious commandership of yours reminded me of the war that the prince Eugene gave against Turks in Belgrade.” (Goldsmith 1981, 18). 18th century Ottomans are called (and translated) as Turks, they are opposing identity of modern European identity. Translator seems embraced the Ottoman past of Turkish Republic.

The *Teahouse of the August Moon* has hidden representations of “we” and “us” identity based upon being Japanese. The Japanese are the nation who has a long long past, full of prideful events, that makes the society Japanese in modern nationalistic terms; “In XIV. Century, being invaded by the Chinese pirates, is the prideful destiny that is written in the stars (in Turkish, this idiom is translated as “*Alnımızın şerefli yazısıdır*”, with my correction of misspelling “*Anlımız*”, literally it means written on our forehead). We welcomed the English missionaries in XVI. Century, and Japanese nobles in XVIII. Century (with a hand gesture). We couldn’t have told the American individuals (*efrad*) to get back where they have come from after hospitality this much. You see how Okinawa is lucky?” (Goldsmith 1981, 4). It is also possible to evaluate this cue sarcastically. However, it depends on how the act is directed by the director.

The *Teahouse of the August Moon* play is based upon the nationalistic and cultural differences felt during the World War Two. That way, Vern Sneider tells about the cultural differences that characters emphasize; “The imperfection in America is the peace in Okinawa.” (Sneider and Patric n.d.,5). The Turkish of the phrase includes rhyme: “*Amerika’da kus[ur], Okinawa’da huz[ur]*”. So it refers the cultural difference rather than emphasizing what causes problem in America would lead peace in Okinawa. The values are so different from each other in East from the West that the imperfection in America would have been perceived as a reason for peace in Japan. The Japanese perceive the American individuals as the others of their society, their nation, which has rebellious spirits (Sneider and Patric n.d., 80). These mutual constructions of “difference” are the mirrors of what has happened and how pacts and alliances formed in World War II. It also demonstrates the rising aggressive nationalisms. These all take place in urban spaces and public spaces under modernization.

Colonel Purdy in Japan believes in bringing democracy to Tobiki. Sakini is the picked character for teaching the Japanese democracy. The cultural differences are neglected by the Americans, but the spreading their values, and the economic structure underneath. Purdy says: For Purdy, army is a place to serve one's country in a virtuous way. He informs Fisby, the lieutenant, about the details of this virtue: "Hear me out well, captain. Nobody comes into the world as a soldier. But when the time comes, executes this precious assignment. He adapts himself into the military principles. We work tooth and tail, work, however, at the end, we get back to our homeland (*vatan*) with the honor of the victory on our shoulders..." then keeps talking up about what he did before getting drafted, "I was the owner of a paper-bag company in Pottavattamie. I didn't have any opinion in the slightest degree about the foreigners/strangers<sup>52</sup>. Today, my assignment is to teach the local people democracy. Even if it is required to kill each of them one-by-one in order to accomplish my job, I will; I will make them say that this is democracy by hitting them on their heads" (Sneider and Patric n.d.,13) and keeps talking to Sakini "Dear, that's not the point. The point is, your talent in teaching. Your assignment in Tobiki is to teach what the democracy is to the local people there, arouse a feeling of respect. And industrialize there, at the same time." (Sneider and Patric n.d., 14). The eastern identity of the non-Americans is uttered at the earliest opportunity by the Americans throughout the text. Fisby's cue is one of them: "Tell him that I have a face to think about its dignity. Therefore, he had better give up easternwise fooleries" (Sneider and Patric n.d.,35). Americans identify Japanese as Easterns while constructing themselves as Western and characterize Easterns as full of emotions and fooleries. Patriots during World War II transformed their working places into factories to manufacture military tools. They believed in an upcoming victory so they put fast modernization and industrialization to the core of being a strong nation; however an authoritarian manner in disseminating democracy calls attention. They try to illuminate local people and teach them what democracy is and maket hem accept it either by the consent or by force.

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<sup>52</sup> It is rather difficult to decide whether this Word "*yabancılar*" in Turkish has translated from strangers or foreigners. "*Yabancılar*" may both mean strangers or foreigners in Turkish. In any case it shows a discontent regarding "the other" however with a slight difference: one is directed to the domestic others, where foreigners are directed to the outsiders.

The Americans on the island talk about the enemy's propagandist tools and the administrative applications of the locals critically, even Purdy criticises the locals' system by "*(by jumping out of his skin)* This, this is communism." (Sneider and Patric n.d.,75).

The cultural difference reflects on the sameness and the difference of the clashing national identities of the Americans and the Japanese based on Easternness and Westernness. Purdy: "I understand. My wife would tell already: The East cannot Westernize, the West cannot Easternize. These two slants never comply. Yet, the core of the point is this. Anyways, then, have you achieved any significant process?" (Sneider and Patric n.d.,37). So both identities clearly cut borders even if they come across on the same territory. It is to deduce that, the author wants to draw an American character under Western identity representation which sees Westernization as a progressive modernity project, and the democracy as a tool of this project, despite the unpatchable gap between the Eastern and Western identities. Fisby, another Western character also emphasizes this gap by looking down on "Eastern" people, while talking to Sakini: "There is an explicit difference that cannot be compensable between us, the Westerners and the Easterns: I don't want to say that there is no prostitution. But, for Allah (*Allah için*, to express a certainty in Turkish by a Turkish phrase), there is no organisation for a society of prostitutes." (Sneider and Patric n.d.,44). Getting affected by the local culture, so called "Easternization" is a case to humiliate as well (Sneider and Patric n.d.,76):

Fisby: - He will never like there Sakini. I would never like to see him with a wooly on his back, sneakers on his feet, like a Easternized American.

Sakini: - But, Lotus wants to become American. He has met only one American that he didn't like.

Fisby: - But, some Americans will not like him. There will be at least one to make Lotus unhappy.

The modernized and the Western is literate, civilized for the Americans where the locals are ignorant, uncivilized, different and defined as the other, even if the Americans themselves are the ones who are foreigners on the land; "Colonel Purdy III, loves hanging plates everywhere. For sure, this is a requirement of the civilization. It is a tough assignment to teach the ignorant people..." (Sneider and Patric n.d.,6) [of East].



Throughout for the playscript, there is a severe emphasis on the virtue of the Colonel Purdy, despite the sarcasm of some of the cues regarding his character. However, he is demonstrated as a virtuous man, who wants the best for the village in terms of high life standards. He wants to develop the village and gives orders to his fellows. Fisby claims what he did was to make the village wealthier, and this has become the result, apparently Colonel is dissatisfied with the method. Fisby applies this to the village by the white slaves trade or alcoholic beverage trades. For Colonel, a village represents the backwardness and somewhere needed help to improve, but in a virtuous way, without damaging its virtuous essence. Fisby says: “You told me to develop the village, ordered me to make them self-sufficient.” And Colonel Purdy’s respond to this becomes: “I told so but, I didn’t told you to promote vileness and drunkenness. You discredited my hometowns honor.” (Sneider and Patric n.d.,74). The translation uses “*iki paralık etmek*” in Turkish, which means “decreasing something to 2 cents value” literally and to discredit or dishonor figuratively. The same dialogue goes on with Fisby’s defensive words: “What shall I do then, shall I kill myself?” in Turkish: “...*canıma mı kıyayım?*”, that includes agitation. And Colonel goes back to his seriousness on the issue when he sees Fisby’s superficial attitude: “*Allahaşkına* (For Allah’s sake) take this seriously. You don’t know the enemy’s brilliance in propoganda field, presumably?” Thereby the audience deduces that Colonel is virtuous, trustworthy; he only thinks about his country’s favor and calls Fisby into account about his deceit. He wants to let the Washington, the center of his country, right away about the deceptions.

Being an American is a virtuous and an honored value for Colonel Purdy, as he is ready to embrace everyone he trusts in their honesty hold a part of that virtue as well. Sakini, is his trustworthy friend who worths carrying the value of being American, even she is not American originally. Fisby tells how Sakini is crafty and smart in a cunning way: “You Sakini you are one of those who plays both ends against the middle.” The translator prefers using a Turkish idiom “*Şeytana pabucunu ters giydirmek*”, when translated: “to make the devil wear its shoes inside out”. Colonel supports Sakini, by saying “No. She has got a real American’s initiation.”

The Traffic Ticket has only one code under narrative and national identity. The characters sameness relies on Christianity although they live in a modern city in modern terms. The only feeling of a modern sameness for their identity becomes visible through “I will have it

signed, to the party members, all citizens, even the foreigners who are on the other side of the borders, the other nations, all world... All of the posts will unite, a petition flood will wind up the king's palace...." (Sneider and Patric n.d.,65).

Narrative identity relies on the division between the modern city life and the rural life style. The modern city life style is envied and slammed at the same. Life is in the city but the virtue remains at the village, in congruent with the perspectives of the local authors in the context of modernization and nation building through space.

At the same time, "the others" emerge basically in Europe as the translations are mainly borrowed from European literature as nations emerge. Modernization causes the emergence of these modern national "others". The playwrights of the translated playscripts perceive others as the other European emerging nations as well as the Turks. Ottoman Empire stands as a nation for Turks through the eyes of the Europeans, particularly from the start of modernization steps within the institutions of Ottoman Empire.

To sum, the cultural differences in the city and village life causes an anxiety of excessive modernization and losing the essence and the virtue that the people got in rural life style, especially this is valid for the late comers of modernization and nation building processes. The distinction and the dilemmas of the people who live in the cities in translation resemble to the contradictive feelings of the characters in the local authors' works that dwell in the cities. Correspondingly, these complicated feelings that come back and forth between the modern life style of the modern cities and the virtue and the traditional lifestyle of the village or rural life.

#### **4.3. Space Related Children's Playscripts of the Local Playwrights**

This section deals with the national identity construction within the imagination of Turkish national space in the 1950s and how it is presented to the future generations of Turkish nation through the lens of the local playwrights in the State Theater repertory.

The only representative playscript, *Kara Boncuk* (The Black Bead), written by Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın in 1951, was performed in 1950-1951 by the State Theater. It is a children's musical theater, and just like the other children's plays, it is a pretty short playscript. Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın is a children's poet and playscript author who has an important place in Turkish children literature, gave his many works to the State Theater. The story of the

Black Bead, takes place in a house among the members of family. The nuclear family that lives in the house is enriched by the uncle (*dayı*- the brother of the mother), a head cook and his assistant, a black maid and her son. The main character is a little girl, *Çiçek* (the name means flower in English) in the playscript. Her *dayı* sneezes chronically and her other uncle who is the brother of her father, sends a letter from Altınbaşak (translation of the word is Golden wheat) Village, talking about a weed that heals chronicle sneezes. Although the story passes among a family's members, the bulk of the codings are on the spatial dividedness of the village and the city. Therefore the examination of the Black Bead has done under the space related childrens' plays written by local authors. Thereby this analysis will unravel how and where the future generations of Turkish nation are imagined, in the context of religion, state, national and narrative identity.

Next sections will cover the relationship between the national identity building within the imagination of the space of the nation by the help of religion, state, narrative and national identity.

#### **4.3.1. Religion**

This section focuses on the place of the religion in the construction of national space in children's place. Seeing the representations of religion with relations to the Turkish national identity is significant because of its power of reaching out the younger members of the nation.

In the Black Bead, the only but a significant data has been a dialogue between the Uncle and the Cook. The family of the story decides to make a visit to their village, since even if they live in a modern city they have roots in a village. The health problem that their *dayı* is getting through with severe sneezes has its remedy in the village. Although the Cook believes in the power and importance of the science and mentions this, family heads to the village to give a try to the weed as a remedy. The village throughout the playscript has been idealized with its people's hospitality and virtue. On the other hand, interestingly enough, the uncle of the family represents "the traditional" and he is more involved in the religion which is outdated: "*Dayıbey... Let it go if you like your religion. This boy has gone crazy... Don't go along with him.*" (Taşkın n.d.) He feels like he is superior to give advise to the uncle. The Turkish words are: "...*Bırak dinini seversen... uyma ona...*" has an implicit superiority and tolerance.

This study shows that the children's local playscripts recommend the new generation to be in favor of science in the antagonism between science and religion. Religion is demonstrated as the glue of the people but should not exceed over the other fields of life. The space of the nation is again designed with a dualism between city and village. The citizens are the dwellers of the modern cities however they long for the beauty, remedy, purity of the village, where the essence, the traditions of Turkishness lies. The problem is that there is no sharp decision made by the author or the characters to be villagers or city dwellers, and they are even confused with the place of religion as they are confused about the space they belong to.

#### **4.3.2. State**

State is not observable in the space theme in children's plays, written by local playwrights. This might be explained by two points: First is author might be more concerned about the tension between the modern and the tradition. Secondly, state is not directly the interferer of this tension according to the author.

#### **4.3.3. Narrative and National Identity**

The section of narrative and national identity focuses on how the sameness and the difference of both narrative and Turkish national identity in the national spatial design that is demonstrated to the younger members of Turkish nation.

In *The Black Bead*; over the name of the village *Altınbaşak* (golden wheat) is possible to deduce that the village is called golden wheat to make an emphasis on its fruitfulness. The discourse is also traced through the poem (song) that was sung by the choir and the family members (Taşkın n.d., 8):

*“(All family members get together)*

We are leaving, leaving  
Hello to you *Altınbaşak*.  
We are flying like a bird,  
Hello to you *Altınbaşak*.

There is remedy in its waters,  
There is healing in its air,  
There is pleasure on its moorland,  
Hello to you *Altınbaşak*.

Its goat, cow, lamb,

Its wells are full of ice water,  
Any time in four seasons,  
Lacks of passengers.”

The village is idealized by the characters, by having the best qualities such as fruitfulness, being the source for pleasure, happiness, natural beauty and health. Another quote to point out the wisdom, hospitality and the virtue in the villagers is an actors cue.

The controversial Western and Eastern identity shows up in this greeting ceremony with a new style of dance for young Turkey and its target audience, evidence by the directions for the director: “(Gets up. Before stepping in the kiraathane the guests flow in. A greeting ceremony at length.. The girls get out of the hand-fan store. Some has got hand-fans, some has got umbrellas.. Ballet.. The villagers are on the stage.)” (Taşkın, n.d., 30). The wisdom and the virtue of being villagers in Turkey is jumbled up with those two cultural experiences at a time on stage.

Interestingly this playscript reflects the yearning for villages of the modern Turkish nation members who live in big cities. This longing is not for only the traditional lifestyle but more for the essential features of being from a Turkish village where virtue, natural beauty, pleasure, hospitality and health lies. The critic towards atomized life in big cities, families try to hold on to each other. We don't see “the West” as the source of this change in life styles though. Correspondingly, the State Theater keeps the assignment of introducing universal Western classical arts; such as ballet with young members of Turkish nation.

#### **4.4. Space Related Translated Children's Playscripts**

Translated children's playscripts are significant to demonstrate the spatial design, where the others' nation is located to the children of Turkish nation. While doing this, the feeling of sameness is constructed in a mutual relationship with Turkish identity and “the other” of Turkish identity in the demonstrated space. This chapter covers the translated children's playscripts within the construction of national space to found the relationship between the national space and national identity construction in the 1950s for the sight of the future generations of Turkish nation.

The space is defined in dualism of poor and rich; villager and noblemen, rather than a tension between village and the city. Even though, *3 Sacks of Lies (Üç Çuval Yalan)*, written by Margarethe Cordes and translated by Süleyman Tamer, carries some units related to the historical theme, the coming back and forth between the village and the palace of the characters are outstanding and distinctive. The first space of the playscript is defined as a villager's, Krişan's house, with cows' moos. Trina gets off the house with wooden shoes on, with a milk bucket. A night before, a vagabond asks for a night stay at Krişan's place. Hans and The Smart Man talk about this stranger. They think that he has some extraordinary powers. The audience sees a tree and gets that, that tree didn't exist the night before. A Police enters the village square announcing about the King Pampelius' orders. The Princess *Gülkonca* (means rose bloom in English) has a depression and couldn't get well even though the doctors tried every possible treatment. So the King searches for a remedy and a person to bring that relief. The award is the Princess herself after she starts feeling better. The tree that suddenly proliferates is a magic apple tree with magical power to treat any disease. Krişan picks some apples and heads to the palace. On the way to the palace, the Smart Man does a magic on the apples to make them go bad. Krişan gets to the palace with rotten apples. The king punishes him for bringing rotten fruits and mocking the situation. Then Hans starts selling these apples in the bazaar by telling that they are remedy for anything. The Princess wants to try out and feels much better after having a bite. However, there is a little problem with the promise that the King gave. The promise of the king is, giving his daughter as a bride to the man who brings the remedy and relief for her. Although he is ok with keeping his promise, the suspicion of having a villager groom rises, for the sake of the land. He tells that he is going to test him for his eligibility to administer the situations. He passes the exam by the help of the princess as well, and become happy together. What is different about this play is its space. The space does not rely on the division of village and city yet the timeline of the play is fictional: fairy tale with a princess, a King, with a distinction of the poor from the rich and noble.

Following sections urge upon the deconstruction of the Turkish national identity and the representations of "other" with its national spatial design for the future members of Turkish nation by the help of religion, state, narrative and national identity, as the main components of national identity building.

#### 4.4.1. Religion

This section on the representations of religion in the context of reconstruction of the national space as it is demonstrated for the next generations of Turkish nation. Religion within translated playscripts would indicate the place of the religion in mutual construction of identities while giving specimens about how the other's and "our" religion is used in national identity building in the 1950s. With this play the State Theater introduces the imagination of space of the opposing identity, having a claim on "them" experiencing stratum based divisions and noble-people division.

Not different from the sections related to religion component of identity, the translation of 3 Sacks of Lies also include some Islamic daily phrases, by evidence that: "*Aman Allah'im!*" (Oh my Allah!) (Cordes n.d.,3,6) , "*Aman Allahım! Aman Yarabbi!*" (Oh my Allah! Oh my Yarabbi!) (Cordes n.d.,5, 14), "*Hay Allah!*" , "*Allah cezanızı versin!*" (Allah damn you!) (Cordes n.d.,18), "*Allah kahretsin,*" (Allah damn it!) (Cordes n.d., 21), "~~*Allahım*~~ *Tanrım bu mümkün mü?*" (My Allah/Tanrı, is that possible?) (Cordes n.d., 39). Interestingly enough, the director stroke out the word "Allah" and wrote word "*Tanrım*", which is a Turkish and secular term for God, instead. However, we never know which director of what year performance showed that preference. The translator uses his religious background while translating the text. However, there are no other imaginations of the opposing identity of representations of Turkish identity.

The findings with regards to the representations of the place of religion in Turkish national identity building with the audience of children indicate that a tacit sameness is founded by the help of daily Islamic phrases that is preferred by the translator. However, that does not automatically found "the other".

#### 4.4.2. State

This section focuses on how the state is represented in the translated children's playscripts. Thereby, the study aims at calling attention to the place of the state and patriarchy in Turkish nation building process while acting the translated plays. This attempt is to reveal the sight of Turkish children in the context of the perception of the state of "the other" in the 1950s.

The representation of the state is embodied in the character "Polis". Polis is a chracter who defends the law on behalf of the King and the Princess. He can move and behave on behalf of the judiciary, because of the power and the virtue of his representation. He perceives

Hans' move of throwing an apple over the Polis' head as an offense. Polis feels so strong that he can threaten the villager Hans with jail and the bad conditions of being prisoned to make up his mind: "(Furiously) Enough, now! You are breaking the law! Throwing an apple over a cop's head is violating the law. This is taking me for a fool. (*He wants to take Hans away by holding from his collars*) You will see what it means to offend a civil servant! A piece of bread and a cup of water will bring you to reason. C'mon walk!" (Cordes n.d., 23). Thereby, the villagers, who are the subjects of the kingdom, feel the entity of the state through its civil servants, its legitimate brute force. Similar with the representation of state through the bureaucrats of civil servants hands in local playwrights' words, state reinforces its power and sets power relations in public sphere. Thus, legitimizes its entity in public sphere by letting the kids know about state's eternal existence and effect.

#### **4.4.3. National and Narrative Identity**

This section deals with the building of the sameness and the difference in the perception of "the other"s playscripts to idealize the Turkish national identity in the 1950s for the younger generations.

Playscripts that are related to the Space theme usually demonstrate a dualism between village and city life. However, children's translation playscripts which are related to the space theme, take place in the dualism between village and the palace. The division between the lifestyles those who live in a palace and the village is striking. Although there are not so many playscripts to point out this difference clearly, the virtue is given to the villagers and their poor life is represented as congruent with the other space related playscripts. The most significant example for this is the remedy that the Princess who lives in the Palace in despair, comes from a village by the hands of a villager. That way, the narrative identity that is embraced by the author or the translator of the space related playscripts is "the virtuous villagers".

Although the virtue and the remedy are in the hands of the villagers, equality between the dwellers of the palace and a village cannot be acceptable. For the Queen, a princess and a villager cannot be in the same pot. Even though the playwright and the translator are more into the equality of those, they both shut their eyes to the extra effort that is expected from a villager to be accepted as an equal of the princess (Cordes n.d., 25):



Queen: - Pampelius, think about it!... How can a princess and a villager come together? This is not so different than putting a peach and a sunchoke in the same basket!

King: - Right, you are right, dear Hortensis! Hans, I need to give you my daughter and half of my Kingdom; but I will take you to an exam in order to understand whether you are capable of managing these very difficult tasks.

Hans: - What kind of an exam... my king?

This dialogue is in accordance with the social differences that were emphasized in local playwrights' works under space theme in *Küçük Şehir*, written by Cevat Fehmi Başkut. For instance it was hard to imagine a marriage between a villager boy and the daughter of a wealthy city dweller; despite it was acceptable to engage a Pasha with a villager girl. We run into the same antagonism in this play, critically. The poor villager boy wants to get marry to the Princess. This playscript wants the kids imagine to break these inequalities down. Though, the literary board and the translator can't take this matter of equality too far. Yet, one may come accross gendered nature of the spatial constructions. The princess is asked from his father, the King.

There are also some explicit examples for gender biased language in *Üç Çuval Yalan* as well. The reason for having this biased language might be a result of having the village perceived as "the backwarded". Although the village and villagers are the entities that hold the virtue in their hands, that doesn't take their backwardness away. While the characters talk among each other, in a group both filled by women and men, Trine, who is a woman, says "I am ashamed of lining up with the men.". The man character, doesn't seem to care about her concern, instead, he claims that she is concerning with unnecessary things and making him busy for nothing: "Come on you, what does feeling ashamed means! Don't fill my head with something else!" and continues speaking to the crowd: "Now listen to me! When the car arrives, you will shout out loud 'Long live our Majesty!'. When I give you the signal with the bouquet, you will shout 'Live, Live.'. Do you understand?". (Cordes n.d.,16) He puts a hierarchy between himself and the others while ordering them to listen up, while he seems he is the one who thinks that inequality of the bodies of the men and women is nonsense. Therefore, he becomes the know-it-all.



## CONCLUSION

Nation building process was accelerated after the proclamation of the republic, and its pace and variety has been affected according to the domestic and international politics. Turkish nation building process and the transformation of the perceptions towards modernization were examined profoundly by limiting the historical periods with the 1920s and 1930s mainly. These studies are completed by the assumption of continuation of the same policies in the 1940s and the 1950s. However, Turkish experience of transition to democracy in 1946 was an irreversible change in many aspects, and must have affected cultural policies as well as the narratives that reflect these transformations, particularly in the context of nation building process.

Starting from this point of view, this study takes the narratives as the mirror of the nation building process, led by Turkish nation state once. Narratives, more specifically literary texts, as argued in the section of methodology, have been very strong tools to indicate the perceptions and imaginations of the agents with regards to identity construction. The strongest narratives I suggest in this study is the theater playscripts, since they are strengthened by the performance. They appeal to the three senses at a time. They do not only left the messages of the texts to the imagination of the audience but demonstrate them. The State Theater, as funded and supported by the biggest administrative tool: state has been one of the most important agent to convey the messages of the nation building process since its foundation in 1949. Taking the historical period into consideration, when the institution first performed its play in 1949, one can address how important the theater was in the lack of visual communicative tools spread. Correspondingly, the performative power of the State Theater attracted attention of the state, evident by the regulation that was for the State Theater. The institution is autonomous, the literary board is autonomous. This regulation steals from its freedom but luckily gives us an assumption of being reflexive about the national identity building process, and perceptions towards it for being harmonius (or at least cannot be opposed to the state policies) with the state perception with regards to the Turkish national identity building process.

In Turkish nation building process whose roots go back to the first modernization movements in Ottoman Empire in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, is nationalized by the founder “fathers” of the Turkish Republic. In the 1950s, a new period begins with the Democrat Party’s taking over the political power, after World War II. This new era supposed to have new perception of national identity imaginations. And this study was concerned about changing national identity building process in the 1950s.

What Ernest Gellner (Gellner 1983) suggests about the building of nationalism as a project of dissemination of high culture within the society, was also valid for Turkish nationalism project. Founders of Turkish Republic addressed a modern, educated, Westernized and nation devoted citizen identity that will be ready for the international job market after passing through the educational system of the new nation state. Arts that are performed in the level of the West made theater, opera and ballet the showcase of the new Westernized face of Turkey in front of the Western cultural world.

As theories of nationalism suggest, the first step for nation building processes is the making of the history of nation. Turkish History Thesis, Turkish History Congresses educational textbooks showed that in the 1920s and the 1930s the aim of rewriting history for Turkish nation was to prove that Turkish nation was the origin of all nations, civilization pioneer until Ottoman era. This remaking of history gave Turkish nation the idea of having a primaveal nation with a prideful history (Ersanlı 2013; Özdalga 2014; Toprak 2011; Tunçel 2017; Yıldırım 2014). This history was corroborated with an Independence War that was a legendary success against the imperial West and continued with language reform (Bingöl 2004b; Toprak 2003; Yılmaz 2011) to speed the dissemination of the high culture. These attitudes towards making the “nation” proud of itself against the modern, the West, the civilized one are shared by postcolonial nation building initiatives or late modernization movements, although Turkish case started modernization with its own dynamics (Chatterjee 1993; Murakami 2005; Roy 2007). Turkish nation is imagined as a secular one and history making puts a distant to religion Islam, yet, Ottoman Empire was based upon Sharia rules and imagined that Islam had a part of being backwardness. So the new republic claimed a new belief system, nationalism and scientific positivism.

However, by transition to multiparty regime permanently, a historical break down was experienced. Especially with Democrat Party government, the first signals of democratic demands to be met were given by the leader of the party Adnan Menderes in terms of administrative changes and cultural expectations with regards to the place of religion (Eroğul 2014).

### *History*

In the 1950s, the preferences of the literary board and the performances of Turkish State Theater echoes these changes in terms of remaking history. The playscripts that were written by local playwrights experience a peace-making process with the place of Islam in Turkish society. The primary sameness feature of Turkish nation is accepted as Islam historically. Yet, some projections still reflect Turkish History Thesis or panTurkist ideals which show Sumerians as the historical relatives or Central Asia as the historical homeland of Turkish people. However the bulk in the Ottoman historical playscripts draws attention. Turkish national identity building makes peace with golden ages of Ottoman past of Turkishness.

On the other hand “the historical other” of Turkishness is articulated as Byzantine, the West (particularly French) and Christian. Thereby, Christianity in religion and the West in spatial means are accepted as the differentiating features from Turkishness. In history making in the 1950s, the state is personificated and sanctified. Imaginations of state advise people to follow the leader and sacrifice for the common good while taking him as the pioneer. The leader is pictured as a father figure. It did not matter whether he was an Ottoman sultan or a Turkish administrator. Because these figures strongly defend the common good of Turkish nation against the West, Christians or Byzantines. Another interesting feeling of the local playwrights in the context of history is “backwardness”. Turkish nation is not pictured directly as the “backward” of the West but given the golden ages of Ottoman Empire full of success against the West and the Christians contribute to the necessary pride to hold people together as a nation.

The number of translated playscripts under the history theme indicates the importance given to the imagination of history of the West. The translated playscripts are heavily borrowed from the European authors in historical context.

When I put the playscripts in the contextual timeline I saw that the imagination of starting point of Western history is rooted in Ancient Greek civilization. The idea of the state is universal just like Ancient Greek civilization is accepted universal. The West is demonstrated as the cradle of the civilized and modern “other” of Turkishness. State is imagined as a Godly, eternal and powerful entity which is unseperable from its land.

The second historical milestone in Europe is shown as the birth of Europe, with renaissance and reformist movements, sectarian conflicts. The number of playscripts picked to show the historical breakdown of Europe for secularism indicates that Turkish State Theater wants to draw attention to the nation and nation buildings. State might have insider traitors whenever a state is weakened, however the law will make it stronger again. A strong state relies on the law, rather than religious codes. The inevitable disengagement of religion and state is an historical fact and outcome according to the given meanings derived from intertextual analysis.

Turkish national identity building project in the 1950s perceives “languages” as the determinants of the difference between nations and national identities. Nevertheless, the sameness of the social formations is given as religion. Even though, birth of Europe indicates the sectarian conflicts and the breakdown of European history as well as the historical background of the birth of secularism in Europe, translations set the sameness of the narrative and national identities’ sameness and differences on to the religions.

However projections differ in children’s historical plays. Local playwrights imagine the future generations of Turkish Republic Muslim, without any doubt. Even though religion is constructed as something that belongs to past at first, the place of religion in Turkish society is conceded.

Next generations of Turkish nation are also pictured as universal citizens. However, young nation members are expected to represent Turkey in universal arena at their best, because they are perceived as the showcase of the young republic. They must be devoted to their nation, but they are also responsible to interact the world, particularly the West, as members of a proud nation. Thereby, even though the literary board is under affect of humanism with this approach, they don’t conceive of a cosmopolitan citizenship. Rather

the future members of Turkish nation are drawn as the globally interactive citizens that do not forget their historical essence.

In children's translated playscripts, children who are the target audience witness the place of their own Turkish identity within the historical remaking of the identity of "the other". Playscripts are translated from European pieces. And these pieces automatically draw who is the other of Turkish identity, since they are translated from different cultures and languages. "The other" is defined and performed as the European and the Christian. Even in translations, the Turkish characters are pictured as good hearted Muslims. Therefore, good features are attributed to the Turkishness. The meaning conveyed by this act is "even 'the other': European and Christian agrees that 'we' are good."

Additionally, these children's plays advise kids to be adventurous. This adventure must include a scientific perspective; because religion might constitute the sameness of nation, but in the antagonism between science and religion, science must be in favor.

These general deductions are congruent with humanist and positivist Kemalist nation building approaches. Therefore, what Başbuğ (Başbuğ 2013) finds out for the 1930s is parallel to what this study indicates for children's plays. However, adults plays indicate more like continuations and breaks as Yıldırım (2014) observes for İnönü's period of historical approach in educational textbooks. Continuities and changes reflect a slight transformation with variety in the perception of remaking history in the 1950s as well as a confusion. When one thinks about roofing the general findings can observe the embrace of various approaches towards history.

### *Family*

Second step of national identity buildings has been to define who the nation is and how to raise the nation to inherit the feeling of being a nation. Modernization projects divide life into two spheres as public and private sphere. While nation, the rest of the society aim at controlling the public sphere explicitly, nation is raised, the effect of discourse of power relations are built and reproduced in private sphere. Pateman's argument on having the gendered nature of modern states and the social contract that reveals the will of living together (Pateman 1989), draws attention to the modernization, nation building projects in multiple cases especially by the gender literature (Akar, Öz Döm, and Güngör 2015; P

Chatterjee 1990; Jayawardena 1986; Kandiyoti 2004, 2013; Najmabadi 1991; Yuval-davis 1997). Yet the experiences of the nation building projects and the identities formed may vary and enrich our comprehension towards how the members of a society is nationalized and modernized, and how this is reproduced as a project intergenerationally.

Turkish case is a good and unique example to observe the transformation of the responsibility of family in national identity building process. Nükhet Sirman calls this kind of responsibility “familial citizenship” (Sirman 2005). Family is accepted as the basic unit of the nation and reproduces the patriarchal codes of the fraternal contract within the family in order to keep the legacy of being a continuous nation.

Turkish case is examined by many researchers over narratives (Akar, Öz Döm, and Güngör 2015; Kandiyoti 2013; McDermott Harmancı 2016; Şener n.d.), household production and the affect of capitalism (Kandiyoti 2013), militarism and gender in educational system (Kancı and Altınay 2007). However, the place of family in national identity building process was not specifically matters for these researchers. In general though, they all point out the imagination of women as subordinated in the public sphere. Besides, “the modern” is defined on the bodies of women in family of Turkish nation, according to how they behave, how Western they look, how good maternity they show or how good they become wives to raise devoted future nations. From the early 1930s until 1960s an anxiety of having bad wives and bad mothers because of the envy towards a degenerated Western life style, end up with loosing the cultural essence of Turkishness (Şener n.d.).

With this study, I examined the Turkish State Theater playscripts that covers family theme mainly. When local playwrights’ works reflect how Turkish family is imagined, what are the families’ responsibilities in national identity building, how can the gendered power relations can be deconstructed and how the national identity is pictured within family relations. On the other hand, the translation playscripts demonstrate “the difference” of the “other national identity” according to their family formations and lifestyles. Thereby, Turkish national identity mutually construct “nation” by the help of the image of the other, and positions itself in the process of reproducing the nationalist discourse in the family while also reproducing the patriarchy within the family.



An indecisive wing between Eastern and Western identities rather than having a stable synthesis becomes observable in terms of familial bonds and lifestyles. National identity is not decisive whether it imagines the family with a Western lifestyle or with an Eastern one. There is a fear of losing the essence that makes a Turkish family Turkish because of excessive Westernization.

Language is taken as the core of all the reforms that brought about after the proclamation of the Republic. Language is minded however the sameness of Turkishness is again taken as Muslimhood. Yet, there is confusion while constructing “the self” because of the opponents that Turkish identity use. Distinctively what I found under historical theme, “The other” of Turkishness is European, which is actually a name of the continent, a geographical term rather than a name of a nation; “the other” of Muslimhood is West, which is a geographical indicator, rather than a religion. Because the historical other was pictured in the framework of Muslimhood- Christianity antagonism.

In time, American cultural affect enters on the stage. The definition of West and the civilized turns its face to America. However, America is imagined with its broken familial bonds and degenerated lifestyles. It causes an anxiety again to make the audience worry about not being able to raise “good” “devoted” citizens anymore if one has got a broken family.

On the other side, there are particular roles that are given to women and men in the public sphere. Pateman’s suggestion on the formation of families as national units is valid for Turkish national identity building process, yet familial responsibilities and roles of women are captured in the public sphere. Women become the representative bodies of the honor, pudicity, chastity of the family in micro level, and of nation in macro level. For instance, if a woman in a family is “loose” it means she is too Western and lacks the necessary features to raise good generations to represent Turkishness at its best. Therefore family is an organization that behaves like a micro nation. Aside from what women get, the homeland is defined as the victory of men. Moreover, homeland is a legacy of the men to the future men citizens.

In translation familial playscripts, the usage of inconsistent word preference to refer religions calls for attention. Moreover in these playscripts, in Europe as well, freedom of

religion has started to matter. The given message is, there must be freedom of religion; however if religion is taken over by the political power, it becomes a political tool which is based on “fear”. Interestingly enough, these playscripts do not use religion as the base of sameness of the European.

These translations do not treat the subject of religion and state directly. More than that, they prefer telling about the fear of excessive modernization and individualism, changing values and changing society. State is though, framed as omnipotent and based upon fear and authority. The subjects and the citizens are disciplined by the political power just like father figure does in a family. Although one cannot run into the family formations of Europeans or how they were represented directly there is an imagined, huge and roofing family. Interestingly enough this big family is both national and supranational. The suggestion given by these playscripts is to hold on to their prideful nation, however keep the values of humanity such as honesty, virtue.

“The other” of the translated playscripts is constructed on Turkishness and Muslimhood. Therefore, the audience catches the opportunity to look into the mirror of the European authors’ national identity perceptions. This allows a mutual construction for in European identity and Turkish identity.

A common ground emerges between local playscripts and translations with regards to the fear of excessive modernization and individualism. However, translations evaluate this transformation as the degeneration of humanitarian values. On the other hand, local playwrights consider this transformation of the society as the excessive Westernization while degeneration of essential Turkish values by imitating the others.

Children’s playscripts are designed with a slightly different projection. Examining the the local playscripts under family theme indicates that the families are imagined in the private sphere in which the moral values and religion is thought. However it should not spread out to public sphere. Yet, Mardin (Mardin 1971) argues that first public space starts with religious gatherings in Turkey and Kemalism was against these gatherings. What Kemalism failed to do is to reach every aspect of life in terms of mentioning what is good and what is bad for a society. Local children’s playscripts imagine religion as an element of the private sphere and want the future generations of nation feel that way too.

Gender bias in construction of family continues in local children's playscripts. Spirituality in family belongs to the woman, mother and wife of the nuclear family, whereas men possess science, land, rationality and able to come in and out of private sphere. The State Theater shows trust in the son of the family to carry the scientific, positivist point of view.

Additionally, there is a hesitant swing between Western- modern and Eastern-traditional lifestyles. Characters are hesitant, but they want to follow trendy Western practices yet shows anxiety of excessive Westernization. Thereby imagination of family is indecisive in terms of embracing Western and modern life style but it is not totally against it, if one does not forget his or her Turkish essence. Although Turkish nation is worried about excessive modernization and Westernization, the State Theater does not give up on introducing Western classical artistic culture on the stage. Evident by the directions given by the playscripts, ballet, classical music have been part of the children's playscripts and musicals. Turkish State Theater, when it comes to kids, keeps being a part of national educational campaign. Pieces of Western classical arts are perceived as universal and global cultural values. Right in here it is possible to set the relationship between nationalism and globalism claims is possible as Alev Çınar does (Çınar 2010). While European arts envision a global gaze, then Turkish nation must have the power of arts and education in the global showcase as well.

State is represented by the image of Atatürk in local children's playscripts. This is not the case in adults' plays. Family theme demonstrates the state as an entity that is embodied in an eternal Atatürk image, just like it was in 1930s with a slight difference, they try to prove that Atatürk has not died, but lives and sees, watches whatever the followers of his reforms have done so far. This image pictures Atatürk as a Godly father figure.

Translated children's plays though are able to show "the other"'s differences in terms of religion with Christian practices. Yet these differences do not open very deep gaps between the cultures in the nation state era because of the secularism. Also, these differences only refer to who "they" are, but both identities have so much in common to be counted as equal.

While searching for the context of "state", I saw that rather than having clear representations of state, authors prefer drawing attention to the patriarchy and father figure

as well as the power relations between the man and nature to obey the man. In these playscripts, “father” of a family is identical with the father of nature who tries to set a control over it. Thereby, family relations have gender biased power relations. Additionally in children’s playscripts, the nationalist symbols such as Turkish flag, is used and sanctified. Nevertheless, the State Theater wants to convey the message of “being the children of humanity everywhere”. Because children are perceived as not only the future of Turkish nation but also the future of humanity. Therefore it is possible to talk about a nationalist humanism.

### *Space*

Nationalisms need nations and states with boundaries (B. Anderson 2006). These boundaries are the territories of nation states in which they consolidate their nationhood. These territories are sanctified as homelands for the members of the nations (Penrose 2002). Nationalism takes the assignment of transforming spaces into homelands and public spaces where the modernization takes place. While homelands are imagined as the spaces where the essence of nation grows, ties the cities that are cradle of the modernization with the villages that are the cradle of the national essence.

Nationalism as a discourse sets the power relations to define the borders of the spaces, picture the sight of the public spaces to represent nationhood. Public spaces become the spaces for the modern identities confront, clash, identify themselves and transform each other. And they are also the showcases for national identity building processes, which determine who is going to be the representative citizen or who is going to be excluded from the center of modern. Thus, third step to define a national identity is to define the space of the nation.

In Turkish modernization after the proclamation of the Republic, nationalizing the identity building project was taken care by the young Turkish nation state. In the early years of Republican era was a period for a rapid modernization including building a new face for the Republic by building new city centers (Bozdoğan 2012; Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997; Çınar 2007, 2008; Çınar and Bender 2007; Nalbantoğlu Baydar 1997). This urbanizing and architectural initiation aimed at including and excluding some images from the public sphere.

The division between the modern and the traditional strengthens when this division overlaps with the division of the center and the periphery (Mardin 1973). Center of the power relations are imagined as the cities where the periphery in which the traditional is imagined are the villages. This line between the city and the village emerge in the playscripts of the State Theater under the space theme.

City is defined as the center of modernization, the place to perform modern and Western life style with bureaucracy, a market. In the 1930s, the public space is imagined as a Western looking secular city center in national identity building (Çınar 2005). The exclusion was implemented towards traditional looking people with traditional practices. However in time, public space in cities become a field of contestation for the modern multiple identities to transform each other's self-definitions (Çınar 2008). Other than that, national identity has become traceable through museums, sculptures and modern buildings that were designed by German architectures (Çınar and Bender 2007).

Considering the line between the spaces as the cities and villages, public sphere acts like the meeting point of various cultures. Examining the local playwrights' playscripts under the space theme demonstrated that the space is defined as a place for various identities correspondingly. The citizens come across even though they bring different backgrounds such as different religions and life styles. The space encounters both muslims and non-muslims, however, non-muslims are pictured as the dishonest, untrustworthy "others" of the space.

Even though the city centers and city life is idealized, religious villagers are pictured as the essence of Turkish national identity. They are not only religious but they are honest, virtuous, pure hearted. In this sense, Turkish case shows similarity with postcolonial nationalisms that would feel backward before the occident, but being Eastern would provide some essential beauties to make this nationhood worth being a member during the transformation of the relationship between the Europe and Asia (Said 1985).

Big cities are imagined as the cradle of implementations of modernization and they envy the West since the Western modernization is perceived as the cradle of the universal civilization. Smaller towns and villages want to turn into cities to benefit from

modernization economically and culturally. This would synthesize the essence of Turkishness with modernization with a correct comprehension.

The characters are in two minds amidst being Eastern-Western, modern-tradition. People feel like modernization is the condition for a modern economic life however modern life style is too degenerated for them to experience. They grow Easternnes on the contrary of Westernnes. Some authors correspondingly emphasize excessive modernization and Westernization to change their daily life styles.

The studies on the 1930s demonstrated that nation state involved in the modernization initiative. Although the start up of national identity building was the Turkish nation state, the authors reflect the resistance that comes from people to the transformation. The place of the religion in space is debatable according to the space theme, because religion and traditions are covered as entities that belong to the premodern era. Interestingly enough, religion as Islam and traditions are perceived as the essence of Turkish nation, and playwrights that long for civilization. At the same time modernization is seen as inevitable and irreversible progressive process.

The translated playscripts also incline to demonstrate how modern nation states are strengthened in modern and developed cities. Besides, this strength that comes from modernization allowed these nation states to be recognized in international relations by called in pacts and alliances during World War II. All these occur in urbanized, industrialized and modernized public spaces. In a broader context, narrative identity is demonstrated between the dualism of modern city life and village life. Modern city life is envied and disparaged.

“The other” of Turkish identity is set as European identity evident by the high number of European originated playscripts that are translated. In these playscripts, “the other” identity of European playwrights were also defined as Ottomans or Turks as well. Thereby one can talk about a mutual identity construction in these narrative identity constructions.

In accordance with the findings of the other themes, there is an anxiety of excessive modernization. This emerges in pos-colonial or late nationalized countries particularly, as told before. Turkish national identity building case shows similarity with those nationalisms.

In children's playscripts, also the remedy for every disease, pureness, virtue and moral values are attributed to the villages. However the State Theater wants the future generations believe that even though the spiritual beauties are all in villages, the developments can only become real in modern city life. However modern cities have their own rules to obey. The youth is expected to obey the modern city life however they keep longing for the village and keep in the back of their head that their essence of being Turkish lies in villages.

Although the State Theater makes an emphasis on the anxiety of excessive modernization, it continues doing its educational assignments such as introducing Western classical arts with the young members of Turkish nation. Thereby the institution aims at showing ballet, classical music and so on to normalize this culture and let them synthesize their culture with these Western styles.

In translated children's playscripts, the dualism between two spaces has a little difference. This time, antagonism is set between the village and the palace. In both ways though, the village is encountered as the core of the virtue, moral values, purity. Just like the cities, the palace is shown as the degenerated and lingering without solutions. However, just like the characters who try to break down discreet rules of the society in terms of inequality between social strata, translated playscripts has a similar emphasis on scattering the inequality between the villagers and the King. Therefore, the State Theater objects to make the younger generations imagine equality independent from social strata, classes and reigns. Aside from this, religion is not visible in children's playscripts, given as just an essential component of national identity.

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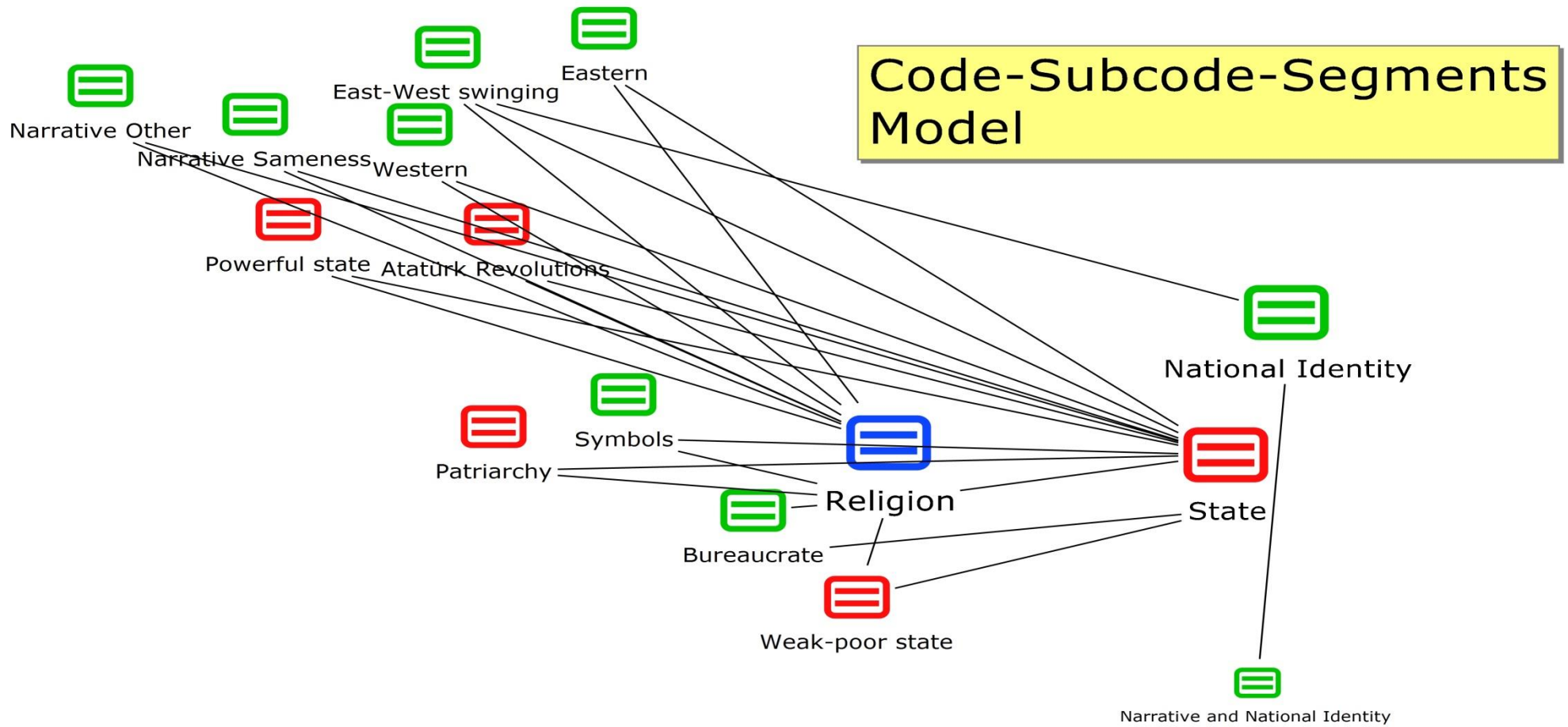
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# APPENDICES

## A. Interrelations in the Identity Coding System



## B. Code Relations Chart

	Religion	State	State\ Patriarchy	State\ Atatürk Revolution	State\ Powerful state	State\ Weak- poor state	National Identity	National Identity\ Nationalis m discourse	National Identity\ Nationalism Sameness	National Identity\ Nationalism Other	National Identity\ Symbols	National Identity\ Nations System	National Identity\ Narrative Identity	National Identity\ Narrative Identity\ Narrative Sameness	National Identity\ Narrative Identity\ Narrative Other
<b>Religion</b>	0	12	8	9	11	2	0	0	12	17	24	12	0	21	36
<b>State</b>	42	22	6	4	10	10	0	0	8	5	15	16	0	8	15
<b>National Identity</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0
<b>Nationalism Siscourse</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Nationalism Sameness</b>	12	1	3	0	4	0	1	0	0	11	27	32	0	37	19
<b>Nationalism Other</b>	17	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	11	0	4	12	0	5	83
<b>Symbols</b>	24	3	1	4	6	1	1	0	27	4	0	29	0	12	8
<b>Nationalism, Nations System</b>	12	8	1	3	2	2	2	0	32	12	29	0	0	6	8
<b>Narrative Identity</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Narrative Sameness</b>	21	1	1	0	4	2	0	0	37	5	12	6	0	0	21
<b>Narrative Other</b>	36	2	1	0	6	6	0	0	19	83	8	8	1	21	0
<b>East-West Swing</b>	22	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	1	3	1	0	1	1
<b>Western Swing</b>	16	4	1	0	9	4	0	0	10	24	4	1	0	5	32
<b>Western Swing</b>	9	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	13	11	3	2	0	7	19

C. Playscripts List (Between the Season 1949-1950 and the Season 1959-1960)

No:	Name:	Doc.	Season	Type:
1	Küçük Şehir	Play	1949-1950	Author: Cevat Fehmi Başkut Director: Mahir Canova
2	Faust	Play	1949-1950	Author: Johann Wolfgang Goethe Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Renato Mordo
3	Yalancı	Play	1949-1950	Author: Carlo Goldoni Translation: Tarık Levendoğlu Director: Saim Alpago
4	Hekimliğin Zaferi (Knock)	Play	1949-1950	Author: Jules Romains Translation: Dr. Ali Süha Delilbaş Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
5	Bir Komiser Geldi	Play	1949-1950	Author: John Boynton Priestly Translation: İrfan Şahinbaş Director: Muhsin Ertuğrul
6	Scapin'in Dolapları	Play	1949-1950	Author: Moliere Translation: Orhan Veli Kanık Director: Mahir Canova
7	Antigone	Play	1949-1950	Author: Sophokles Adaptation: Jean Anouilh Director: Mahir Canova
8	Dünya Gözüyle	Play	1949-1950	Author: Charles Vildrac Translation: Nurullah Ataç Director: Mahir Canova
9	Tüccar	Play	1949-1950	Author: Plautus Translation: Nurullah Ataç Director: Mahir Canova
10	Peer Gynt	Play	1949-1950	Author: Henrik Ibsen Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Muhsin Ertuğrul
11	Altı Şahıs Muharriririni Arıyor	Play	1949-1950	Author: Luigi Pirandello Translation: Dr. Feridun Timur Director: Mahir Canova
12	Kıskançlar	Play	1949-1950	Author: Melih Cevdet Anday, Oktay Rıfat Horozcu Director: Mahir Canova
13	Yıldız Ece	Children's Play	1949-1950	Author: Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın Director: Agah Hün
14	Keloğlan	Children's Play	1949-1950	Author: Ziya Demirel Director: Agah Hün
15	Hamlet	Play	1950-1951	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: Orhan Burian Director: Muhsin Ertuğrul
16	Şakacı	Play	1950-1951	Author: Sabahattin Kudret Aksal Director: Mahir Canova
17	Melekler ve Şeytanlar	Play	1950-1951	Author: Nazım Kurşunlu Director: Mahir Canova
18	Hile ve Sevgi	Play	1950-1951	Author: Friedrich Von Schiller Translation: Zahide Özveren Director: Renato Mordo
19	Fareler ve İnsanlar	Play	1950-1951	Author: John Steinback Translation: Mebrure Alevok

				Director: Saim Alpago
20	Eski Şarkı	Play	1950-1951	Author: Reşat Nuri Güntekin Director: Mahir Canova
21	Pembe Evin Kaderi	Play	1950-1951	Author: Turgut Özakman Director: Haydar Ozansoy
22	Satıcının Ölümü	Play	1950-1951	Author: Arthur Miller Translation: Orhan Burian Director: Muhsin Ertuğrul
23	Kara Boncuk	Childrens' Play	1950-1951	Author: Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın Director: Agah Ün
24	Oyuncak	Children's Play	1950-1951	Author: Hakkı Bigeç Director: Agah Ün
25	Miras	Play	1951-1952	Author: Augustus, Ruth Goetz Translation: Lütfi Ay, Reşia Vafi Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
26	Kadının Fendi	Play	1951-1952	Author: Somersot Maughan Translation: Ercüment Ovalıoğlu Director: Salih Canar
27	Öteye Doğru	Play	1951-1952	Author: Sutton Vane Translation: Mehmet Suat Taşer, Nazım Engin Director: Saim Alpago
28	Cyrano de Bergerac	Play	1951-1952	Author: Edmond Rostand Translation: Sabri Esat Siyavuşlugil Director: Mahir Canova
29	Branda Bezi	Play	1951-1952	Author: Nazım Kurşunlu Director: Saim Alpago
30	Köşebaşı	Play	1951-1952	Author: Ahmet Kudsi Tecer Director: Mahir Canova
31	Alın Yazısı	Play	1951-1952	Author: Nahit Sırrı Örik Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
32	Bir Yaz Dönümü Gecesi Rüyası	Play	1951-1952	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: Nurettin Sevin Director: Carl Ebert
33	Karagöz Amca	Children's Play	1951-1952	Author: Emin Ekmel Hürol Director: Ziya Demirel
34	Ters Yüz	Play	1952-1953	Author: Galip Güran Director: Mahir Canova
35	Elektra	Play	1952-1953	Author: Sophokles Translation: Afif Obay Director: A. Schröder
36	Yanlış Yanlış Üstüne	Play	1952-1953	Author: Oliver Goldsmith Translation: Ali Rıza Seyfi Director: Ali Nihat Aybars
37	Gölgeler	Play	1952-1953	Author: Ahmet Muhip Dranas Director: Mahir Canova
38	Ölü Kraliçe	Play	1952-1953	Author: Henry de Montherlant Translation: Mübeccel Bayramveli Director: Mahir Canova
39	Bir Piyes Yazalım	Play	1952-1953	Author: Adalet Sümer, Sevim Uzgören Director: A. Schröder
40	Ramak Kaldı	Play	1952-1953	Author: Thornton Wilder Translation: Valiha Büyülken Director: A. Schröder
41	Vatan İsterse	Play	1952-1953	Author: Karel Çapek

				Translation: Ahmet Muhip Dranas Director: Saim Alpago
42	Sahne Dışındaki Oyun	Play	1952-1953	Author: R. Ahmet Sevengil Director: Mahir Canova
43	Çığ	Play	1952-1953	Author: Nazım Kurşunlu Director: Ali Nihat Aybars
44	Fatih	Play	1952-1953	Author: Nazım Kurşunlu Director: Mahir Canova
45	Adını Çocuklar Koysun	Children's Play	1952-1953	Author: Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın Director: Ziya Demirel
46	Perili Değirmen	Children's Play	1952-1953	Author: Ziya Demirel Director: Ziya Demirel
47	Mektup (Postahane)	Children's Play	1952-1953	Author: Robindranath Tagore Translation: Sebati Ataman Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
48	Şemsiyeli Adam	Play	1953-1954	Author: W. Dinner, W. Morum Translation: Selami İzzet Sedes Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
49	Derin Mavi Deniz	Play	1953-1954	Author: Terence Rattigan Translation: Nail Mutlugil Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
50	Batak	Play	1953-1954	Author: Galip Güran Director: Ahmet Evintan
51	Maria Stuart	Play	1953-1954	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Translation: Recai Bilgin Director: A. Schröder
52	Gelin	Play	1953-1954	Author: Emile Zola Adaptation: Marcelle Maurette Translation: Bedrettin Tuncel Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
53	Güzel Helena	Play	1953-1954	Author: Selahattin Batu Director: Takis Mouzenides
54	Avanak	Play	1953-1954	Author: Georges Feydeau Translation: Lütfi Ay Director: Ragıp Haykır
55	Lady Frederick	Play	1953-1954	Author: Somersot Maughan Translation: Sevim Özbora Director: Ali Nihat Aybars
56	Pamuk Prenses	Children's Play	1953-1954	Author: S. Kalirhu Korinas Translation: Necdet Mahfi Ayral Director: Ziya Demirel
57	Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti	Play	1954-1955	Author: Reşat Nuri Güntekin Director: Mahir Canova
58	Keçiler Adası Cinayeti	Play	1954-1955	Author: Ugo Betti Translation: Mahmut Abaç Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
59	Tanrılar ve İnsanlar (Gılgamesh)	Play	1954-1955	Author: Orhan Asena Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
60	Yaslı Aile	Play	1954-1955	Author: Brannislav Nusic Translation: Ömer Akkan, Ömer Cenap Kiner Director: Salih Canar
61	Onikinci Gece	Play	1954-1955	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: Avni Gıvda Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
62	Güneşte On Kişi	Play	1954-1955	Author: Turgut Özakman

				Director: Ali Nihat Aybars
63	Çayhane	Play	1954-1955	Author: John Patric Translation: Ayşe Sarialp Director: Mahir Canova
64	Bir Ümit İçin (Montserrat)	Play	1954-1955	Author: Emanuel Robles Translation: Mina Urgan Irgat Director: Saim Alpago
65	Şatoya Davet	Play	1954-1955	Author: Jean Anouilh Translation: Vedat Günyol Director: Ragıp Haykır
66	Don Carlos	Play	1954-1955	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Director: Mahir Canova
67	Hile ve Sevgi	Play	1954-1955	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Director: Ragıp Haykır
68	Maria Stuart	Play	1954-1955	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Director: Mahir Canova
69	Haydutlar	Play	1954-1955	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
70	Tilki (Volpone)	Play	1954-1955	Author: Ben Johnson Adaptation: Jules Romains, Stefan Zweig Translation: Bedrettin Tuncel Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
71	Othello	Play	1954-1955	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: Orhan Burian Director: Mahir Canova
72	Altın Kuş	Children's Play	1954-1955	Author: Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın Director: Ziya Demirel
73	Ağlayan Çocukla Gülen Kız	Children's Play	1954-1955	Translation: Sevim San Director: Ziya Demirel
74	Akif Bey	Play- Adaptation	1955-1956	Author: Namık Kemal Adaptation: Reşat Nuri Güntekin Director: Salih Canar
75	Oğuz Ata	Play	1955-1956	Author: Selahattin Batu Director: Mahir Canova
76	Harput'ta Bir Amerikalı	Play	1955-1956	Author: Cevat Fehmi Başkut Director: Mahir Canova
77	Ruhlar Gelirse	Play	1955-1956	Author: Noel Coward Translation: Arif Özbilen Director: Ragıp Haykır
78	IV. Henri	Play	1955-1956	Author: Luigi Pirandello Translation: Şemsettin Talip Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
79	Genç Osman	Play	1955-1956	Author: Mehmet Şükrü Erdem, Musahipzade Celal Director: Behzat Butak
80	Dünkü Çocuk	Play	1955-1956	Author: Garson Canın Translation: Leyla Erduran Director: Saim Alpago
81	Son Durak	Play	1955-1956	Author: Muaffak İhsan Garan Director: Mahir Canova
82	Nora (Bir Bebek Evi)	Play	1955-1956	Author: Henrik Ibsen Translation: Cevat Memduh Altar Director: Rolf Roeneke
83	İki Başlı Kartal	Play	1955-1956	Author: Jean Cocteau Translation: Sabri Esat Siyavuşlugil

				Director: Mahir Canova
84	Meraki	Play	1955-1956	Author: Moliere Adaptation, Translation: Ahmet Vefik Paşa Director: Salih Canar
85	Zor Nikahı	Play	1955-1956	Author: Moliere Adaptation, Translation: Ahmet Vefik Paşa Director: Salih Canar
86	Trafik Cezası	Play	1955-1956	Author: Paolo Levi Translation: Tarık Levendoğlu Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
87	Haydutlar	Play	1955-1956	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Walter Thomas
88	Mavi Kuş	Children's Play	1955-1956	Author: Maurice Maeterlinck Translation: Reşat Gögen Director: Ziya Demirel
89	Oyunçakçı Dede	Children's Play	1955-1956	Author: Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın Director: Ziya Demirel
90	Korku	Play	1956-1957	Author: Orhan Asena Director: Ragıp Haykır
91	Yaz Bekarı	Play	1956-1957	Author: George Axelrod Translation: Leyla Erduran Director: Mehmet Suat Taşer
92	Finten	Play	1956-1957	Author: Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan Adaptation: Ahmet Muhip Dranas Director: Mahir Canova
93	Bir Yastıkta	Play	1956-1957	Author: Jean de Hartog Translation: Armağan Sancar Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
94	Yağmurcu	Play	1956-1957	Author: N. Richard Nash Translation: Fitnat Durusoy Director: Mahir Canova
95	Bu Gece Başka Gece	Play	1956-1957	Author: Reşat Nuri Güntekin Director: Salih Canar
96	Tahta Çanaklar	Play	1956-1957	Author: Edmund Morris Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
97	III. Selim	Play	1956-1957	Author: Celal Esat Arseven, Salih Cimcoz Director: Behzat Butak
98	Tufan	Play	1956-1957	Author: Turgut Özakman Director: Saim Alpago
99	Devlet İşleri	Play	1956-1957	Author: Louis Verneuil Translation: Bedia Akkoyunlu Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
100	Çöpçatan	Play	1956-1957	Author: Thornton Wilder Translation: Hale Kuntay Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
101	Misafir	Play	1956-1957	Author: Fritz Schiefert Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Ertuğrul İlgin
102	Kleopatra'nın Mezarı	Play	1956-1957	Author: Cevat Fehmi Başkut Director: Mahir Canova
103	Cinayet Var	Play	1956-1957	Author: Frederick Knott



				Translation: Tevfik Sadullah Director: Agah Ün
104	Su Kızı	Play	1956-1957	Author: Jean Giraudoux Translation: Ahmet Muhip Dranas Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
105	İki Efendinin Uşağı	Play	1956-1957	Author: Carlo Goldoni Translation: N. Haşim Sinanoğlu Director: Mahir Canova
106	Polyanna	Children's Play	1956-1957	Author: Elanor Porter Adaptation: Kemal Sönmez Director: Haldun Haluk Marlalı
107	Gül Kız	Children's Play	1956-1957	Author: Charles Perrault Adaptation: Osman Daloğlu Director: Haldun Haluk Marlalı
108	Çemberler	Play	1957-1958	Author: Çetin Altan Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
109	Hatıra Defteri	Play	1957-1958	Author: Albert Hackett, Frances Goodrich Translation: Bedia Akkoyunlu Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
110	Samanyolu	Play	1957-1958	Author: Karl Wittlinger Translation: Sevim Özakman Director: Saim Alpago
111	Haftabaşı	Play	1957-1958	Author: John Boynton Priestley Translation: Sevgi Batur Director: Salih Canar
112	Dışardakiler	Play	1957-1958	Author: Haldun Taner Director: Ahmet Evintan
113	Ümitsiz Saatler	Play	1957-1958	Author: Joseph Hayes Translation: Leyla Erduran Director: Mahir Canova
114	Günah Gecesi	Play	1957-1958	Author: Perihan Zorlu Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
115	Çöl Faresi	Play	1957-1958	Author: Ladislaus Fodor Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Mahir Canova
116	Kraliçe ve Asiler	Play	1957-1958	Author: Ugo Betti Translation: Mahmut Abaş Director: Mehmet Suat Taşer
117	Sevmek	Play	1957-1958	Author: Paul Grealdy Translation: Ayşe Sarıgüllü Director: Ayşe Muazzez Lutas, Ilgın Yücesoy, Kurdoğlu Özsoy
118	Dön Bana	Play	1957-1958	Author: William Inge Translation: Ülker Erginsoy Director: Saim Alpago
119	Kiralık Bina	Play	1957-1958	Author: Eduardo de Filippo Translation: Çetin Altan Director: Mahir Canova
120	Onikinci Gece	Play	1957-1958	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: Avni Givda Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
121	Fareler ve İnsanlar	Play	1957-1958	Author: John Steinback Translation: Mebrure Alevok Director: Saim Alpago
122	Aşk Acısı	Play	1957-1958	Author: Marcel Achard

				Translation: Lütü Ay Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
123	Küçük Kolombus	Children's Play	1957-1958	Author: Jakop Lorey Translation: Sevim Özakman Director: Azmi Örses
124	Küçük Mozart	Children's Play	1957-1958	Author: Jakop Lorey Translation: Nacıl Kazım Akses, Saip San Director: Azmi Örses
125	Ve Değirmen Dönerdi	Play	1958-1959	Author: Haldun Taner Director: Ziya Demirel
126	Öfke	Play	1958-1959	Author: John Osborne Translation: Leyla Erduran Director: Yıldız Kenter Akçan
127	Hırsız	Play	1958-1959	Author: Georges Tervaque Translation: Sebahattin Eyüboğlu, Vedat Günyol Director: Ertuğrul İlgın
128	Cadı Kazanı	Play	1958-1959	Author: Arthur Miller Translation: Sebahattin Eyüboğlu, Vedat Günyol Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
129	Duvarların Ötesi	Play	1958-1959	Author: Turgut Özakman Director: Ziya Demirel
130	Rehin Sandığı	Play	1958-1959	Author: A. B. Shiffirin Translation: Fazilet Ete Director: Salih Canar
131	Kral Lear	Play	1958-1959	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: İrfan Şahinbaş Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
132	Kabus	Play	1958-1959	Author: Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil Adaptation: Munis Faik Ozansoy Director: Saim Alpago
133	Oturma Odası	Play	1958-1959	Author: Graham Greene Translation: Sevgi Batur Director: Ali Nihat Aybars
134	Hürrem Sultan	Play	1958-1959	Author: Orhan Asena Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
135	Evlat Evlattır	Play	1958-1959	Author: Eduardo de Filippo Translation: Mahmut Abaç Director: Melek Ökte, Saltukalp Gün
136	Tablodaki Adam	Play	1958-1959	Author: Cevat Fehmi Başkut Director: Mehmet Suat Taşer
137	Gönül Avcısı	Play	1958-1959	Author: Diego Fabri Translation: Tarık Levendoğlu Director: Ziya Demirel
138	Deniz'in Mektubu	Play	1958-1959	Author: Halim Ünsal Director: Emin Ekmel Hürol
139	Mektup (Postahane)	Play	1958-1959	Author: Robindranath Tagore Translation: Sebati Ataman Director: Saim Alpago
140	Leylek Sultan	Play	1958-1959	Author: Haldun Haluk Marlalı Director: Haldun Haluk Marlalı
141	Karayar Köprüsü	Play	1959-1960	Author: Refik Erduran Director: Ziya Demirel

142	Günden Geceye	Play	1959-1960	Author: Eugene O'Neill Translation: Şekibe Gencay Gürün Sav Director: Saim Alpago
143	Kral Oidipus	Play	1959-1960	Author: Sophokles Translation: Bedrettin Tuncel Director: Takis Mouzenides
144	Ekmek Parası	Play	1959-1960	Author: Felicien Marceau Translation: Asude Zeybekoğlu Director: Mahir Canova
145	Yalan	Play	1959-1960	Author: Orhan Asena Translation: Salih Canar
146	Dört Albayın Aşkı	Play	1959-1960	Author: Peter Ustinov Translation: Lütfi Ay Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
147	Toreadorlar Valsi	Play	1959-1960	Author: Jean Anouilh Translation: Lütfi Ay Director: Ahmet Evintan
148	Son Yağmur	Play	1959-1960	Author: Perihan Zorlu Director: Ayşe Muazzez Lutas, Ilgın Yücesoy, Kurdoğlu Özsoy
149	Arzu Tramvayı	Play	1959-1960	Author: Tenese Williams Translation: Halit Çakır Director: Ziya Demirel
150	Kibarlık Budalası	Play	1959-1960	Author: Moliere Translation: Dr. Ali Süha Delilbaşı Director: Ragıp Haykır
151	Felsefe Doktoru	Play	1959-1960	Author: Brannislav Nusic Translation: Ö. Cenap Eren Director: Salih Canar
152	Şerefimize "Çin Çin"	Play	1959-1960	Author: Francois Billetdoux Translation: Ali Remzi, Tunç Yalman Director: Mahir Canova
153	Klinik Bir Vaka	Play	1959-1960	Author: Dino Buzati Translation: Zihni Küçümen Director: Ziya Demirel
154	Pervaneler	Play	1959-1960	Author: Cahit Atay Director: Saim Alpago
155	Polyanna	Children's Play	1959-1960	Author: Elanor Porter Adaptation, Translation: Kemal Sönmez Director: Melek Ökte, Saltukalp Gün
156	Üç Çuval Yalan	Children's Play	1959-1960	Author: Margarethe Cordes Translation: Süleyman Tamer Director: Vedat Demircioğlu

D. Playscripts List Used in This Study (Between the Season 1949-1950 and the Season 1959-1960)

No:	No:	Name:	Doc.	Season	Type:
1	1	Küçük Şehir	Play	1949-1950	Author: Cevat Fehmi Başkut Director: Mahir Canova
2	3	Yalancı	Play	1949-1950	Author: Carlo Goldoni Translation: Tarık Levendoğlu Director: Saim Alpago
3	5	Bir Komiser Geldi	Play	1949-1950	Author: John Boynton Priestly Translation: İrfan Şahinbaş Director: Muhsin Ertuğrul
4	6	Scapin'in Dolapları	Play	1949-1950	Author: Moliere Translation: Orhan Veli Kanık Director: Mahir Canova
5	8	Dünya Gözüyle	Play	1949-1950	Author: Charles Vildrac Translation: Nurullah Ataç Director: Mahir Canova
6	10	Peer Gynt	Play	1949-1950	Author: Henrik Ibsen Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Muhsin Ertuğrul
7	11	Altı Şahıs Muharriririni Arıyor	Play	1949-1950	Author: Luigi Pirandello Translation: Dr. Feridun Timur Director: Mahir Canova
8	15	Hamlet	Play	1950-1951	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: Orhan Burian Director: Muhsin Ertuğrul
9	16	Şakacı	Play	1950-1951	Author: Sabahattin Kudret Aksal Director: Mahir Canova
10	18	Hile ve Sevgi	Play	1950-1951	Author: Friedrich Von Schiller Translation: Zahide Özveren Director: Renato Mordo
11	19	Fareler ve İnsanlar	Play	1950-1951	Author: John Steinback Translation: Mebrure Alevok Director: Saim Alpago
12	20	Eski Şarkı	Play	1950-1951	Author: Reşat Nuri Güntekin Director: Mahir Canova
13	22	Satıcının Ölümü	Play	1950-1951	Author: Arthur Miller Translation: Orhan Burian Director: Muhsin Ertuğrul
14	23	Kara Boncuk	Childrens' Play	1950-1951	Author: Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın Director: Agah Ün

15	24	Oyuncak	Children's Play	1950-1951	Author: Hakkı Bigeç Director: Agah Ün
16	25	Miras	Play	1951-1952	Author: Augustus, Ruth Goetz Translation: Lütfi Ay, Reşia Vafi Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
17	28	Cyrano de Bergerac	Play	1951-1952	Author: Edmond Rostand Translation: Sabri Esat Siyavuşlugil Director: Mahir Canova
18	29	Branda Bezi	Play	1951-1952	Author: Nazım Kurşunlu Director: Saim Alpago
19	30	Köşebaşı	Play	1951-1952	Author: Ahmet Kudsi Tecer Director: Mahir Canova
20	35	Elektra	Play	1952-1953	Author: Sophokles Translation: Afif Obay Director: A. Schröder
21	37	Gölgeler	Play	1952-1953	Author: Ahmet Muhip Dranas Director: Mahir Canova
22	38	Ölü Kraliçe	Play	1952-1953	Author: Henry de Montherlant Translation: Mübeccel Bayramveli Director: Mahir Canova
23	43	Çığ	Play	1952-1953	Author: Nazım Kurşunlu Director: Ali Nihat Aybars
24	44	Fatih	Play	1952-1953	Author: Nazım Kurşunlu Director: Mahir Canova
25	47	Mektup (Postahane)	Play	1952-1953	Author: Robindranath Tagore Translation: Sebati Ataman Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
26	48	Şemsiyeli Adam	Play	1953-1954	Author: W. Dinner, W. Morum Translation: Selami İzzet Sedes Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
27	49	Derin Mavi Deniz	Play	1953-1954	Author: Terence Rattigan Translation: Nail Mutlugil Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
28	50	Batak	Play	1953-1954	Author: Galip Güran Director: Ahmet Evintan
29	51	Maria Stuart	Play	1953-1954	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Translation: Recai Bilgin Director: A. Schröder
30	53	Güzel Helena	Play	1953-1954	Author: Selahattin Batu Director: Takis Mouzenides
31	54	Avanak	Play	1953-1954	Author: Georges Feydeau Translation: Lütfi Ay

					Director: Ragıp Haykır
32	57	Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti	Play	1954-1955	Author: Reşat Nuri Güntekin Director: Mahir Canova
33	58	Keçiler Adası Cinayeti	Play	1954-1955	Author: Ugo Betti Translation: Mahmut Abaç Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
34	59	Tanrılar ve İnsanlar (Gılgames)	Play	1954-1955	Author: Orhan Asena Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
35	60	Yaslı Aile	Play	1954-1955	Author: Brannislav Nusic Translation: Ömer Akkan, Ömer Cenap Kiner Director: Salih Canar
36	61	Onikinci Gece	Play	1954-1955	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: Avni Gıvda Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
37	62	Güneşte On Kişi	Play	1954-1955	Author: Turgut Özakman Director: Ali Nihat Aybars
38	64	Bir Ümit İçin (Montserrat)	Play	1954-1955	Author: Emanuel Robles Translation: Mina Urgan Director: Saim Alpago
39	65	Şatoya Davet	Play	1954-1955	Author: Jean Anouilh Translation: Vedat Günyol Director: Ragıp Haykır
40	66	Don Carlos	Play	1954-1955	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Director: Mahir Canova
41	67	Hile ve Sevgi	Play	1954-1955	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Director: Ragıp Haykır
42	68	Maria Stuart	Play	1954-1955	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Director: Mahir Canova
43	69	Haydutlar	Play	1954-1955	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
44	72	Altın Kuş	Children's Play	1954-1955	Author: Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın Director: Ziya Demirel
45	73	Ağlayan Çocukla Gülen Kız	Children's Play	1954-1955	Translation: Sevim San Director: Ziya Demirel
46	74	Akif Bey	Play-Adaptation	1955-1956	Author: Namık Kemal Adaptation: Reşat Nuri Güntekin Director: Salih Canar
47	76	Harput'ta Bir Amerikalı	Play	1955-1956	Author: Cevat Fehmi Başkut Director: Mahir Canova
48	77	Ruhlar Gelirse	Play	1955-1956	Author: Noel Coward Translation: Arif Özbilen Director: Ragıp Haykır
49	78	IV. Henri	Play	1955-1956	Author: Luigi Pirandello Translation: Şemsettin Talip

					Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
50	79	Genç Osman	Play	1955-1956	Author: Mehmet Şükrü Erdem, Musahipzade Celal Director: Behzat Butak
51	80	Dünkü Çocuk	Play	1955-1956	Author: Garson Canın Translation: Leyla Erduran Director: Saim Alpago
52	81	Son Durak	Play	1955-1956	Author: Muaffak İhsan Garan Director: Mahir Canova
53	82	Nora (Bir Bebek Evi)	Play	1955-1956	Author: Henrik Ibsen Translation: Cevat Memduh Altar Director: Rolf Roeneke
54	83	İki Başlı Kartal	Play	1955-1956	Author: Jean Cocteau Translation: Sabri Esat Siyavuşluğil Director: Mahir Canova
55	84	Meraki	Play	1955-1956	Author: Moliere Adaptation, Translation: Ahmet Vefik Paşa Director: Salih Canar
56	86	Trafik Cezası	Play	1955-1956	Author: Paolo Levi Translation: Tark Levendoğlu Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
57	87	Haydutlar	Play	1955-1956	Author: Friedrich von Schiller Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Walter Thomas
58	88	Mavi Kuş	Children's Play	1955-1956	Author: Maurice Maeterlinck Translation: Reşat Gögen Director: Ziya Demirel
59	90	Korku	Play	1956-1957	Author: Orhan Asena Director: Ragıp Haykır
60	92	Finten	Play	1956-1957	Author: Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan Adaptation: Ahmet Muhip Dranas Director: Mahir Canova
61	93	Bir Yastıkta	Play	1956-1957	Author: Jean de Hartog Translation: Armağan Sancar Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
62	94	Yağmurcu	Play	1956-1957	Author: N. Richard Nash Translation: Fitnat Durusoy Director: Mahir Canova
63	95	Bu Gece Başka Gece	Play	1956-1957	Author: Reşat Nuri Güntekin Director: Salih Canar
64	96	Tahta Çanaklar	Play	1956-1957	Author: Edmund Morris Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil

					Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
65	97	III. Selim	Play	1956-1957	Author: Celal Esat Arseven, Salih Cimcoz Director: Behzat Butak
66	100	Çöpçatan	Play	1956-1957	Author: Thornton Wilder Translation: Hale Kuntay Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
67	102	Kleopatra'nın Mezarı	Play	1956-1957	Author: Cevat Fehmi Başkut Director: Mahir Canova
68	105	İki Efendinin Uşağı	Play	1956-1957	Author: Carlo Goldoni Translation: N. Haşim Sinanoğlu Director: Mahir Canova
69	106	Polyanna	Children's Play	1956-1957	Author: Elanor Porter Adaptation: Kemal Sönmez Director: Haldun Haluk Marlalı
70	107	Gül Kız	Children's Play	1956-1957	Author: Charles Perrault Adaptation: Osman Daloğlu Director: Haldun Haluk Marlalı
71	108	Çemberler	Play	1957-1958	Author: Çetin Altan Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
72	109	Hatıra Defteri	Play	1957-1958	Author: Albert Hackett, Frances Goodrich Translation: Bedia Akkoyunlu Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
73	110	Samanyolu	Play	1957-1958	Author: Karl Wittlinger Translation: Sevim Özakman Director: Saim Alpago
74	112	Dışardakiler	Play	1957-1958	Author: Haldun Taner Director: Ahmet Evintan
75	114	Günah Gecesi	Play	1957-1958	Author: Perihan Zorlu Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
76	115	Çöl Faresi	Play	1957-1958	Author: Ladislaus Fodor Translation: Seniha Bedri Göknil Director: Mahir Canova
77	118	Dön Bana	Play	1957-1958	Author: William Inge Translation: Ülker Erginsoy Director: Saim Alpago
78	119	Kiralık Bina	Play	1957-1958	Author: Eduardo de Filippo Translation: Çetin Altan Director: Mahir Canova
79	120	Onikinci Gece	Play	1957-1958	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: Avni Givda



					Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
80	121	Fareler ve İnsanlar	Play	1957-1958	Author: John Steinback Translation: Mebrure Alevok Director: Saim Alpago
81	122	Aşk Acısı	Play	1957-1958	Author: Marcel Achard Translation: Lütfi Ay Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
82	123	Küçük Kolombus	Children's Play	1957-1958	Author: Jakop Lorey Translation: Sevim Özakman Director: Azmi Örses
83	124	Küçük Mozart	Children's Play	1957-1958	Author: Jakop Lorey Translation: Nacıl Kazım Akses, Saip San Director: Azmi Örses
84	126	Öfke	Play	1958-1959	Author: John Osborne Translation: Leyla Erduran Director: Yıldız Kenter Akçan
85	128	Cadı Kazanı	Play	1958-1959	Author: Arthur Miller Translation: Sebahattin Eyüboğlu, Vedat Günyol Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
86	129	Duvarların Ötesi	Play	1958-1959	Author: Turgut Özakman Director: Ziya Demirel
87	131	Kral Lear	Play	1958-1959	Author: William Shakespeare Translation: İrfan Şahinbaş Director: Cüneyt Gökçer
88	134	Hürrem Sultan	Play	1958-1959	Author: Orhan Asena Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
89	136	Tablodaki Adam	Play	1958-1959	Author: Cevat Fehmi Başkut Director: Mehmet Suat Taşer
90	137	Gönül Avcısı	Play	1958-1959	Author: Diego Fabri Translation: Tarık Levendoğlu Director: Ziya Demirel
91	138	Deniz'in Mektubu	Children's Play	1958-1959	Author: Halim Ünsal Director: Emin Ekmel Hürol
92	139	Mektup (Postahane)	Children's Play	1958-1959	Author: Robindranath Tagore Translation: Sebati Ataman Director: Saim Alpago
93	140	Leylek Sultan	Children's Play	1958-1959	Author: Haldun Haluk Marlalı Director: Haldun Haluk Marlalı
94	142	Günden Geceye	Play	1959-1960	Author: Eugene O'Neill Translation: Şekibe Gencay Gürün Sav

					Director: Saim Alpago
95	143	Kral Oidipus	Play	1959-1960	Author: Sophokles Translation: Bedrettin Tuncel Director: Takis Mouzenides
96	144	Ekmek Parası	Play	1959-1960	Author: Felicien Marceau Translation: Asude Zeybekođlu Director: Mahir Canova
97	145	Yalan	Play	1959-1960	Author: Orhan Asena Translation: Salih Canar
98	146	Dört Albayın Aşkı	Play	1959-1960	Author: Peter Ustinov Translation: Lütfi Ay Director: M. Şahabettin Akalın
99	149	Arzu Tramvayı	Play	1959-1960	Author: Tenese Williams Translation: Halit Çakır Director: Ziya Demirel
100	153	Klinik Bir Vaka	Play	1959-1960	Author: Dino Buzati Translation: Zihni Küçümen Director: Ziya Demirel
101	154	Pervaneler	Play	1959-1960	Author: Cahit Atay Director: Saim Alpago
102	155	Polyanna	Children's Play	1959-1960	Author: Elanor Porter Adaptation, Translation: Kemal Sönmez Director: Melek Ökte, Saltukalp Gün
103	156	Üç Çuval Yalan	Children's Play	1959-1960	Author: Margarethe Cordes Translation: Süleyman Tamer Director: Vedat Demirciođlu

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## TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu tez, Türk ulusal kimliği ile Devlet Tiyatrosu repertuarının ilişkisini ve 1950'ler boyunca iktidar ilişkileri tarafından nasıl şekillendirildiğini incelemektedir. Bu çalışmanın temel sorusu "Devlet tiyatro repertuarının yardımıyla 1950'lerde Türk ulusal kimliğini nasıl inşa edildi?" dir. Araştırmanın bu temel kaygı ile ilgili alt soruları şunlardır: "Tarih, Türk ulusal kimliğinin içinde Devlet Tiyatroları oyunları vasıtasıyla nasıl hayal edildi?", "Aile oyun metinlerinde Türk ulusal kimlik oluşumunda Devlet Tiyatroları oyunları vasıtasıyla nasıl hayal edildi?", "Türk ulusal kimliğinin oluşturulmasında mekan Devlet Tiyatroları oyunları vasıtasıyla nasıl hayal edildi? "

Bu tezin temel argümanı, Türk ulusal kimlik inşası süreci, 1920'lerde parti yönetimi sırasında 1920'lerde ve 1930'larda belli bir ulusal kimliğin tek boyutlu uygulanmasından farklı olarak, çok partili rejimin etkisi altında çok boyutlu bir proje şeklini almıştır. 1950'lerde kimlik oluşumu çok boyutludur, çünkü bir boyutlu milliyetçi ideolojiye sahip olmak yerine, Türk ulusal kimliğinin bileşeni olarak din, devlet, anlatsal ve ulusal kimlik bileşenlerini de içermektedir. Bu çeşitlilik, çok partili rejime geçişten sonra erken Cumhuriyet döneminin önerdiği gibi, 1950'lerde laik bir Müslüman ulusal kimliğinin algılanmasını sağlar. Geri döndürülemez biçimde yapılan bu değişim, ulus kimlik inşası projelerinde çeşitlilik sağlamış ve seküler Türk kimliğini sekülerlikten vazgeçmeden bir seküler Müslüman kimliğe dönüştürür. Türk kimliği, Cumhuriyet döneminin başlangıcına kıyasla 1950'lerde "seküler Müslüman" ulusal kimlik olarak şekillenmiştir. Tarih, "ötekiye" karşıt ve karşılıklı olarak, Türk-Müslüman kimliğine dayanan tarihsel bir benzerlikle inşa edilmiştir. Aile, modern ve geleneksel olmak arasında belirsiz bir salınım ile ulusal ataerkil kalıpları takviye eden Türk ulusal kimlik oluşumunda mikro-ulus olarak düşünülmüştür. Köy yaşamında romantize edilen Türklüğün özü, aşırı modernleşmenin yarattığı bir özünü kaybetme korkusu ile şehirlerde hayal edilmiştir.

2012, Devlet Tiyatroları'nın Türkiye'deki durumu konusundaki tartışmaların en yoğun olduğu yıl oldu. Hükümet, kurumun yüksek harcamaları konusundaki tartışmaları ve gelişmiş demokrasilerin hiçbirinin kendi sanatsal kurumlarına sahip olmadığını iddia ederek bir reform paketi açıyordu. Öte yandan, pek çok sanatçı, Avrupa Tiyatroları'ndan pek çok örnek verip bu tiyatroların maddi destek stratejilerini öne sürerek Devlet

Tiyatrosu'nun özerk yapısını vurgulayarak bu iddiaları reddetti. Bu özerklik, sanatçılara hükümeti eleştirme fırsatı da veriyordu.

Televizyonlarda bu tartışmaları izlerken, Ankara Devlet Tiyatrosu'nda bazı oyuncu ve görevlileri ziyaret etme şansım oldu. Bu şekilde, sadece hükümetin reform girişimleriyle ilgili görüşlerini değil, aynı zamanda kimlik araştırmasının kurum içindeki siyasi gerginliği ile ilgili düşüncelerini almış oldum. Çoğu zaman, sanatçılar dramaturji ve dizin stratejileri de dahil olmak üzere açık kurallar ve bunların beklentileri arasında sıkışıp kalan; ancak tiyatronun doğası gereği eleştirel bir tutum zorunluluğu üzerinde anlaşmışlardı.

Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun tarihini okudum ve daha fazla bilgi almak için, modern tiyatronun Türkiye'deki ortaya çıkışıyla ilgili kaynak toplamaya, Türkiye'deki tiyatronun kurumsal köklerini ve siyasi ilişkilerini anlamaya başladım. Bu küçük zevk okumasının bana daha büyük sorular sormamı ve beni Türkiye'de kimliğin kafa karışıklığı için bir yol bulmamı sağlayacağını o zamanlar bilmiyordum.

Günümüz Türkiye'sinde popüler olan sanatsal bir kurumun kurulmasının sadece tarihsel bir tesadüf olamayacağını düşünürken, Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun ana binasına Ankara'nın merkezindeki Ulus'ta ziyaret gerçekleştirdim. Sahneye konan oyunlara yönelik kurumsal bakış açısı hakkında fikir sahibi olmak amacımdı. Orada dramaturji ekibiyle tanıştım ve 1949'dan itibaren oyunların resmi bir listesine ulaşmama, oradan da arşive girmeme izin verdiler. İlk olarak oyunların sayılarını gördüm ve isimler bana tercihlerin ardındaki siyasi öyküyü anlatıyor olsa da, o zaman ulusal kimliğin bakış açılarındaki değişimi nasıl izleyebilirim ve nasıl değiştiğini açıklayabilir miyim diye düşünmeye başladım.

Bu soruları kendime Türk kimliğinin inşası ve Devlet Tiyatrosu hakkında sorduktan sonra, daha geniş biçimde literatürü incelemeye başladım. Literatürün ilk sınıflandırması temalara göre şekillendirilmiştir: tarih, aile ve mekan. Tarih temalı altındaki çalışmalar, 1940'lar ve 1950'lerin ortaları (Brockett 2011; Yıldırım 2014) ile ilgilenenler (Başbuğ 2013; Bingöl 2009; Ersanlı 2013; Toprak 2003); çok partili rejimi kapsayan (Akıncı 2010; Erkoç 1995). Ek olarak tarihsel karşılaştırmalı bir yaklaşıma sahip olmak için daha geniş bir tarihsel döneme odaklanan tarihi çalışmalar bulunmaktadır (İnce 2012; Kancı 2007).

Literatür bana Batılılaşma, gerilik hissi, İslam gibi Türk ulusal kimliğinde ana meseleler olduğunu gösterdi. Okuduğumdan sonra, karışıklık, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki ilk modernleşme hareketlerine kadar tarihe geri döndü. Hem entelektüellerin, hem de sanatçıların, "geri kalmışlık" için bir çözüm bulmaya çalıştıklarını ve "kim olduğumuz" sorusunu cevaplamaya çalıştıklarını öğrendim. 1950'lere kadar akademik araştırmalarla tatmin edici cevaplar alabildim. Ancak 1950'lerde aynı soruları sorduğumda hissettiğim şey bir boşlukta yürümek gibiydi; çünkü bu yıllar Türkiye'nin detaylı incelenmemiş dışta ve içte bir kalıcı dönüşüm yaşadığı çok partili bir rejimle tanıştığı yıllardı. Şans eseri, 1949'da Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun kuruluşunun bu tarihsel dönemle örtüştüğünü ve Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun 1950'lerde Türk ulusal kimlik oluşturma anlayışını aydınlatmak için bir araç olabileceğini araştırmaya karar verdim.

Devlet Tiyatrosu'nu ulusal kimlik oluşturma için temsilci kurum olarak seçmek, izleyicilere dokunulduğunda gerçekleştirilen ve anlatı haline gelen oyunları kontrol etmenin bir zorunluluğu anlamına geliyordu. Hikayelerin, anlatıların kimlik oluşumlarını yansıtacak güçlerini sorgulayan birçok çalışmayı kontrol etme şansım oldu. Önce, Türk yazarların öncü eserlerinde 'Türklüğün Büyük Anlatısı' hakkında konuşurken Murat Belge'nin Genesis'ini (Belge 2009) okudum. Anlatılar Türk yazarların hayal gücünü etkilemiş ve Murat Belge'nin "Türklüğün büyük anlatısı" dediği bir çatı anlatımı hazırlamıştır.

Ardından Azade Seyhan'ın Türk edebiyatı ve modern ulusal kimliklerin oluşumu ile ilgili önemli eserine rastladım. Seyhan'ın (Seyhan 2008) yaptığı çalışmada, "Bir klan, bir cemaat, dindar veya etnik bir grup veya bir devlet, tanımlama veya üye olma konusundaki insanın evrensel ihtiyacına yanıt verecek kadar güçlü" olduklarını iddia etmiştir. Buna ek olarak, anlatılar topluluktaki hatırlamanın yanı sıra, eski ve gelecek kuşaklar arasındaki süreklilik hissini beslemektedir. Eski imparatorlukların çöküşü, farklı toplumların anlatılarını kullanarak tarihin farklı algılamalarını ortaya çıkarmasına izin verdi. Azade Seyhan'ın sözleriyle (Seyhan 2008) eşzamanlılıklarını "kargaşa anıları çalkantı ve şiddete dönüştürdü" (Seyhan 2008), kendilerini yeni ulusal kimliklerini inşa etmek için milliyetçiliği kullanacak ve kendi topraklarındaki çeşitli toplulukları ulus devletlere idari birimler olarak bağlayacak çokuluslu devletler haline getirdiler. Aynı tarihsel olaylarla ilgili olarak dünyada tek bir tarihsel anlatı bulunmadığından, aynı mekân ve zamanda bile

tek bir tarihi kaygının yaşanması beklenemez. Tarihin algılanması, yazarların endişelerine, tecrübelerine ve tarihsel döneme göre değişir.

Türklerin ulus inşası örneğinde, Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk yıllarına odaklanan, Türkiye modernleşmesine ilişkin sayısız bilimsel araştırma örneği bulunmaktadır. Bu araştırmalarda, kurucu resmi ideolojinin laik bir "Türk ulusunun kimliği" bağlamında bir boyut olduğunu belirtilmiştir. Daha az sayıda bilim insanı, ulusun nerede büyüdüğü ve ulusun ayrı ayrı ortaya çıktığı zamana odaklanmıştır. Akademik çalışmaların çoğu, Cumhuriyetçi seçkinlerin insan üzerindeki ideolojik endişelerini gözlemek için 1920'ler ve 1930'lar üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Literatürde, Kemalizm'in ve ideolojik manevralarının sonraki on yıllarda da sürdüğü varsayılmaktadır. Bu çalışmalar dil, tiyatro, alfabe reformu ve Türkiye'de milliyetçiliğin araçlarını kapsayacak şekilde yorumlamalar içerir (Başbuğ 2013; Bingöl 2004a, 2004b, 2009; İnce 2012; Yılmaz 2011). Kemalizm'in kırılma noktasını tartışan çok sayıda çalışma da bulunmaktadır: Çınar (2010); Kancı (2007); Keyman ve Kancı (2014). Bununla birlikte, çok partili rejime geçiş ve hükümet değişikliği, ulusal kimlik oluşturma perspektifinde projeksiyonların çeşitlendirilmesi açısından bir etkiye sahip olmalıdır.

Teorik ve tarihsel açıdan az sayıda bilim adamı, 1940'lı ve 1950'li yıllara olan ilgisini korumaktadır. Örneğin, Brockett, yerel gazeteler aracılığıyla Türk ulusal kimliğini keşfederek diğer bilim adamlarından farklı bir yol tuttu ve çalışmalarını 1940'lardan 1950'lerin ortalarına kadar getiriyor (Brockett 2011). Brockett'in ana iddiası, Türk kimliğinin sadece laik bir ulusal kimliğe sahip olmadığı, aynı zamanda yerel gazetelerden türetildiği biçimde aynı zamanda dindar olmasıdır. Çalışması, çalışmam için önemli bir projeksiyon oluşturuyor. Çalışma, cumhuriyetin ilan edilmesinin ilk yılları ile çok partili rejim arasındaki geçişin sağlanması için, 1950'lerde Türk ulusal kimliğinin kurumsallaşması yıllarını incelemeye vesile oldu. Yine de, tarih, yıllar boyunca merakla ilgili genel bir konu haline geldi; ancak muayene, Türk ulusal kimliğinin mekânı ve bedeni için bilginin yokluğunu gözardı ederek daha çok, dinin kimliğe olan yerine odaklanıyor. Dolayısıyla, 1950'lerde Türk ulusal kimlik oluşturma projelerini aydınlatarak, milliyetçi bir bakış açısına sahip olan İslam'ın yerini daha iyi anlamak için bu anlamda bu çalışmanın perspektifini takip edeceğim.

Az sayıda bilim insanı 1940'lı ve 1950'li yıllardaki teorik ve tarihsel perspektife ilgisini korumaktadır. Örneğin, Brockett, yerel gazeteler aracılığıyla Türk ulusal kimliğini keşfederek diğer bilim adamlarından farklı bir yol tutmuş ve çalışmalarını 1940'lardan 1950'lerin ortalarına kadar getirmiştir (Brockett 2011). Brockett'in çalışması Cumhuriyetin kuruluşunun ilk yıllarındaki kimlik inşasına da dikkat veriyor ve yerel gazetelerin ulusal gazetelere kıyasla üstün gücünün yerel halka ulaşması ve tepkilerini dile getirmesi bağlamında farkında olarak yürütülmüştür

TARİH			
Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi	1940-1950ler	Çok Partili Rejim	Geniş Tarihsel Aralık
Ersanlı (2013) Bingöl (2009) Toprak (2003) Başbuğ (2013)	Brockett (2011), Yıldırım (2014)	Erkoç (1995) Akıncı (2010)	İnce (2012), Kancı (2007) Copeaux (2016)

### Figure 1. Tarih Temasına İlişkin Literatür

Öte yandan, çok sayıda çalışma aile temasına odaklanmaktadır (Akar, Döm ve Güngör 2015; Kancı 2007; Kancı ve Altıncı 2007; Kandiyoti 2004, 2013; McDermott Harmanlı 2016; Şener ve D. Sirman 2005). Üçüncü olarak da, milliyetçiliğin ve ulusal kimliklerin mekânsal düzenlenişini kapsayan çalışmalar nadiren de olsa varlığını göstermektedir (Bozdoğan 2012; Bozdoğan ve Kasaba 1997; Büyükarman 2008; Çınar 2008; Çınar ve Bender 2007; Mardin 1973; Nalbantoğlu Baydar 1997; Roy 2006). Üç temayı da kapsayan çalışmaları bulmaya çalıştığımda çok az çalışma olduğunu gördüm (Bingöl ve Pakiş 2016; Çınar 2005).

AİLE
Akar, Öz Döm and Güngör (2015) Kancı (2007) Kancı and Altınay (2007) Kandiyoti (2004) Kandiyoti (2013) McDermott Harmanlı (2016) Şener (n.d.) Sirman (2005)

### Figür 2. Aile Temasına İlişkin Literatür



MEKAN
Bozdoğan (2012) Bozdoğan and Kasaba (1997) Büyükarman (2008) Çınar (2008) Çınar and Bender (2007) Mardin (1973) Nalbantoğlu Baydar (1997) Roy (2006)

### Figure 3. Mekan Temasına İlişkin Literatür

Genellikle bu çalışmalar hakkında dikkat çeken nokta, tek boyutlu olmalarıdır. Milliyetçiliğin ve ulusal kimliklerin üç teatral yönünün hepsini ortaya koymak için gerçekleştirilen iki çalışma da tek boyutluydu. Örneğin, Alev Çınar'ın (Çınar 2005) çalışması, dinin ve temsillerinin kamusal alanda nasıl gerçekleştiğine odaklanırken, yıllar içerisindeki kamusal bakışın dönüşümünü açıklamaya çalışılıyor. Ayrıca, Yılmaz Bingöl ve Ahmet Pakiş'in (Bingöl ve Pakiş 2016) yaptığı araştırma, yalnızca anlatı ve ulusal kimlik boyutu olarak düşünülebilen, Anadolu düşüncesi ve pan-Türkçülük arasındaki farka odaklanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, sadece üç temayı değil bütüncül bir yaklaşım: tarih, aile, mekan; aynı zamanda ulusal kimliği tamamlayan üç temel unsur: din, devlet, anlatı ve ulusal kimlik bütüncül bir bakış açısıyla incelenmemiştir.

Bu perspektifle, literatürü taradım ve din, devlet, anlatı ve ulusal kimlik olmak üzere üç boyut kapsamında hangi çalışmaların yapıldığını inceledim. Bingöl ve Pakiş'in çalışmasını (2016) gördüm. Çınar (2005); M. Çınar ve Gencel Sezgin (2013); Göle (1996); Mardin (1971); Özdalga (2014), milliyetçilik, ulusal kimlik ve din arasındaki ilişkiyi ele alıyordu. Bir yandan, Akı (1968); Atabaki (2007); Bingöl (2004a, 2004b); Roy (2006); Yılmaz (2011), devletin ulusalcılık ve ulusal kimlik oluşturma içindeki rolü ile ilgiliydi. Devlet, ulus oluşturma sürecinde güç ilişkilerini yaymak için alfabe, dil politikası, tiyatro, kamusal alanın mekânsal organizasyonu gibi pek çok araç kullanmaktadır. Yine de hiçbiri devletin ulusal kimlik oluşturma sürecinde nasıl temsil edildiğini kapsamaz. Din ve devlet dışında, ulusal bir kimliğin üçüncü tamamlayıcı parçası anlatı ve ulusal kimlik olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Birçok çalışma, Türk anlatı ve ulusal kimliğin nasıl yapıldığını ve bunların, edebiyatın önemli bir bölümünü oluşturduğunu açıkladı (Ahıska 2003; Belivermiş ve Eğribel 2012; Bingöl 2004a, 2004b, Çınar 2008, 2010; Ergin 2008; Ertuğrul 2009; Göle

2010; Kadiođlu ve Keyman 2011; Kancı 2007; Karacabey; S. Karahasanođlu ve Skoog 2009; Kebeli 2007; Seyhan 2008; Tekeliođlu 1996; Toprak 2002b).

Din	Devlet	Anlatsal ve Milli Kimlik
Mardin (1971) Bingöl & Pakiř (2016) Özdalga (2014) M. Çınar & Sezgin (2013) Çınar (2005) Göle (1996)	Bingöl (2004a) Bingöl (2004b) Yılmaz (2011) Akı (1968) Roy (2006) Atabaki (2007)	Seyhan (2008) Kadiođlu & Keyman (2011) Göle (2010) Toprak (2002) Ahıska (2003) Ergin (2008) Çınar (2010) Çınar (2008) Ertuđrul (2009) Tekeliođlu (1996) Karahasanođlu & Skoog (2005) Belivermiř & Eđribel (2012) Karacabey (n.d.) Kebeli (2007) Bingöl (2004a) Bingöl (2004b) Kancı (2007) Yıldız (2004)

Figure 4. Din, Devlet, Anlatsal ve Milli Kimliđin Milli Kimlik olan İliřkini İnceleyen Literatür

Bu çalıřmanın literatüre katkısı, 1949-1960 yılları arasındaki Devlet Tiyatrosu repertuarının, tarih, aile ve mekan temaları mercek altına alınarak (din, devlet, anlatı ve ulusal kimliđi boyutları incelenerek) çok boyutlu bir yaklařımla analiz edilmesidir Türk milletini tanımlamak. Ayrıca, bu çalıřma 1950'lerin Türk ulusal kimlik oluřumuna odaklanan kültürel arařtırmalar ve ulusal kimlik oluřturma için disiplinlerarası bir yöntemin uygulanmasını içermektedir..

Literatür incelemesi, birçok arařtırmanın (Kadiođlu ve Keyman 2011, Keyman ve Kancı 2014), 1950'lerin Cumhuriyet Dönemi erken döneminin ulusal kimlik algısı açısından sürekliliđini varsayıđını göstermektedir. Ulus inřası algısında biraz farklılık olabileceđini savunan çalıřma ise, bunu, önemli bir dönüřüm olarak deđerlendirmek için yeterli olmadıđını savunuyor. Örneđin, Kancı (2007), 1950'lerde İřlam'ın yeniden oyuna girmesine rađmen, ulus inřası algısında köklü bir deđiřiklik yapılmadıđını savunuyor. Yine de, çok partili rejime geçiř, 1950'lerde 2. Dünya Savařı'ndan sonra Batı blođuna yaklařma

ve diğer birçok iç siyasi olaya geçiş gibi siyasi değişimlerin Türsk algılamasında önemli bir değişiklik yaratmış olması gerektiğini savunuyorum.

İkincisi, bu değişim, Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun playscriptleri vasıtasıyla görülebilir. Kancı (2007), Başbuğ (2013), erken Cumhuriyet döneminin Müslüman ve Osmanlı boyutlarından koparılan bir kimlik yaratmaya kalkıştığını savunuyor (Kancı 2007, 107). 1920'ler ve 1930'lar, laik endişeler yüzünden Osmanlı ve İslam mirasından ani bir kesinti içerdiği için Türk ulusal kimliğinin dayandığı yıllardır. Başbuğ (2013), Halk Evleri Tiyatrosu'nun oyun senaryolarına yer veriyor. Bu yapı Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi ile organik bir bağa sahipti ve tek parti rejiminde partinin ve hükümetin milliyetçilik perspektifini dayatmak için bir araç olarak çalıştı. Yine de, bu kurumların evresi, Devlet Tiyatrosunun uygulamanın ilk aşamasına, partinin bir organı olma devresi olan devlete bağlı olan kurumun geçiş dönemi haline dönüştürülmüştür. Bu bağlantı, tek taraflı bir dayatma değil, ulusal kimliğin telaffuz edilmesine yönelik bir girişimdi. Yine de dramaturji stratejileri tek bir partinin yaklaşımını yansıtmak yerine, 1950'lerde Türklüğün anlaşılma ve hayal edilmesinin bir yolunu yansıttı.

Devlet Tiyatroları arşivlerinden aldığım materyali taradıktan sonra, dini cümleler dikkatimi çekti ve öğrendikleriyle karşılaştırma yapmak için Halk Evleri playscript'lerinde Başbuğ'un araştırmasına geri döndüm. İlk okudumda elde ettiğim şeyin aksine, dini kimlik eğilimi yoktu. Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde hayal edilen Türklüğün seküler doğasını anlayan tek eser çalışmaları değil, Yıldız (2004) ve Copeaux (2016) ayrıca, Türk ulusal kimliğinin erken Cumhuriyet döneminde etnik-laik olarak tanımlandığını iddia ediyor. Özellikle Yıldız (2004), Türklüğün çerçevesinin etnik özelliklerle çizildiğini kanıtlarıyla tartışmaktadır. Yıldız, Ziya Gökalp'in İslam'ı ikincil konuma getiren milliyetçiliği anlayışıyla, Yıldız'ın Cumhuriyet-öncesi dönemde Türk milliyetçiliğinin etnoseküler eğilimler gösterdiğini belirttiği (Yıldız 2004, 19) Ziya Gökalp'in katkısıyla Türk milliyetçiliği (Gökalp 1963) yine de Türklüğe açıklık getirdiğini tartışmaktadır. Türk ulusunun ilk birimi olarak dini hem bireysel hem de toplumsal yaşantıları yankılayan toplumsal bir olgu olarak algılamaktadır. Öte yandan, 1950'lerde, 1950'lere odaklanan çalışmamın, Avrupa'daki İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın korkunç deneyimlerinden dolayı bu çerçevenin değiştiğini ortaya koyduğunu iddia ediyorum. 1950'lerde, Ziya Gökalp'in dinin seküler çerçevede geri dönüşüyle yaşanan milliyetçilik algısına doğru geri döndü.

Bu çalışmada uyguladığım yöntem, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımın amacı, toplumsal olguyu daha iyi anlamak için egemenlik ve iktidar ilişkilerinin söylemsel yapılarını ortaya çıkarmaktır. (T.A.an Dijk 1993). Yaklaşımın egemenlik ve güç tarafından ne anlama geldiği, temelde kurumsallaşmış ve hiyerarşik olarak örgütlenmiş "bir grubun diğerinin üzerinde kontrolü"dür (T. A. van Dijk 1993, 254-55).

Metotlara uygun olarak, materyali incelemek için iki kategori kullandım. Birinci kategori oyunları yerel oyunlar ve çeviri oyunlar olarak ikiye böler. Yerel oyun yazarları, yerel oyun yazarlarının Türk ulusal kimliğini nasıl gördüklerine ve aynılık hissi ve fark yaratmalarına göz kulak olurken, çevirilerin odak noktası aynılık hissi ve "ötekinin" ötekisinin hayalindeki farklılığıdır. Eleştirel Söylem Analizine göre "öz" tek taraflı değil aynı zamanda "tarihsel öteki", "ailenin ötekisi", "mekansal öteki" ile de karşılıklı olarak oluşturulmuştur. Bu nedenle Türk kimliğinin "öteki" kimliğini kazanması, çevrilmiş oyunlar vasıtasıyla görünür hale gelmiştir. İkinci kategori, yetişkinlerin oyun kodlarını çocukların oyun kodlarından ayırır. Yetişkinlerin oyunları hayal edilen Türk kimliğini yetişkinler için sahneye koyarken, çocuk oyunları genç Türklere Türklüğü bir ideal olarak göstermek için Türk ulusunun gelecek nesillerini hedef alıyor.

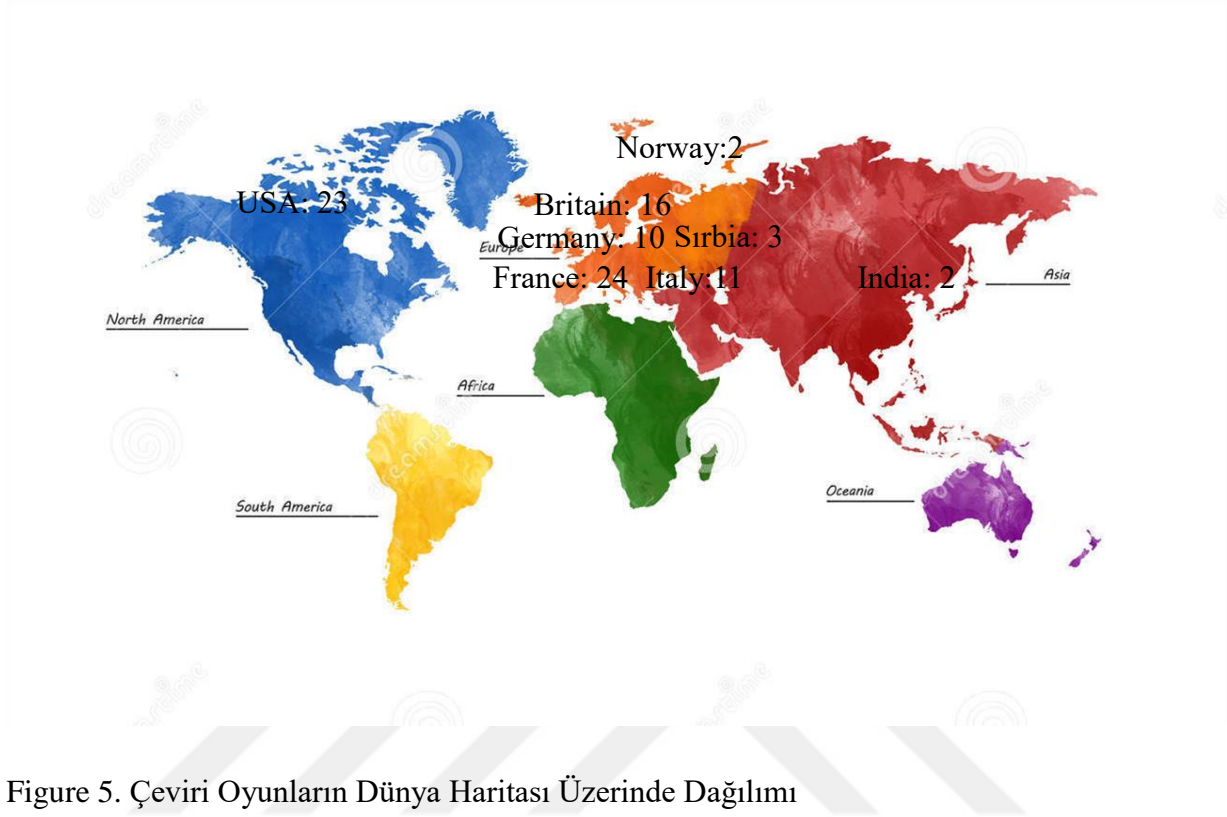


Figure 5. Çeviri Oyunların Dünya Haritası Üzerinde Dağılımı

Bu çalışma, Gerard Genette'in edebiyat temelli anlatı söylem analizini (Genette, 1980) ödünç alırken disiplinlerarası bir bakış açısı benimser. Bu bağlamda çalışma, ulusal kimlik oluşumuna ilişkin anlamları araştırarak anlatıların, bu çalışmanın oynatma dizinlerinin, anlatımın ve karakterlerin alanını da analiz eder. Cillia, Reisigl ve Wodak'ın geliştirdiği milli kimlik inşası analizi yönteminde karşılıklı diyaloglar yoluyla, anlatı ve dil aracılığıyla Avusturya ulusal kimlik oluşumunu analiz ederler. Bu tez de bu yaklaşımın basamaklarından yararlanmaktadır. Ancak, baktıkları, anlatımın ulusal bir kimliği ve söylemsel yapısını oluşturması ve şekillendirmesi değil, aynı zamanda izleyicinin bu yapıyı nasıl şekillendirdiğini ve işlemediğini ve ulusal kimlik oluşturma sürecine nasıl katkıda bulunduğunu kontrol etmek değildir. Bu karşılıklı ulusal kimlik inşası, anlatı kimliklerinin karşılıklı yapılandırılması olarak ortaya çıkar. Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun oyunları vasıtasıyla tercüme edilen oyunlar bu tez için geçerli anlatıların örneklerini oluşturmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımın uygulama biçiminin zayıf noktası, örnek olarak seçilen oyunların izleyici kitlelerine ulaşmanın imkansızlığı ve dolayısıyla da sahnede Türklüğün ve "öteki" nin imgelerini nasıl işlediklerini kontrol etmek için geribildirim alamıyor

olmamdı. Ulusal kimlik söylem analizi, siyasal bilimler ve dilbilimden oluşur ve aynılık hissi ve fark yaratan anlamların dünyalarına bakar.

Çalışmamda ayrıca Alev Çınar'ın tematik kategorizasyonundan da yararlandım (Çınar 2005). Beden, mekan ve zaman olarak tanıttığı üç temayı tarih, aile ve mekan biçiminde uyarladım. Alev Çınar, 2005'te yayımlanan çalışmasında kamusal alanda sergilenen ulusal kimliklerin bedeni olarak kamusal alanda laiklik ve kimliklerin tasvirlerini ve dönüşümlerini inceler. Bu yüzden, tarih olarak adlandırdığım zamanı tarih, bedeni aile ve nihayet, kamusal alan ve mekanı, mekan olarak tanımladım. Çınar'ın (2005) yaklaşımı aynı zamanda disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşımdır ve siyaset bilimini dil bilimle birleştirir. Yine de milliyetçilik çalışmalarının yardımıyla bu temaları nasıl tanımladığım konusunda hafif farklılıklar bulunmaktadır. Tarih teması, "Ulus ne zaman ortaya çıkmıştır?" sorusuna atıf yapar; aile teması "Ulus kimdir?" sorusuna yanıt aramaktadır ve nasıl tanımlandı? ve üçüncü olarak mekan teması, "Ulus nerede hayal edilmiştir?" sorularına verilecek cevapların peşindedir.

Araştırmanın örneklemini, repertuarının Türk kimliğini nasıl resmettiğine odaklanarak çizdim. Çalışma, oyunların izleyiciyle bağlantı kurma yeteneğine ve kodlamanın sıklığına göre 1949-1960 arasındaki sezonları hesaba katmaktadır. Bir oyun sahnelenmemiş ancak dramaturji listesine yine de girmişse, izleyiciye ulaşma yeteneğindeki azlık sebebiyle örneklemin bir parçası olarak kabul etmedim. Ayrıca, bir oyunun ilk okunması kodlamasız tamamlanmışsa, bunun anlamı, Türk ulusal kimlik oluşturma konusunda herhangi bir temsil gücü bulunmadığı anlamına geliyordu. Bu kapsamda çalışma kapsamına alınan oyunlar şu şekilde kategorize edildi;

Tarih temalı oyunlar;

	<b>Yerli Oyunlar</b>
Yetişkin	Fatih, (Nazım Kurşunlu) Tanrı Dağı Ziyafeti (Reşat Nuri Güntekin) Gılgamesh (Orhan Asena) Üçüncü Selim (Celal Esat Arseven) Hürrem Sultan (Orhan Asena)
Çocuk	Oyuncak (Hakkı Bigeç)

Figure 6. Yerli Yazarların Oyunları

	<b>Çeviri Oyunlar</b>	
Yetişkin	Antik Yunan Altteması	Elektra (Sophokles)
	Avrupa'nın Doğuştan Altteması	Ölü Kraliçe (Henry de Montherlant) Don Carlos (Frederich von Schiller) Maria Stuart (Frederich von Schiller) Cadıkazanı (Arthur Miller)
	İkinci Dünya Savaşı Altteması	Haydutlar (Frederich von Schiller) Anne Frank-Hatıra Defteri (Albert Hackett and Frances Goodrich)
Çocuk	Küçük Columbus (Jacop Lorey) Küçük Mozart (Jacop Lorey)	

Figure 7. Çeviri Oyunlar

Aile temalı oyunlar;

	<b>Yerli Oyunlar</b>
Yetişkin	Eski Şarkı (Reşat Nuri Güntekin) Branda Bezi (Nazım Kurşunlu) Akif Bey (Namık Kemal) Finten (Abdülhak Hamid) Bu Gece Başka Gece (Reşat Nuri Güntekin) Tablodaki Adam (Cevat Fehmi Başkut) Harput'ta Bir Amerikalı (Cevat Fehmi Başkut) Çemberler (Çetin Altan)
Çocuk	Deniz'in Mektubu (Sevil Dinçer)

Figure 8. Yerli Oyunlar

	<b>Çeviri Oyunlar</b>
Yetişkin	Scapin'in Dolapları (Moliere) Peer Gynt (Henrik Ibsen) Avanak (Georges Feydeau) Yaşlı Aile (Brannislav Nusic) Bir Yastıkta (Jean de Hartog) Tahta Çanaklar (Edmund Morris)
Çocuk	Mavi Kuş (Maurice Maeterlinck)

Figure 9. Çeviri Oyunlar

Son olarak, mekana ilişkin oyunlar;

	<b>Yerli Oyunlar</b>
Yetişkin	Küçük Şehir (Cevat Fehmi Başkut) Köşebaşı (Ahmet Kutsi Tecer) Çığ (Nazım Kurşunlu) Güneşte On Kişi (Turgut Özakman)
Çocuk	Kara Boncuk (Mümtaz Zeki Taşkın)

Figure 10. Yerli Oyunlar

	Çeviri Oyunlar
Yetişkin	Yanlışlıklar Gecesi (Oliver Goldsmith) Çayhane (Vern Sneider, John Patric) Trafik Cezası (Paolo Levi)
Çocuk	Üç Çuval Yalan (Margarethe Cordes)

Figure 11. Çeviri Oyunlar

Niteliksel arařtırmalarda "Analiz, yaygın olarak kodlama olarak adlandırılan Őeyi, ham verileri alarak ve kavramsal bir düzeye getirmekle ilgilidir." (Strauss ve Corbin 2008, 66). Bu bağlamda materyalimin tematik çerçeve ile bir ilk okumasını yaptım. Ardından, daha detaylı biçimde Figure 12’de yer alan kimlik kodlama çizelgesinin yardımıyla oyunları okudum. Bu okuma esnasında sivrilen anlam öbeklerini ve kavramları çıkardım. Figure 12’de görülen kimlik kodlama çizelgesini 156 oyunu okuyarak türetmiş oldum. Materyali okuduktan sonra din, devlet, anlatı ve ulusal kimlikler diyalogların aynılık ve farklılık duygusu yaratırken kullanılan en yaygın konu başlıkları olduğunu gördüm. Bu esnek görüş, arařtırmanın kendi yolunu geliştirirken benim örneklemeimi daha iyi anlamamda yardımcı olan bir teoriye gitmek gerekliliğinden kaynaklanmaktadır ve bu çalışma beni kuram oluřturmaya doğru götürdü (Charmaz 2006). Materyalimin yardımıyla teoriyi okumak ve geliřtirmek, alt kodlamaları ve analitik araçları ortaya koymuş oldum. “Din” analitik aracı altında Müslümanlık ve Hıristiyanlığın ikiliğİ gibi. Öte yandan, hem literatürden yararlanarak hem de arşivden aldığım oyunlara dayanarak devletin temsil ediliř biçimi altında ataerkillik ve devletin sadakatine dikkat çekerken kuramsal okumaya ve kuramların öncülük etmesine izin vererek, diğerk iki alt kod kullandım: Atatürk devrimleri ve bürokratların temsili. Anlatımsal ve ulusal kimlik aynı şekilde beř alt koda da sahip: anlatı kimliğı, ulusal kimlik, milliyetçiliğın ortaya çıkışı, semboller, doğıu-batı salınımı. Bu çalışma, Figure 12’de görüldüğü şekilde aynılık hissi ve fark yaratma bağlamında din, devlet, anlatı ve ulusal kimliklerin oyun komutlarıyla nasıl temsil edildiğİne bakmaktadır. Dolayısıyla kimlik kodlama sistemi, din altında Müslümanlık ve Hıristiyanlık olarak "kendimiz" ile "biz" ve “öteki” temsil kodlamalarını arar. Ataerkillik, devletin sadakati, Atatürk devrimleri ve bürokrasilerin tipolojisi devlet altında incelenen birimlerdir. Son olarak, çalışma, anlatı ve ulusal kimliğın tasvirlerini, milliyetçiliğın ortaya çıkışı, bayrak, vatan, etnisite gibi milliyetçilik ve ulusal kimliğın sembolik ipuçlarını, Türk kimliğının Doğıulu ve Batılı olmak arasındaki salınımı kapsar.



KİMLİK KODLAMA SİSTEMİ	
1. Din ("biz" ve "öteki")	Müslümanlık
	Hristiyanlık
2. Devlet ("biz" ve "öteki")	Yurtseverlik, Patriyarka
	Devlete Sadakat
	Atatürk Devrimler
	Bürokrat
3. Anlatısal ve Milli Kimlik ("biz" ve "öteki")	Anlatısal Kimlik
	Milli Kimlik
	Milliyetçiliğin Ortaya Çıkışı
	Semboller (vatan, bayrak Etnisite, vb.
	Batı-Doğu salınımı

Figure 12. Kimlik Kodlama Sistemi

Bu yöntemi nasıl uyguladığımın bir örneği aşağıda görülebilir. Kodlama sistemi üç temel kod kullanır: Din, devlet, anlatısal ve ulusal kimlik. Okurken bu kodlarla ilgili anlamları kodladım ve kodlu bir segment olan ulusal kimlik oluşturma bağlamında anlam ifade eden ipucu / ipuçlarını çağırıyorum.

Kodlanmış bir segment örneği (orjinal piyesten alınmıştır):

**Haşa! Sümme haşa! Biz müslüman oğlu  
müslümanız... Bize Sultan Selim Nizamı Cedid'i  
kabul ettiremedi! Napolyon şapka mı giydirecek?**

Bunun bir din kodu olduğu düşünülürse, Müslümanlığa dayanan aynılık hissini (III. Selim'de) kontrol ediyorum (Arseven 1999).

- "Biz": Müslümanlık; "Biz" + Müslüman+ oğlu

"Müslümanlar üzerindeki Frank uygulamaları üzerine konuşmak; Yaptıkları şey insanlık için faydalı olursa ve medeniyet yoluyla geçerliyse, tereddüt etmeden uygulamalıyız..." (Arseven 1999, 24). Cesur sözler, "biz" in nasıl kurulduğuna ve Müslüman olarak teyit edildiğine ilişkin referansı gösterir.

- Fark: Hristiyanlık (III.Selim)
- «Onlar»: Avrupalılar, gayrimüslimler.

Aynı segment ve hatta kodlama içerisinde, "öteki"nin inşası da görülebilir: "Müslüman üzerindeki *Frank* uygulamaları üzerine konuşmak; Yaptıkları şey insanlık için faydalı olursa ve medeniyet yoluyla geçerliyse, tereddüt etmeden uygulamalıyız ... "(Arseven 1999, 24). Cesur "onlar" "Frenk" ve "onlar" tarafından geliştirilen bir medeniyete atıfta bulunmaktadır. Bu aynı zamanda Türk kimliğinin doğulu ve batılı kimliğine dönüştüğünü göstermektedir. Bu, anlatsal ve ulusal kimlik ve din için aynı anda örtüşen kodların iyi bir örneğidir.

Verilerimi kolayca işlemek ve sınıflandırmak için MaxQda 11. software programını (Cleverbridge Company, Berlin) kullandım. Din, devlet, ulusal ve anlatı kimliğiyle ayrı ayrı her kodlama için aynı işlemleri yapıyorum. Bununla birlikte, MaxQda örtüşen kodlamaları görselleştirip incelememe yardımcı oldu.

Okumalar ve temellendirilmiş teoriye olan ihtiyaç bağlamında kavramsal çerçeveyi oluşturdum. Bu çalışmanın ihtiyaç duyduğu konularda ulus inşası ile ilgili literatür taraması yaptım ve temellendirilmiş teoride kullandığım kavramlarla ne ifade ettiğimi açıkladım.

Bu çalışma, ulusları çağdaşlaşma ve sanayileşme yoluyla dönüştürülen zihinlerin, zihinsel yapıları olarak tanımlıyor. Ülkeler, pazar için yüksek öğrenim kurma ile sonuçlanan kapsamlı eğitim yoluyla söylemsel olarak inşa edilmiştir (Gellner 2013). Gellner, milliyetçiliği, siyasi ve ulusal birlik arasında bir uyum sağlayan bir siyasi ilke olarak tanımlar (Gellner, 1983). Dolayısıyla, idari birimi ve siyasi birimi hem ulusal bir dayanağa sahip hem de bir zamanlar modern terimlerle tanımlandığında milliyetçilik ortaya çıkmaktadır. Milliyetçiliğin bir ilke haline gelmesi için bir ulusa ihtiyacı vardır, Bu nedenle ortak kültürü, milliyetçi bir fikirler dizisine, iletişim yardımıyla aynılık hissi ile davranmaya yönelir. Bu aynılık, yalnızca birçok insan aynı ulusun bir parçası olarak kendilerini hissediyor ve dile getiriyorsa ancak milliyetçiliği besleyebilir. Bununla birlikte, bireylerin paylaşılan görevleri ve aynı işaret sistemine sahip bir ulusun üyesi olarak tanınması, milliyetçilik çağına geçiş sürecini açıklamakta yetersiz kalmaktadır.

Sanayileşme ile üretim mekanizmalarındaki köklü değişim, yeni ihtiyaçlar doğurmuştur ve aynı zamanda toplumun entelektüel dünyasını değiştirmiştir. Yeni sanayi piyasasının ancak devlet tarafından desteklenen kitlesel eğitimle sağlanabilecek yeni meslek dallarına ihtiyacı olmuştur. Uygulamanın meşru mekanizması olan devletin denetimi altında olan kitlesel eğitim, ihtiyaçlar çerçevesinde otomatik olarak belli bir işaret sistemini çizer. Eğitilmiş kişiler tarafından paylaşılan işaret ve anlamlar sistemi, yüksek kültür olarak adlandırılan bir çıktıya sahip olur. Gellner ve Benedikt Anderson aynı tutumu paylaşmasalar da, Anderson'un hayal edilmiş topluluklar olarak uluslarla edebiyata katkısı (Anderson, B. Anderson 2006) göz ardı edilemez. Bu işaret sistemi eğitim, gazeteler, haritalar veya müzeler gibi insanlar arasında çeşitli yollarla ve tarihsel anlatılar yoluyla yayılmıştır. Bununla birlikte, bu çalışma, halkın bu ortak ulusal işaret sistemiyle işlediği şeyle değil yüksek kültüre nasıl yayıldığıyla ilgilidir. Bununla birlikte, Benedict Anderson'ın ulusların hayali cemaatler olduğu iddiası ve sınırları ile hayal edildikleri, "biz" ve "onlar" arasındaki çizgiyi çizmeye zihnen yardımcı olmuştur.

Türk ulus kimlik inşası örneğinde, Gellner'in teorisi, 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı modernleşmesinden başlayarak yüksek kültürün ortaya çıkışını açıklayacak kadar güçlüdür. Bununla birlikte, Gellner'in iddiaları, Batı modernleşmesi ve gelenek arasında sıkışıp kalmanın çelişkisinin neden ve nasıl Türk milliyetçiliğinde gerçekleştiğine değinmemektedir. Milliyetçiliği ve yüksek kültür teorisi, modern Türk seçkinlerinin nasıl ortaya çıktığını açıklıyor olsa da, Batı Avrupa dışındaki milliyetçiliklerin Batı'ya karşı özgünlükleri konusunda aynılık hissini neden ve nasıl verdiği üzerine odaklanmamıştır. Partha Chatterjee bu çelişkiye dikkat çekmektedir. Chatterjee, post-kolonyal milliyetçiliklerin, özellikle modern Hindistan'ın Batı'yı modernleşme için bir model olarak nasıl algıladıklarına dair açıklamalarına karşın, ulusal benzersizliğini de yansıtmaktadır (Partha Chatterjee 1993). Bu anlayış, Türkiye'nin sömürgeleştirilmemiş olmasına rağmen Doğu ve Batı olmak arasında sıkışmış olan milliyetçilik çelişkilerini de aydınlatmaktadır.

Bu alandaki çalışmaların çoğu, Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nin milliyetçi ideolojisine odaklanmıştır. Kurucu resmi ideolojinin "laik Türk ulus kimliği" bağlamında belirtildiğine işaret eden Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk yıllarına odaklanan bilimsel keşiflerin sayısız örneği var. Akademik çalışmaların çoğu, Cumhuriyetçi seçkinlerin insan üzerindeki ideolojik endişelerini gözlemlemek için 1920'ler ve 1930'lar üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Literatürde,

Kemalizm'in ve ideolojik manevraların sonraki on yıllarda da sürdüğü düşünülmektedir. Bu çalışmalar, dil, tiyatro, alfabe reformu ve Türkiye'de milliyetçiliğin araçlarını kapsayacak şekilde yorumlanmasını gözler önüne sermiştir (Başbuğ 2013; Bingöl 2004a, 2004b, 2009; İnce 2012; Yılmaz 2011). (Çınar 2010, Kancı 2007, Keyman ve Kancı 2014 gibi). Kemalizm'in kırılma noktasını tartışan çok sayıda çalışma var ancak, çok partili rejime geçiş ve hükümet değişikliği hakkında az sayıda çalışma mevcuttur. Bazı bilim adamları, vatandaşlık ve kimlik oluşturma (İnce 2012) gibi tek kavramıyla, modern Türkiye'nin laiklik yıllarından günümüze değin geniş bir tarih aralığını ele alıyor (Çınar 2010, 2008). Bu çalışmalar, 1950'lerde modernizmi kabul etmekle birlikte 1950'li yılların değişimini atladı ve olağanüstü davranıyorlardı, 1950'lerin Türk ulusunu nasıl etkilediğine dair derin bir incelemeye izin verememişlerdi. Oysa, 1950'ler, 2. Dünya Savaşı'nın ertesinde, demokratik bloğa yakınlaşarak Türkiye'nin safını belli ettiği, aynı zamanda çok partili hayata kalıcı biçimde geçtiği, tek parti hükümetinin sona erdiği yıllara tekabül ediyordu. Ulusal kimlik algılamasında gerek kurumsal gerekse dönemsel değişikliklerin olması kaçınılmaz olmalıydı.

Bu düşünce tarzını Türkiye örneğine uygulamak için, Türk modernleşme ve sanayileşme çabaları Batı teknolojik gelişmelerini yakalamaya yönelik çabaları Tanzimat dönemine kadar izlemek gerekir. Modernleşme süreci, yeni meslek dallarının ihtiyaçlarını karşılayacak yeni bir katmana duyulan ihtiyaç ile başlar. Modern askeri, tıbbi ve bürokratik okullar, kısa süre sonra sanat okulları, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda pazarın modern ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak üzere açıldı. Gellner, Türkiye'nin bu tür ulus inşası projeleri için benzersiz bir örnek olduğunu ve Türkiye'nin modernleşmesinin içsel dinamiklerle başlaması, Tanzimat döneminden sonra Batı ile rekabet etme duygusuna rağmen Batılılaşma başlatması nedeniyle derinlemesine araştırılması gerektiğini iddia etmiştir (Gellner 2013). İmparatorluk pazarının çağdaş pazara dönüşmesi, Batı'dan çokça etkilenen yüksek kültürlerin ortaya çıkmasına neden olur. Edebiyat ve sanatlar, Avrupa kültürünün, Avrupa edebi eserleri ile, tanıtımı için önemli rol oynamaktadır. Çevrilen, kabul edilen, yeniden yazılan ya da adapte edilen tiyatro oyunlarının önemli miktarda olması bu tanıtıma verilen önemi göstermektedir.

Cumhuriyetin ilan edilmesi veya daha sonra çok partili rejime geçiş, Tanzimat Dönemi'nde başlayan Batı edebi sanatlarını çeviri geleneğini sona erdirmeyi. Çeviriler, özellikle de

Türk sosyal hayatına uygun, kısmen uyarlanan ya da çeviriler, çoğunlukla Avrupa'dan alınmaktadır. Bu oyunların Batı tarih anlayışını, Batı yaşam tarzını ve hayali mekanını gösterme şansları vardı. Bununla birlikte, zamanla Batılı projeksiyon Avrupa'yı kapsamayı sürdüreceği biçimde, Amerikalı yazarları da repertuara ekleyerek genişlemiştir. Sahadaki birçok araştırmadan esinlenmek beni daha çok tiyatroya odaklamaya teşvik ederken, Türkiye'de ulusal kimlik oluşturma hakkında daha fazla soru sormamı teşvik ediyordu. Devlet Tiyatrosu, özellikle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki devletle olan organik bağı için istisnai bir öneme sahiptir. Devlet Tiyatrosu, devlet tarafından kontrol edilen ve desteklenen bir aygıttır. Ve dramaturji listesine karar veren bir edebi kurul vardı. Ancak yine de kurucu yasaya göre Devlet Tiyatrosu özerk bir kurum olarak sayılmaktaydı. Hedef kitleyi, Ankara'daki elitler oluşturuyordu ve bu kesim yüksek kültürlerin bir parçası sayılabilirdi.

Birçok bilimsel eser performansın ve performatif sanatın siyasete, özellikle de ulusal kimlik oluşumlarına bağlı olduklarını gösterir. Bu tez bu güç benim için bir çıkış noktası haline gelmişti. Türkiye'de tiyatronun siyasal gücü, Namık Kemal'in "Vatan Yahut Silistre"si (Vatan ya da Silistre) ve 1873'de izleyicilerin dikkat çekici tepkileri ile başlar ve bu performans, modern tiyatronun Tanzimat döneminde siyasetle olan ilişkisinin başlangıcı olarak kabul edilir. Elif Dicle Başbuğ'un (Başbuğ 2013) Halk Evleri tiyatroları konusundaki çalışması, Louis Althusser'in devletin ideolojik aygıtını kavramlaştırması bağlamında, devletin parti aygıtlarının ideolojik kullanımını ortaya çıkarmak için, tek parti döneminde erken Cumhuriyet dönemi milliyetçi partizan ideolojisine dikkat çekiyordu.

Öte yandan, Seyhan (2008) romanların ve diğer anlatı içeren edebi sanatların daha geniş anlamda, okuyuculara bir ulusa ait olma hissi verdiklerini ileri sürmektedir. Kuşkusuz tiyatro, performatif gücü ile bunu daha güçlü bir şekilde yapar. Bu öneriye performans eklemek, yalnızca tiyatroyu izleyiciler üzerindeki gücünü artıracak hale getirecektir. Özellikle tiyatroların sanatçılar için kitlesel bir mesajlaşma fırsatı olduğunu düşündüğümüzde, mesajlarını görsel bir tabanda da canlı bir sesle iletme şansını kullandıkları açıktır. Tiyatronun performatif gücü, bilinçli olarak yönlendirilen, güçlü iletilen mesajların edebiyat, drama, ses, gösteri, ortak bir dil yaratmanın yanı sıra bir sağduyu da kapsar.

Tek Parti döneminin popüler tiyatrosu olan, Halk Evleri tiyatroları İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra siyasi ve geleneksel kalırken, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra değişen siyasi iklimde çeşitlilik sesleri ve nitelikli bir tiyatroya ihtiyaç duyulması 1940'larda görünür hale geldi. Bu sayede Devlet Konservatuvarı'nın kuruluşuyla akademik tiyatro girişimleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Konservatuvar, Halk Evleri sahnelerinde ilk gösterilerini gerçekleştirmiştir. Daha sonra 1947'de ise Tatbikat Tiyatrosu'na dönüştürülmüştür. Alman tiyatrosu geleneğinin öne çıkan isimlerinden Carl Ebert'in çabaları ile, tiyatronun Batılı ve akademik bir performans sergilediği bu tiyatro Türk Tiyatrosunun öncülerinden Muhsin Ertuğrul tarafından yönetilmiştir (Çelik 2013).

Bir ulus kurarken milliyetçiliklerin ilgisini çektiği üç tema vardır: tarih, aile ve mekan. Literatürün, bu üç temayla ilgili üç temel sorunun cevabını bulmaya çalıştığını söylemek mümkündür. Birinci tematik soru, "Ulusal Kimlik Oluşturma için neden tarihin yeniden yazılması önemlidir?" Cevap, soyut fakat çoğunlukla Jonathan Friedman (1992) tarafından tarihe "millet" in geçmişinin yazılması biçiminde verilmektedir. Böylece "millet" in geleceğinin geçmişle bağlantı kurulması için bir ulusun geçmişini inşa etmek için anlatılar yardımıyla hayal edilmekte ve yeniden şekillendirilmektedir.

İkinci soru şudur: "Niçin bir ulusal kimlik oluştururken aile önemlidir?" Aile, Nükhet Sirman'ın "ailesel yurttaşlık" (Sirman 2005) altında kavramlaştırdığı biçimiyle, ulusun "bedeni" olarak anlaşılır. Ulusun bedeni, ulusun kim ve nasıl bir mikroorganizasyonla hayal edildiğini anlatır. Nihai tematik soru ise "milli kimlik oluşturmak için mekan önemi nedir?". Bu soruya ulusal bilincin katkıda bulunduğu haritanın önemini tartışırken Benedict Anderson (B. Anderson 2006) tarafından yanıt verilmiştir. Mekan, ulusun "topraklarını" çizer ve ulus devletinin egemenlik sınırlarını ifade eder.

Bu çalışma, Devlet Tiyatrosu'nu, 1950'ler için ulus inşası sürecinin temsilcisi olarak Kabul etmiştir çünkü sanat, özellikle de edebiyat ve tiyatro, kültürün nesilden nesile aktarılması açısından kolektif bir hatıranın güçlenmesinde önemli bir role sahiptir. Dahası, diyaloglar ve parçalar içindeki ipuçları, aynı iletişim sistemini paylaşan bir ulusun üyeleri arasında aynılık hissi yaratmak için işe yaramaktadır. Ulus kimlik inşası ve Türkiye'deki Devlet Tiyatrosu arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki, devlet ile kurum arasındaki organik bağa dayanır. Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun sanatçıları ve çalışanları devlet memuru statüsündedir (Karlı 2013).

Repertuarı sebebiyle ise Devlet Tiyatrosu, televizyon ve diğer görsel teknolojilerin Türkiye çapında yaygın olmadığı bir dönemde, Türk ulusal kimlik oluşturma projesi için kültürel bir iletişim aracı olarak görülmektedir. Ankaralı seyircilerin tiyatro performanslarına olan ilgisi çok büyüktü. Bir zamanlar Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun açılışından önce İstanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu (Darülbedayi) performans sergilemek üzere Ankara'yı ziyaret ettiğinde böyle bir ilgi şaşırtıcı olarak karşılanmıştır. Bu performans gerçekleştirilememiş, kırık sandalyeler ve oyunun ertelenmesi ile sonuçlanmıştır (Tartan 1997). Teoman Yazgan, izleyicilerin tiyatronun tutkusunu geliştirdiği yıllar (Yazgan 2012, 65) olarak Tatbikat Tiyatrosu'nun geçiş yıllarının birçoğundan Devlet Tiyatro'suna değinmektedir. Bu performanslar, Cumhurbaşkanı İsmet İnönü ve bakanlar tarafından da manevi olarak desteklenmiştir. Oyunları eşi ile izlemiş ve dönemin Devlet Tiyatrosu Müdürü Muhsin Ertuğrul ve sanatçıları kutlamıştır (Tartan 1997). Ancak memurlar ve Muhsin Ertuğrul çevresindeki sanatçılar, herhangi bir siyasetçiyle kişisel olarak temas kurma ihtimalinin düşük olduğundan bahsetmişler, hatta böyle temasları reddetmişlerdir. Halbuki devletin tiyatrosunda hizmet etmek için görevliler bakanlar, başbakan, cumhurbaşkanı ve parti üyeleri idi (Tartan 1997). Politikacılarla kurum arasındaki bu işbirliği bana siyaset, devlet ve içerik arasında açık bir bağlantı olduğu için ilgi çekicidir. Muhsin Ertuğrul ilkeli olmakla birlikte Devlet Tiyatrosu kanununun yürürlüğe girmesi Devlet Tiyatrosu'na özerklik sağlamasına karşın kurumun özel bir tiyatro olarak tam bir içerik özgürlüğü sağlaması mümkün değildi.

Ayrıca, Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun kuruluşu, Türkiye'nin çok partili bir rejime geçişiyle örtüşüyordu. Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun ilk resmi oyunu 1949'da sahnelendi, ancak sahne Konservatuvar'ın bir organı olarak çalışan Tatbikat Tiyatrosu'nda halihazırda iki yıllık geçmişe sahipti. Ayrıca kurumun önemi, üniversite öğrencileri, bürokratlar, siyasetçiler ve Ankara'daki çocuklar arasındaki popüleritesinden kaynaklanmaktaydı. Bu şekilde, hedef kitle, sıradan insanları ilk adımda hedef almak yerine, yüksek kültürle çakışmaktaydı.

Bu çalışmada oyun metinleri ve açıklamaları, oyunlardaki karakterlerin kendi kimliklerini nasıl hissettiğine, bu kimliklerin veya farklılıkların nasıl gösterildiğine göre kategorize edilerek incelenir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, araştırma ve kimlik kodlama grafiğinin analitik araçları ile ilgili üç kavram daha kullanmaktadır. Din, devlet, anlatı ve ulusal kimlik, ulusal kimliğini tamamlayan bu üç boyuttur. Bu üç araçsal boyut tanımlanacak olursa: din, kutsal

inançlar tarafından kurulan ve ritüeller ve davranışlar tarafından tamamlanan bir sosyal oluşumdur. Yaşayan topluluklar ya da toplumsal oluşumlar, bir araya gelmeyi ve toplumsal dayanışmayı içermektedir (Peterson 2012). Ulusal kimlik oluşturma projeleri devlete ve ulusa sadakat kurma sürecini kapsar (Connor 1978). Din, insanların hayatında hiçbir zaman yerini kaybetmemiş (Mitchell 2006) ve hem bireylerin hem de toplumların "benliğini" tanımlamak için birincil yerini korumuştur. Dinlerin topluluklardaki hayati yeri, laiklikten milliyetçilik veya din ile birleşmiştir. Rogers Brubaker (Brubaker 2012) din ile milliyetçilik arasındaki ilişki üzerine konuşurken, dört yaklaşımı ortaya çıkarır ve çalışmasında dini milliyetçiliğin bir parçası olarak görmektedir. Anthony Smith'in mit ve sembollerin yardımıyla oluşturulan milliyetçilik kavramsallaştırılması (Smith 1994) yardımıyla da bu tez, Türk ulus inşasının dinin sembolleri ile 1950li yıllarda nasıl temsil edildiğine bakar.

Öte yandan, din tek belirleyici faktör de değildir. Modern toplumlarda devlet bireylerin hayatlarına müdahale etmekte ve modern hayatları değiştirip şekillendirmeye çalışmaktadır (Özdalga 2014). Devlet, bu değişimi kurumsallaştırmak için meşru gücünü kullanmaktadır. Devletin bilgisi, devletin ulusal kimliğini nasıl inşa ettiğini ve entelektüeller tarafından nasıl algılandığını göstermektedir (Safran 1991). Bir ulus devlet vatanperverliği "yurttaşlık katılımını, dayanışmayı ve karşılıklı sorumlulukları beslemek" çerçevesinde gösterilen işbirliği sağlar (Brubaker 2004, 121). Rogers Brubaker'ın belirttiği gibi, sadece bireylerin yaşamlarını tanımlamak ve değiştirmek için egemen olmakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda onların adına konuşmaktadırlar.

Anlatısal kimlik, bir anlatıda, modern veya ulusal koşullar olmaksızın bireysel ya da kolektif aynılık ve farklılık duygusu olarak tanımlanır. Kimlikler, diğer "ben" in eylemlerine verdiği cevaplara göre "ben" ve "öteki" (Mead 1972) kurar. Toplumsal oluşumlarda, birden çok ben, belirli normlara ve benzerlik ilkelerine dayanır, dayanışma yaratır ve "biz" kurur. Ulusal kimlikler inşa sürecinde, ulusal anlatılarda "biz" ve "öteki" kurgusunu kullanır. Bireysel "Ben" ve "biz" in kendine özgü oluşumu ve ulusal ölçekli "ben" ve "biz" e dönüşür. Nihayetinde bu kolektif bilinç ulusal koşullarda modern terimlerle tanımlanır. Genel olarak, anlatı ve ulusal kimlikler, aynılığın ve farklılığın doğrudan tanımlarına dayanmaktadır (Wodak ve diğerleri, 2009).



Bu çalışmanın 1950'ler Türkiye'sine odaklanmasının nedeni, 1946'da Demokrat Parti ile birlikte çok partili rejime geçişle birlikte Türk siyasi hayatında kaçınılmaz ve geri dönüşü olmayan değişimin Türk kimlik inşasına etkisinin nasıl bir dönüşüm yarattığına ilişkin meraktır. Demokrat Parti'nin ortaya çıkmasından önce, 1938'de Atatürk ile olan tartışmalarından sonra İnönü'yu siyasi hayata döndürmekle ilgili pek çok şüphe vardı. Ancak, Atatürk'ün ölümünden sonra hiçbir sorun yaşamadan İnönü, parlamentoda Cumhuriyet'in ikinci cumhurbaşkanı olarak seçildi. . İnönü döneminde Atatürk çağında sürgüne gönderilenler ile barışın sinyalleri verildi (Ahmad 2014). İnönü, Türk milliyetçiliğinin iç ve dış politikaya uygun çerçevesini belirleyen belirleyici bir siyasi figür oldu. Cumhurbaşkanlığı süresince bu belirleyicilik devam ederken, çok partili dönemin ilk yıllarında da bu etkisi sürdü.

Feroz Ahmad (2014), Yıldırım'ın (2014) İnönü döneminin ilk yıllarına ilişkin yorumları ve sonuçlarına dayanarak, II. Dünya Savaşı'nın sonuna kadar hükümet ve Türk-Türkçüleri arasındaki dalgalı bir ilişki ve giderek artan muhafazakârlık konularını önem kazanmaktadır. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'nde. Pan-Türkçüler ırkçı ve karşı ideoloji olmakla suçlandığında, mahkemeler tarafından serbest bırakıldıktan sonra kabul gördüler ve komünizmle mücadelenin kahramanları oldu. II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra ise demokratik bloğa yakınlaşan Türkiye hem iç hem dış siyasette geri dönülemez bir değişim başlatmıştır. Demokrat Parti'nin politikaları ve 1960 darbesine dek Demokrat Parti'nin zaferi ile sonuçlanan seçimler Türk kimlik inşası ve batılılaşma kavramlarının içeriğinde bir farklılaşma yaratmış olmalıydı.

Çalışmamı, 27 Mayıs 1960'a kadar, genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin demokratik deneyimlerini askıya alan askeri darbeyle kesiyorum. Pek çok bilim adamı, darbenin yeni bir siyasi ve tarihi çağa başlamanın bir olayı olduğuna katılıyor (Ahmad 2014). Bu tarihsel kavramsallaştırmalar ve Türk siyasi tarihi üzerine sınıflandırmalar ışığında, araştırmalarımı 1960'da kesmeye karar verdim. Bu nedenle, arşiv araştırmam 1959-1960 sezonu ile sona eriyor. Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun darbe 27 Mayıs 1960'ta gerçekleştiğinde sezonun kapanışıyla örtüşmesi de bu sezonu son inceleme sezonu olarak kabul etmemi sağlıyor.

Sonraki bölüm Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun arşivlerinden elde ettiğim verilere kısaca bir giriş niteliğindedir. Önce içeriği tarayarak repertuarı tanıdım ve tanıttım. Okunabilir halde olan

156 oyun metnini arşivden aldım. Çoğu metin daktilo ile yazılmıştı. Bu nedenle kelimeleri saymak veya taramak ve sayısal bağlamsal verileri elde etmek mümkün değildi. Bununla birlikte, mecazi ipuçlarının veya içerikteki kişileştirme sayısının oldukça yüksek olduğunu gördükten sonra, anahtar kelimeleri saymanın zaten herhangi bir şey ifade etmeyeceğini ya da göstermeyeceğini gördüm. Örneğin, basit bir anahtar kelime "millet" olarak seçilecek, ancak yazılım, anlamını kontrol etmeden "kadın milleti" ifadesini sayacaktır ve tümüyle niceliksel olan veriler araştırmayı yanlış yönlendirecekti. Bu doğrultuda analitik araçlar olarak kullandığım din, devlet, anlatı ve ulusal kimlik yardımıyla aradıklarımın anlamlarını veren kodlanmış segmentleri saymaya karar verdim. Verilerin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için, her bir kesimi anlamlandıran bir kod verdim ve bu kodları, çalışmanın ilk adımında frekanslarına ulaşmak için saydım. Bu nedenle, veri analizinin ilk kısmı, sezonlara göre oyun kodlarının dağılımı hakkında bilgi vermektedir ve ikinci bölüm, analitik araçların frekanslarını değerlendirir ve çakışan kodlanmış segmentlerin sayısını gösterir.

Bu kodlanmış kesimlerin tamamı aynı amaçlarla sınırlandırıldı: aynılık veya farklılık hissi oluşturmak. Metin içindeki bağlantılar aynılık ve farklılık üzerine kurulmuştur. Bu aynılık ve farklılık duyguları, din, devlet, anlatısal ve ulusal kimlik gibi oyun metinleri tarafından verilen ulusal bir kimlik oluşturulmasının üç sözdizimi bileşeniyle çerçevelenmiştir. Dinin milliyetçilik içindeki yeri ve dinin kimliğe yerleşmesi ulusal kimliğin rekabetçi bir bileşeni olarak sıklıkla literatürde tartışılmaktadır. İkincisi, devletin ulusal kimlik oluşturma sürecine ataerkillik ve ulus-devlet açısından yer vermesi, ulusal benzerliği veya "öteki" yaratma gücünü güçlendirmenin bir diğer belirleyicisidir. Üçüncü olarak, ulusal kimliğini incelemek için kullanılan anlatısal ve ulusal kimliği, ilk önce modern ulusal kimliğinden bağımsız fakat vatanseverlik ve dışlamaya bağımlı bireysel ve kollektif ayrımı ayırtmak için, sonra da, ulusal bir kimliğin ve vatanseverliğin modern ortaya çıkışına dayanan kollektif ulusal bilinci ifade eden anlamlar olarak kullanıyorum.

1949-1960 yılları arasındaki sezonları kapsayan Devlet Tiyatrosu arşivlerinden oyun metinlerini aldıktan sonra, metinlerin sezonlara göre dağılımını çıkarttım. Başlangıç sezonu, sadece dört yerli oyunu sahneye koyarken, çeviri oyun sayısı çocuk oyunları da dahil olmak üzere oldukça yüksekti. Ebert'in yetişkin Devlet Tiyatrosu'nu ulusallaştırmaya çalışmasına rağmen, Carl Ebert ve Batılı oyunların etkisi görülmektedir. Bunun sebebi de kurumsal ideallerle uyuşan yerli oyunlardaki eksikliğin Carl Ebert'e ve daha sonra da

Muhsin Ertuğrul'a daha fazla yerli oyun sahneye koymasına izin vermemesidir. Buna rağmen ilk sezonun açılış oyunu yerlidir. Yerli ve çeviri oyunların dağılımındaki bu dengesizlik, 1953-1954 sezonuna kadar geçerlidir. Oyun sayısında genel bir düşüş yaklaşmakta olan genel seçimler için hazırlık yapılması sonucunda olmuş olabilir. Demokrat Parti, 2 Mayıs 1954 seçimlerinde (Eroğul 2014; Kubilay 2014) hükümetin medya- sansür başvuruları ve yüksek enflasyona ilişkin eleştirilerle mücadele ediyordu. Bu artış, kurumun üzerinde kesintisiz bir bütçe kesintisi veya kontrolü olduğunu gösterebilir. 1953-1954 sezonundan 1959-1960 yıllarına kadar çevrilen oyunların sayısı yerli oyunların sayısından yine daha fazladır. Bu dönem, Türk edebiyatı için oldukça bereketli bir dönem olmasına rağmen bu bolluk repertuara yansımamış, Türk oyun yazarlarının sayısı repertuarda artış göstermemiştir. Bu, dünya tiyatrosunun, özellikle Avrupa ve daha sonra Amerikan tiyatrosunun bilinçli bir gösterimini ve Batı'daki edebi parçaların içeriğiyle yüksek kültür için özel bir seçki oluşturduğunu gösterir.

Şekil 13, iki temel kategoriye göre oyunların dağılımı hakkında kısa bilgiler vermektedir: yerel oyun yazarlarının yapıtları ve çevirileri, bir diğer kategori ise çocuk oyunlarıdır. Sezon başına ortalama oyun sayısı 14.09'dur. 1954-1955 sezonunun ardından, oyun sayısı 1959-1960 sezonuna kadar 16 ve 17 civarında kalır. Oyun sayısı artsa dahi yerli metinlerin sayısı artmamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, yabancı yazarların çeşitliliği ve konuları, sayılarda bir artışın yanı sıra olağanüstü bir çeşitlilik sergilemektedir. Bu çeşitlilik, bazı büyük Alman tiyatro klasiklerinin tekrar edilmesinin yanı sıra, çağdaş Amerikan yazarlarını, popüler Avrupa oyunlarını ve yeni klasikleri Türk izleyicilere tanıtmaya fırsatı sağlamıştır. 1953-1954 sezonuna kadar olan oyunlar, tiyatronun sahne sanatları sanatı dalı olarak tanıtılmasını, yerel yazarların ve yönetmenlerin parçalarını bulmalarını teşvik etmeyi, Darülbeydi İstanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu'ndaki deneyimlerini aynı anda Devlet Tiyatrosu'na kazandırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Devlet Tiyatrosu 1954-1955 sezonunda Demokrat Parti Hükümetinin ilk yıllarında özgür politik iklimin desteğini alan deneyimli bir kadroyla verimliliğini artırmaya başlamıştır.

Şekil 13'e göre, 1949-1950 sezonu, yerli eserlerin bulunmaması nedeniyle çok sayıda çeviriyle başlar. 1952-1953 sezonları hariç her sezon çok sayıda çeviri yapıldığı genel bir gerçektir. Öte yandan, çocuk oyunları yerli olarak yazılmış ve tercih edilmiştir (1956-1957 ve 1957-1958 mevsimleri hariç). Bu, Halk Evleri Tiyatroları'ndaki çocuk oyunlarının

önceki repertuar geleneği ya da yerel değerlerin sergilenmesi açısından gelecek kuşaklara verilen önemi gösterebilir.

Sezon	1949-1950	1950-1951	1951-1952	1952-1953	1953-1954	1954-1955	1955-1956	1956-1957	1957-1958	1958-1959	1959-1960	Total
Yerli Oyunların Sayısı	4	6	4	8	2	5	5	6	3	6	4	53
Çeviri Oyunların Sayısı	10	4	5	6	7	12	11	11	14	10	12	102
Yerli Çocuk Oyunların Sayısı	2	2	1	2	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	12
Çeviri Çocuk Oyunlarının Sayısı	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	2	10
Oyunların Toplam Sayısı	14	10	9	14	9	17	16	17	17	16	16	177

Figure 13. Sezonlara Göre Oyunların Dağılımı

Devlet Tiyatroları arşivinde 177'den fazla oyuna ulaşabildim. Okunabilirliği olan 156 oyunda, din altında toplam kodlanmış segment sayısı 1547, devlet kodunun kodlanmış segment sayısı 239, ve son olarak, Anlatısal ve ulusal kimlik bölümündeki kodlanmış segmentlerin sayısı 1282'dir. En çok kod din altındadır. Bununla birlikte, bu yüksek frekans, kodlanmış segmentlerin içeriği ve bağlamı hakkında ipucu vermez. Bu nedenle, sayılar, dinin aynılık ve diğer olma duygusunu belirlemek için hayati öneme sahip olduğunu, ancak dinin nasıl algılandığını belirtmemektedir. Diğer analitik araçların bağlamları için de geçerlidir.

MaxQda 11'i kullanarak kesişen kodlanmış segmentleri de inceledim ve analitik araçların, kodlanmış kesimlerin (din, durum, anlatı ve ulusal kimlik) kesişme sıklığının oldukça yüksek olduğunu gördüm. Bu, analitik araçların sadece bir ulusal kimliğin ayrılmaz unsurları olmadığını, ama aynı zamanda birbirlerini tamamladıklarını gösterir. Özellikle, kesişen din ve anlatı ve ulusal kimlik segmentlerin yüksek frekansı çarpıcıydı. Din, anlatısal ve ulusal kimlik ilişkisinin yüksek kesişim frekansı, 1930'larda laik devlet ve anlatısal ve ulusal kimlik ilişkisinin 1950'lerde dönüşerek din ve anlatısal ve ulusal kimliğin beraber seyrettiğini gösteriyor.

	Religion	State	Narrative and National Identity
Religion	0	42	177*
State	42	0	103
Narrative and National Identity	177*	103	0

Figure 14. Kesişen Kodlanmış Segmentlerin Frekansı

Şekil 14'te gösterildiği gibi, kesişen kodlanmış segmentlerin sayısı 177'dir ve yalnızca 42 olan kesişen kodlanmış devlet ve din segmentlerinin sayısı ile karşılaştırıldığında oldukça yüksektir. Dolayısıyla, devlet artık pür laik sistem ile anılmamaktadır. Öte yandan, devlet ve anlatısal ve ulusal kimlik açısından kesişen kodlanmış segmentlerin sayısı 103'tür. Bu, devlet ile anlatısal ve ulusal kimlik arasında önemli bir karşılıklı ilişki kurar.

Bölüm 2, "Tarihin Yeniden İnşa Edilmesi" ile ilgilidir; "1950'lerde Türk Ulus İnşasında Tarih" başlığını taşır. Bu bölümün temel amacı, 1950'lerde Türk ulusal kimliğinin oluşumunun tarihsel gelişimini analiz etmek ve tarihin yeniden yazılması sırasında Türk ulusal kimliğinin nasıl hayal edildiğini ortaya koymaktır. Ayrıca, bu bölümün ana argümanları, öncelikle, tarih Avrupa'daki ve Hıristiyan kimliğindeki 1950'lerde Türk kimliğinin "diğer" ine karşılık olarak karşılıklı olarak kurulması; ikincisi, Türk kimliği, tarihsel olarak "laik Müslüman kimliği" olarak düşünülmüş olmasıdır.

"Tarih" gerçekleştirmek, ulusal kimlik oluşturma süreçleri için önemlidir çünkü tiyatro performans gücü, hedef kitlenin sahnede Türk tarihini göstermektedir. Bunu yaparken yerel oyunlar sahnede "bizi" görünce aynılık kazandırır ve aynı zamanda çeviriler "ötekilerin" geçmişinin nasıl görüldüğüne yardımcı olurlar.

Bölümün tamamlayıcı argümanları, 1050'lerde tarihsel olarak "ötekinin" Hıristiyanlar olduğu, Müslümanlığı Türklüğün özünün esas bileşeni olarak alındığıdır. İkincisi, tarihsel olarak karşılıklı biçimde Avrupalı ve Hıristiyan kimliği, 1950'lerde Türk kimliğinin "öteki" kimlikleri şeklinde hayal edilmiştir. "Öteki" kimliğin tarihinin hayal edilmesi için üç tarihi kilometre taşı kullanılmıştır: Antik Yunan, Rönesans ve İkinci Dünya Savaşı. Bu tarihsel uygarlık ve dönüm noktaları çeviri oyunlarının alt temaları olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Devlet Tiyatrosu'nun yansıttığı biçimde tarih, Türk milletinin genç nesillerini Müslüman olarak algılamaktadır. Ancak tarih temalı oyunlar, bilim lehine bilimle din arasında bir karşıtlık yaratmaktadır. Ve nihayet din için söylenebilir ki, Türk kimliği "seküler

Müslüman kimliği" olarak hayal edilmiştir. İslamın pratiğinin tasvir edilmesine nadiren rastlanır; fakat dilin kullanım tarzı İslam'da aynılık duygusunu kurarken geçmişe ait bir şey olarak algılar. Bir yandan da aslında din, dayanışma adına bir toplumsal tutkal olarak kullanılmıştır. Devletle ilgili argüman söz konusu olduğunda devletin özünde bir ataerkilliğe sahip olduğu, devletin Türk olmanın tarihsel olarak ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak tanımlandığı söylenebilir. Ve son olarak, Türklüğün anlatsal ve ulusal kimliği, medeniyetin Müslüman ve Türk kökeni ile başladığını iddia ederek Doğulu ve Batılı olmak arasında bir yerde belirsiz bir şekilde tanımlanmaktadır. Tarihi Türk kökenleri Türk resmi tarih yazısı uyarınca Sümerler olarak düşünülmüştür; ancak 1950'lerde ulusal kimlik oluşturma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu geçmişini Türk tarihinin yeniden yazılmasına entegre ederek bu vizyonu genişletmektedir.

"Tarih"i tiyatro anlatıları aracılığıyla yeniden inşa etmek, ulusal kimlik oluşturma süreçleri için önemlidir; çünkü tiyatro performansının gücü, hedef kitleye sahnede Türk'ün tarihini göstermektedir. Bunu yaparken yerel oyunlar sahnede "bizi" görünce aynılık duygusu uyandırır. Aynı zamanda da çeviriler "öteki" kimliklerin geçmişinin nasıl görüldüğüne ilişkin hedef kitleye mesaj göndermede yardımcı olurlar.

Çalışma, üçüncü bölümde ailenin temsilini kapsamaktadır. Aile temasının ön plana çıktığı bölümün ana argümanı, bölümün başlığı olan "Modernistlerle Gelenekçüler Arasında Sıkışık Kalmış Bir Aile Tasviri" olarak özetlenebilir. Bölümün hedefleri, Türk ulusunun "ailesel vatandaşlık" içinde tanımlanmasını sahneye koyan oyunları analiz etmektir (Sirman 2005). 1950'li yıllarda, Türk'ün kim olduğunu öğrenmek için çok yönlü biçimde "Devlet tiyatrosunda Türk ulusal kimliğinin aile temsili" araştırılmaktadır.

Tiyatronun performatif gücü, hedef kitlenin sahnesinde ideal bir aile tasarımını sergilediğinden, "Türk ailesini" n bir resmini çıkarmak önemlidir. Bunu yaparken yerli oyunlar, sahnede "bizi" gösterir ve aynılık duygusunu pekiştirir. Öte yandan aile temasının altında yer alan çeviriler "ötekilerin" ailelerinin nasıl görüldüğü konusunda izleyiciye mesaj iletilmesine yardımcı olur.

Aile temasına dayalı ana tartışmalar, 1950'lerde çok boyutlu ailevi, ulusal kimlik oluşturma projeleri etrafında şekillenmektedir. Ayrıca, bu bölüm bu tezin temel

argümanını desteklemektedir; çünkü aile teması kamu ve özel alanların bölünmesiyle Türk seküler Müslüman kimliğini güçlendirmektedir. Bu tezin temel argümanlarını din, devlet, anlatsal ve ulusal kimlikten oluşan analitik araçlar yardımıyla desteklenmektedir. Din, hem yetişkinlerde hem de çocuk oyunlarında yaşam biçiminde "Hıristiyanlar" olan öteki kimliğini, Türk kimliğinin özünü tanımlamanın ana unsuru olarak Müslümanlığı algılar. Türk kimliği, seküler Müslüman kimliği olarak düşünülür: Türklüğün aynılık duygusu Müslümanlığa dayanmaktadır ("onlar" Hıristiyan olarak düşünülmüştür). Bununla birlikte din, ailenin kadınları tarafından (özel alanda) pratiğe geçirilen ve gelecek nesillere aktarılan bir kimliktir. Kamusal alanda ataerkil kalıplar, devlet kurumları vasıtasıyla Türk ailesindeki temel ataerkil kalıpları güçlendirmektedir. Buna ek olarak, bir aile, 1950'lerde Türk ulus inşasında mikro bir ulus gibi davranan bir organizasyondur. Türklüğün anlatsal ve ulusal kimliği, Doğulu (geleneksel) ve Batılı (modern) arasında netlikten uzak bir şekilde salınım göstermektedir. Aşırı Batılılaşma yüzünden bir Türk'ü Türk yapan özü kaybetme korkusu ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu durum, kolonyalizm sonrası milliyetçiliklerin gösterdiği aşırı modernleşme kaygıları ile uyumludur. Öte yandan, Türk ailesi için Fransız burjuva yaşam tarzı öngörülmektedir. Ancak zamanla, Amerikan kültürünün etkileri, yalnızca John Steinback ve Arthur Miller'ın repertuarındaki çevirileri değil, aynı zamanda yerli yazar Çetin Altan'ın oyunu Çemberler (The Circles) ile de sahnede bu dönüşümü göstermektedir.

Bölüm 4, "Ulusal Mekanın Yeniden İnşa Edilmesi: Köylüleri Uygarlaştırmak" başlığını taşımaktadır. Dördüncü bölüm, Devlet Tiyatroları arşivi aracılığıyla 1950'lerde Türk ulusunun mekânsal hayaline odaklanmaktadır. Bu bölümün amacı, Türk ulusunun mekanının tanımlanmasında rolü olan oyunları analiz etmektir. 1950'lerdeki kent oluşumunda, kent ve köy yaşamının bölünmesinde, ulusun mekanı köylü olan yurttaşların modernleşme projesinin bir parçası olarak hayal edilmesi biçiminde hayal edilmiştir. Böylece mekan temasına odaklanan bu bölüm ülkenin topraklarında kimliklerin günlük tasvirleri için bir sahne olacak bir kamusal alana nasıl dönüştüğünü incelemektedir.

Tiyatronun performatif gücü, hedef kitleye sahnedeki Türk ulusunun mekan tasarımını gösterir. Mekan konusuna giren oyunlar, din, devlet, anlatsal ve ulusal kimlik temelinde sahnede "bizi" görerek aynılık hissi oluşturmuştur. Dahası, çeviriler "ötekilerin" ulusal alanının nasıl görüldüğüne ilişkin performans da ortaya koyar. Bu doğrultuda bu bölümün

tamamlayıcı argümanları şöyledir: Türk yazarları, şehir ve köy yaşamı bölüşümü içinde ulusal alanın inşasında ulusal anlamda benzerliği düşünürler. Kentler, 1950'lerde ulusun birincil mekanı olarak kabul edilir. Türk ulusunun toprakları modern, uygar ve Batılı şehirlerde hayal ediliyor olsa da, Türk kimliğinin özünü kaybetme korkusu eşliğinde aşırı modernizasyon kaygısı ve Türklüğün özünün yalnızca köy yaşamında varlığını sürdürdüğü romantizmi bu tasvire eşlik eder.

Din, 1950'lerde ulusal mekan tasvirinde, halkın ibadetleri yoluyla değil günlük konuşmalarda kullanılan İslami deyişler aracılığıyla temsil edilmektedir. İzleyiciler, kamusal alanda ibadetlerini gerçekleştiren Müslümanları görmez, İslam aracılığıyla aynılık duygusunu dil ve cümleleriyle kurarlar. Kentlerdeki hayal edilen Türk ulusu, mekansal örgütlenmede seküler Müslümanlar olarak düşünülmüştür. İkinci analitik araç: devlet söz konusu olduğunda, devletin yurttaşlarına, bürokratlar eliyle ve şehirlerdeki ve köydeki meşru güç kullanımıyla varlığını hissettirdiği söylenebilir. İlginçtir ki, "ötekiler" mekânsal tasvirde yok farz edilmiştir ya da sessiz resmedilmiştir. Türk kimliği, Türk topraklarında seküler Müslüman kimliği olarak düşünülür. Gayri müslimler, ulusal kimliğin bir parçası olarak görülmez; temsil edilirlerse, kötü davranışlara sahip istisnalar olarak kabul edilirler. Türklüğün aynılık duygusu Müslümanlık üzerine kurulmuştur.

Özetle, bu çalışma, İslam'ın dininin Türk ulusal kimliğinin temel unsuru olarak kabul edildiğini bulmuştur. Ancak, bulgulardan yola çıkarak dinin özel alanın bir unsuru olarak kalması gerektiğinin hayal edildiği söylenebilir. Böylece Türk milleti aynı anda Müslüman ve seküler olarak tanımlanır. Kimlik tanımına "seküler Türk ulusundan" çok boyutlu bir tarihe geçiş sağlayan bir çeşitlilik vardır. 1950'lerde ulusal kimlik oluşumunda çeşitlilik ve değişiklikler içeren süreklilikler de bulunmaktadır. Bu çeşitlilik ve süreklilikler "seküler Müslüman Türk" kimliğini 1950lerde ön plana çıkarır.

Bu çalışma, doğrudan Devlet Tiyatrosu üzerinde yapılmış olup içeriği itibariyle özgün olması sayesinde ve siyaset bilimi perspektifi ile yapılmış olması sebebiyle literatüre katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bu tez çalışması önemlidir, çünkü tiyatro çalışmaları alanına, kimlik, başkent Ankara'nın siyaset bilimi ve tarihine, ulusal ölçekte de Türkiye için sanatsal politikalarla alanına bilgi katarak katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, kültürel ve milliyetçilik çalışmalarında ileri araştırmalarda kullanılabilecek bir yöntemin



uygulanmasını da kapsadığı için yöntemsel bir özgünlük de içermektedir. Nihayet, çalışma, 1950'lerde Türkiye'de siyaset bilimi açısından, ulusal kimlik oluşturma süreci odak noktası olduğu için de önem taşımaktadır. Bu katkıların yanı sıra çalışma gelecek araştırmalar için kaçınılmaz bazı sorular sormamı sağladı. Örneğin, bu çalışmanın bir sonraki adımı, 1960 askeri darbesinden sonra tiyatro repertuarıyla bu çalışmanın bulgularının bir karşılaştırması olabilir. Ayrıca, bu yöntemi, örnekleme materyalini değiştirirken gelecekteki projelerim için uygulama olanağına da sahip olacağım. Materyal, yine tiyatro oyun metinleri olabileceği gibi günlükler ya da sosyolojik ve antropolojik gözlem olanağı sağlayan olan diyaloglar olabilir ve bu materyal üzerinden bu çalışmada kullandığım yöntem aracılığıyla kimlik araştırmaları yapılabilir.