

REPRESENTATIONS OF CHILDREN IN KEMALETTİN TUĞCU'S NOVELS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
MEDIA AND CULTURAL STUDIES

DECEMBER 2006

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### REPRESENTATIONS OF CHILDREN IN KEMALETTİN TUĞCU’S NOVELS

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December 2006, 113 pages

This thesis is an attempt to analyze the narrative structure of Kemalettin Tuğcu’s novels for children that became popular in the 1960s and the 1970s. It examines the representations of childhood, adulthood, orphanhood, richness and poverty in Tuğcu’s books through the relations between the child and the adult and the rich and the poor. The poor orphan child that is portrayed especially as “savior” and virtuous is the main character of Tuğcu’s novels. Socio-cultural hierarchies are represented primarily through the encounter and the relationship of the poor orphan child with the adults and the rich. This study argues that Kemalettin Tuğcu’s novels represent orphanhood and poverty primarily as moral-spiritual states and not simply a material-economic situation. The thesis also pays attention to the conservative themes in Tuğcu’s books.

Keywords: Kemalettin Tuğcu’s Novels, Children’s Literature, Representation, Orphanhood, Poverty, Conservatism

## ÖZ

### KEMALETTİN TUĞCU ROMANLARINDA ÇOCUK TEMSİLLERİ

Arıcan, Ebru

Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan

Aralık 2006, 113 sayfa

Bu tez, 1960'lar ve 1970'lerde popüler olmuş Kemalettin Tuğcu'nun çocuk romanlarını analiz etmeye yöneliktir. Bu çalışma, Kemalettin Tuğcu kitaplarındaki çocukluk, yetişkinlik, öksüzlük/yetimlik, zenginlik ve yoksulluk temsillerini, çocuk ve yetişkin, zengin ve yoksul arasındaki ilişki üzerinden incelemektedir. Asıl olarak "kurtarıcı" ve erdemli olarak temsil edilen yoksul öksüz/yetim çocuk Tuğcu romanlarının baş kahramanıdır. Toplumsal-kültürel hiyerarşiler yoksul öksüz/yetim çocuğun yetişkinlerle ve zenginlerle karşılaşması ve ilişkisi üzerinden temsil edilmektedir. Bu çalışma, Kemalettin Tuğcu romanlarının öksüzlük/yetimlik ve yoksulluğu sadece maddi-ekonomik bir durum olarak değil, öncelikli olarak moral-manevi bir durum olarak temsil ettiği üzerinde durmaktadır. Bu tez, ayrıca Kemalettin Tuğcu romanlarındaki muhafazakâr unsurları anlamaya yöneliktir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kemalettin Tuğcu Romanları, Çocuk Edebiyatı, Temsil, Öksüzlük, Yoksulluk, Muhafazakârlık

*to my family*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan for his guidance, support and criticism throughout this study. I would also like to thank to the members of the examining committee, Dr. Mustafa Şen and Dr. Barış Çakmur for their enriching contributions and constructive criticisms.

I would like to thank to Chairman of the Children's Foundation Mustafa Ruhi Şirin, Nemika Tuğcu, Mehmet Arıcan, Umut Arıcan and Nisa Bayındır for their helps. I am also grateful to my friend Leyla Kamoy for her invaluable support, help and friendship. I would also like to thank to Nurdan Gürbilek, Belkıs Ayhan Tarhan and Ersan Ocak who provided with me new perspectives on the subject matter.

I offer my special thanks to my brother Tunca Arıcan for his help, encouragement, and unlimited tolerance. Lastly, I express my special gratefulness to my family for their understandings and persistent support. They have supported my all decisions.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to analyze the narrative structure of Kemalettin Tuğcu's novels for children that became popular especially in the 1960s and the 1970s. It will aim at understanding how these novels represent childhood, orphanhood and poverty and how the relationship between the children and the adults, the rich and the poor and the urban dweller and the rural dweller is established. It will argue that these novels represent orphanhood and poverty as moral-spiritual states and not simply a material-economic situation.

Kemalettin Tuğcu (1902-1996) has a special significance in the history of Turkish children's literature. He can be called *Orhan Gencebay* of the children's literature (Yüksel, 1996: 11). Though he has generally been accepted as one of the - probably the most- prolific writers of the Turkish children's literature, his novels have generally been disregarded in children's literature debates and popular culture discussions until the recent times due to the widespread view that his novels have no literary value thus they are not noteworthy. The insistence on considering Tuğcu's novels simply as popular/commercial books and with regard to dominant norms of children's literature has brought about underestimation of their significance. Orhan Koçak in his analysis of Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil's *Mai ve Siyah* argues that this novel has usually been criticized of being rootless and disconnected from its historical context. Against this criticism, Koçak asks; "was it possible that a novel which succeeded in being a model for a generation did not influence people's ways of perception, mentality and attitude and did not satisfy any social and cultural needs?" (Koçak, 1996: 97). The same question can be asked for Tuğcu's novels since they, either had literary value or not, were read by children and also by adults and influenced them. Furthermore, even if they are put into a category of commercial books, they cannot be "disregarded in the history of culture" (Gramsci, 1985: 348) since the "success of work of commercial literature indicates (and it is often the only

indication available) the 'philosophy of the age', that is, the mass of feelings and conceptions of the world predominant among the 'silent' majority” (Gramsci, 1985: 348). Gramsci also says that though all of the popular novels

enjoy some degree of success and popularity one of them nevertheless predominates by far. From this predominance one can identify a change in fundamental tastes, just as from the simultaneous success of the various types one can prove that there exists among people cultural levels, different ‘masses of feelings’ prevalent in one or other level various ‘hero-models’ (Gramsci, 1985: 359).

Tuğcu’s novels enjoyed some degree of success and popularity like all of the popular novels but they have also exceptional place in literature since most of the children’s novels following them could not reach the degree of their popularity. They are still accepted as the most published and the read novels of the Turkish children’s literature. Nevertheless, they especially predominated in the 1960s and the 1970s. This period was marked by the development of capitalism, migration and urbanization. Industrial development created ever rising expectations. They were written and published when poverty was generally represented in novels with rising socialist movement despite its interruption in 1971 (Türkeş, 2001: 147). Therefore, while entailing an analysis in terms of their indication of “philosophy of the age” (Gramsci, 1985: 384), they require a comprehensive study in terms of their place in children’s literature that is discussed even today.

Popular literature is often dismissed as ideology by some Marxist ideological critique. Ernst Bloch developed “a method of cultural criticism which expands conventional Marxian approaches to culture and ideology” (Kellner, 2003). He seeks to grasp the “driving utopian impulse in the production and reception of artworks for mass audiences” rather than demeaning popular literature and also other cultural artifacts and “making simplistic qualitative judgments of high and low art forms” (Zipes, 1982: 311). According to Bloch, all “forms of popular culture...demonstrate desire for change and transformation” and they may contain “emancipatory moments which project visions of a better life” (Kellner, 2003). Also Gramsci includes popular literature “as a necessary but neglected part of the ‘literary tradition’” (Williams, 1977: 52). Gramsci seeks to “relate literary production to the historical process which produced it and to which contributes” (Forgacs & Nowell-Smith, as cited in Gramsci,

1985: 13) and asks some questions: why commercially successful books “always the most read and most frequently published? What needs do they satisfy and what aspirations do they fulfill? What emotions and attitudes emerge in this squalid literature, to have such wide appeal?” (Gramsci, 1985: 342). In this study, Tuğcu’s novels will be considered in the sense of Bloch and Gramsci’s approach to popular culture and commercial literature and with this aim some questions will be asked: How do these books represent childhood, adulthood, orphanhood, poverty and richness? Which signs did Tuğcu use to represent childhood, adulthood, orphanhood, poverty, richness, the child, the adult, the poor, the rich, urban/rural areas and their dwellers? What are the meanings of the child, the adult, the orphan, the poor, the rich, the urban and the rural dweller spotted in Tuğcu’s texts? How the relationship between them is established? Which representations and emotions created wide demand for these novels? In this study, narrative structure of Tuğcu’s novels that is the main dynamic that lies behind these books’ popularity will be examined within the framework of these questions. Nonetheless, it should be noted that some other factors also became influential in their popularity and success<sup>1</sup>. Despite the difficulty to explore all of the dynamics, it can be said that the production and distribution process of the novels, the strategies of the publishers and the individual habitus of the Tuğcu accelerated the popularity of these novels. Tuğcu’s isolation and keeping himself “amused” with only writing made him a very prolific writer in a period when translated novels were dominating Turkish children’s literature. The strategies of publishers that released some of the novels without giving copyright fees to Tuğcu (Tuğcu, 2004: 19) have probably increased the number of the published books.

Kemalettin Tuğcu has 312 published books according to the list of Nemika Tuğcu besides serials, short stories and articles (Tuğcu, 2004: 232-239). To Turan Yüksel’s list, Tuğcu has 311 published, 139 unpublished books and 10 of 311 books are for adults (Yüksel, 1994: 33). The precise number of his books cannot be explored due to the unpublished ones and also the contradictory numbers in written documents. In this study, the list of Nemika Tuğcu that is almost similar with Yüksel’s will be used as the most reliable source. However, this list cannot be

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<sup>1</sup> Bourdieu’s theory of cultural field “takes into consideration not only works themselves...but also producers of works in terms of their strategies and trajectories, based on their individual and class habitus, as well as their objective position within the field...The very complexity of Bourdieu’s model ensures that it does not fall into the reductionism either purely internal readings and or modes of external analysis of cultural texts” (Johnson, as cited in Bourdieu, 1993: 9).

accepted as completely consistent since some of the books that I have reached during the research have appeared to have earlier publishing years than the years cited in Nemika Tuğcu's book as first publishing years. Furthermore, there is not so much written document, statistic or research relating to socio-economic profiles and ages of the audiences and rate of the books that were sold. Nevertheless, some explanations like that of Ali Yüksel and Erdal Öz can be meaningful to comprehend their popularity through statistics and numbers. The owner of the *İtimat Kitabevi* Ali Yüksel who published Tuğcu's books for ten years after 1963 expressed the demand for Tuğcu's books as follows:

*Ceylan Yayınları* published Tuğcu's 10 novels after 1957. His books became so popular that the bookstores could not meet the demands. Then, his books began to be sold in newspaper stands<sup>2</sup>. When I published Tuğcu's twentieth, thirtieth novel, his former novels were being published as fifth, seventh and eighth. The period that I talked about was not like today. Each novel of Tuğcu was published ten, fifteen or twenty thousand copies not five or six thousand like today (Yüksel, 1993: 8).

In addition, Erdal Öz says that Tuğcu's books were demanded by the booksellers in Anatolia by saying, "please send us eight sacks or ten sacks of Tuğcu's novels" rather than by their names (Öz, 2004: 8). The important thing was not which books of Tuğcu's were sent, but it was sufficient to get Tuğcu's books. Also, according to the results of the research that was carried out by the periodical *Yansıma* in 1975 on books that were read by children mostly, twenty-six books of the fifty books read by children were novels of Tuğcu<sup>3</sup> (Yüksel, 1993: 8). For this study, I have also tried to talk to publishing houses to explore the approximate number of copies of the author's books, which they have released. Some of the publishing houses closed and some of them especially the ones that have published his books without year specification did not want to give information about this. Only *Erdem Yayınları* that has published twenty books of Tuğcu in 2003 expressed that they have printed three thousand copies of Tuğcu's novels a year on average. Similar to the difficulty in exploring the rate of those books being read, it is also not possible to

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<sup>2</sup> Turan Yüksel says, the sale of children's books in newspaper stands was the first in Turkey with Tuğcu's books (*Cumhuriyete Kanat Gerenler*).

<sup>3</sup> In *Cumhuriyete Kanat Gerenler*, it is stated that in the 1960s, Tuğcu's books were the most sold books after textbooks.

obtain any information about profile of the audience due to the lack of related studies. Yet, it can be said that the audience of these books is not merely children and the people reading these books were not poor like heroes/heroines of the stories, but on the contrary, they were the people who were able to afford to buy books. Furthermore, Nemika Tuğcu says that sometimes right-wing, sometimes left-wing parties and different associations have accepted Tuğcu's books' contents as close to their ideologies (Tuğcu, 2004: 19).

Tuğcu's first book for children *Sokak Çocuğu* was published in 1955<sup>4</sup>. Various publishing houses have released his books<sup>5</sup> and today some of his books are still being published. It appears that the publishers that released Tuğcu's books before 1980 had different profiles from others that have published his books after 1980. The publishers in the 1960s and the 1970s, such as *İtimat* and *Kurtuluş* published different types of books including books about sexology or novels telling detective stories besides Tuğcu's books. On the other hand, the publishers which have released some of his books after 1980, such as *Şenyıldız* and *Damla*, have mostly published children's books or/and apparently religious books. Additionally, in light of my observations I can say that today though generally the bookstores selling religious books sell Tuğcu's books, it is also likely to find a few of his books in some of the big bookstores and to see that some of his novels are sold together with other children's books like *Snow White* in the same plastic bag as a set. Furthermore, it seems that nowadays Tuğcu's books will be seen more in the market<sup>6</sup>.

The foremost difficulty that this thesis has encountered is the lack of relevant Turkish literature. Especially after 1980, Tuğcu's novels have been included in children's literature debates and popular culture discussions. Necmi Erdoğan (Erdoğan, 1999) and Nurdan Gürbilek (Gürbilek, 2001) touch on Tuğcu's novels in

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<sup>4</sup> Tuğcu's books consist of almost 80-100 pages and they were mostly published poor in quality. Their covers were illustrated as colored. The cover illustrations of the books are mostly composed of child drawings and also other drawings related with the story of the novel. In some pages of the books, black illustrations are used related with some part of the dialogue in the page.

<sup>5</sup> According to the list of Nemika Tuğcu, Ceylan Yayınları (11), İtimat Kitabevi (80), Maviş Yayınları (20), Ünlü Yayınları (15), Anadolu Yayınları (10), Şenyıldız Yayınları (31), Erdem Yayınları (20), Damla Yayınları (51), Kurtuluş Yayınları (60) and Türkiye Çocuk Yayınları (1) have published Tuğcu's children's books (Tuğcu, 2004: 232-239).

<sup>6</sup> The Ministry of Education takes Tuğcu's two books (*Kuklacı* and *Yer Altında Bir Şehir*) into their list that is composed of 100 advised books (<http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/secmeler/yuztemel.htm>).

their articles about *Crying Child* poster<sup>7</sup>. Nemika Tuğcu's *Sırça Köşkün Masalcısı*, a biography of the author, is the first book about Kemalettin Tuğcu. Besides, newspaper articles and interviews with him were published. These articles and interviews with him that especially focus on the reasons why he writes such touching stories tend to explain these novels' narrative structure with Tuğcu's life story. In these documents, two main approaches to his novels are noticed. Some critics and writers have accepted his novels as "harmful" for children by defining Tuğcu's style as moralist, judging, didactic and manipulating people's emotions whereas others have regarded these novels as significant owing to the thought that they made people learn to read, cry and empathize. To illustrate, Hasan Bülent Kahraman emphasizes on the necessity of giving attention to Tuğcu's books by calling them "pathological" in terms of their social consequences and "pathology" that they caused in the society (Kahraman, 2003: 274). Another figure that wrote in *Vatan Gazetesi* describes Tuğcu as a "trouble for teachers" (Enginün, 2002: 217). On the other hand, Mustafa Ruhi Şirin who is one of the authors stresses the importance of Tuğcu's novels says, "the ordinary, modest people are represented with their emotions by means of Tuğcu's exaggerated style...Is telling touching stories accepted as a weakness? He wrote about our touching side without disregarding our reality" (Şirin, 1996: 50). Similar to Şirin, Selim İleri takes significance of Tuğcu into consideration with regard to his novels that taught feeling of compassion to most of the people (İleri, 1996: 14). Also Orhan Pamuk considers Tuğcu's novels as different from others due to their melodramatic narratives that do not advise children to be heroes or to save the country (Pamuk, 1993). As the arguments of different critics and writers indicate that place of Tuğcu in literature has usually been discussed with the two main approaches to his novels. But, Stuart Hall says:

The meaning of the cultural form and its place or position in the cultural field is *not* inscribed inside its form. Nor its position fixed once and forever. This year's radical symbol or slogan will be neutralized into next year's fashion; the year after, it will be the object of profound cultural nostalgia...The meaning of a cultural symbol is given in part by the social field into which it is incorporated, the practices with which it intrinsic or historically fixed objects of culture... (Hall, 1981: 235).

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<sup>7</sup> In 2005, a master's thesis namely "The Novels of Kemalettin Tuğcu: An Original Genre in Popular Literature" (Arlı, M. S) was submitted to Department of Turkish Literature, Bilkent University. This thesis focuses on counter-discourse against Tuğcu's books in the context of popular literature.

Therefore, the meaning of Tuğcu's novels and their place in the cultural field cannot be fixed like all the cultural forms. When they were popular, they were either called "harmful" because of the thought that they gave children a pessimistic worldview or noteworthy due to their melodramatic narration. Today, they have turned into "popular" items of the second-hand books sellers thus they have become the objects of the nostalgia<sup>8</sup>. Together with these criticisms and assessments, the processes that these books have been subjected to and most importantly their narrative structure can make us understand their unfixed meanings and positions.

This study will be based on mainly the textual analysis of the Tuğcu's novels. Nevertheless, some films from Yeşilçam and some books of other authors, which are generally cited as Tuğcu's books owing to their narrative and names, will be included in analysis occasionally. There is a necessity to include these films in analysis due to their child image and narrative structure that are similar to that of Tuğcu's novels. The other reason is that some of these films (*Sezercik*, *Yumurcak*, *Afacan* series) were produced following *Ayşecik*'s popularity (1960), which is one of the adaptations of one of Tuğcu's novels for cinema (Özgüç, 2002: 74). I have included 82 books with different publishing years in analysis since the narrative structure of these novels does not differ with regard to the publishing years. I have also selected 13 films from the archive of Turkish cinema of the 1960s and the 1970s according to their plots and production years and included mainly the *Afacan*, *Yumurcak* and *Sezercik* series in analysis. In addition, an archive study was done to explore how Tuğcu's books were perceived and discussed. I also made an interview with Nemika Tuğcu and also with Mustafa Ruhi Şirin, president of the Children's Foundation (Çocuk Vakfı), a foundation that is interested in Tuğcu's books.

In an attempt to analyze Tuğcu's novels, this study will start with discussions on the concept of childhood and the main approaches to childhood/children in the world and in Turkish society. Then, the general characteristics and succinct history of children's literature in the world and in Turkish society will be discussed. Finally, the characteristics of Yeşilçam melodramas starring child actors/actresses and their similarities with narrative structure of Tuğcu's books will be scrutinized.

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<sup>8</sup> For this study, I have talked to owners of secondhand booksellers. They stated that Tuğcu's novels are among the most demanded books by collectors.



In the third chapter, firstly, the brief life story of Kemalettin Tuğcu will be mentioned. Even though, this study will not aim at examining writer's novels by using method of psychoanalysis, there is a necessity to speak about some turning points in Tuğcu's life that became possibly influential in narrative structure of his novels. This chapter will focus on general characteristics of the books to reveal the dominant tendencies. Though, it is an attempt to make some generalizations, it will not aim to form groupings that would reduce the wealth of the meanings to some categories.

In the fourth chapter, childhood, orphanhood, poverty and the conservative themes in Tuğcu's books will be discussed. I will argue that these novels represent orphanhood and poverty as moral-spiritual states and not simply material-economic situation. Poverty and orphanhood are represented as material-economic situation in terms of the fact that they are experienced differently among the poor orphan heroes/heroines. Nevertheless, this differentiation creates "common feelings and practices, shared demands and a 'world of meaning'" (Erdoğan, 2002a: 16). Thus, I will try to understand how the shared feelings, thoughts, practices, demands and sufferings are represented in these novels. Finally, I will talk about Tuğcu's self-defined conservatism. While doing this, I will aim at discussing some conservative themes that they involve rather than analyzing these texts in the same context with Turkish novels cited as conservative.

Ernst Bloch, with his concept *Ungleichzeitig*, stresses, "residues and traditions from the past continue to be effective in the present" (Kellner, 2003). Furthermore, Lowenthal says while grasping present times, we cannot "limit ourselves to observable facts" of the past (Lowenthal, 1961: xii). That is why literature is important and popular literary products "have become a powerful force in the life of modern man, their symbols cannot be overestimated as diagnostic tools for studying man in contemporary society" (Lowenthal, 1961: xiii). Thus, in this study, while analyzing the narrative structure of these novels that is established by the use of values, meanings and features that are attributed to the characters, states, places and spaces, I will also intend to explore some points that can be meaningful to study contemporary society.

## CHAPTER 2

### CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND CHILDREN IN YEŞİLÇAM MELODRAMAS

In this chapter, firstly, the history of concept of childhood and conceptions of childhood in western societies and in Turkish society will be discussed. It should be noted that this study will aim at discussing dominant conceptions of childhood that have become influential in formation of modern childhood paradigm and children's literature rather than covering overall conceptions of childhood. Then, the succinct history of children's literature in the world and in Turkish society will be presented and their characteristics will be argued before discussing the place of Tuğcu's books in literature. Finally, the characteristics of Yeşilçam melodramas starring child actors/actresses and their similarities with the narrative structure of Tuğcu's novels will be underlined.

#### 2.1 The Brief History of Concept of Childhood

Though children always exist, childhood is a recent concept in social sciences. "Historians and social scientists have, for several years already, impressed upon us that childhood is a historical category, determined by social, economic and cultural changes" (Spiecker & Groenendijk, 1985: 5) and "cannot be studied in isolation from society as a whole" (Cunningham, 2005: 3). Especially the intellectual climate of the eighteenth century and the Enlightenment "helped to nourish and spread the idea of childhood" (Postman, 1982: 56). Lockean, or the Protestant and Rousseauian, or the Romantic conceptions of childhood are generally regarded as the two intellectual strains that became effective in the formation of twentieth century childhood paradigm. According to Locke, the mind is a *tabula rasa* and the child can be turned into a civilized adult only through education and literacy. For Rousseau, the child is born with some innate capacities and education is a process of subtraction (Postman, 1982: 59). However, "neither Locke nor Rousseau ever doubted that

childhood could exist without future-oriented guidance of adults” (Postman, 1982: 60). Today’s dominant childhood paradigm is inspired by these views.

Philippe Ariés is the first who wrote about “discovery” and history of childhood. His study has been recognized as the prominent study that launched the debates about whether there was a category of childhood in medieval society or not, the turning points of discovery of childhood, the nature of the relationship between children and parents in different periods and the role of the schools. According to Ariés, “there was no place for childhood in the medieval world” (Ariés, 1962: 33). While talking about the absence of a concept of childhood in medieval society, he does not mean that “parents did not love their progeny or that very small children not provided with the care required by their weakness and vulnerability” (Schnell, 1979: 8). But, he means, “whatever the status of children under seven...there was no recognized specialized age period that required its own institutions and practices” (Schnell, 1979: 8). There is not an idea of childhood in medieval world since there was not literacy, idea of education, idea of shame (Postman, 1982: 17). Nevertheless,

The invention of the printing press created new definition of adulthood *based on reading competence*, a new conception of childhood *based on reading incompetence*. There was no intervening stage because none was needed...That is why there was no such thing as children’s literature (Postman, 1982: 18).

The concept of childhood developed with literacy and spread of formal schooling. As “the concept of childhood developed, society began to collect a rich content of secrets to be kept from the young” (Elias, as cited in Postman, 1982: 49). According to Postman, today childhood has begun to disappear as a result of “new media environment” that makes impossible to keep secrets from children. Though the significance of Postman’s claim cannot be denied, new media environment cannot be accepted as the only reason that lies behind disappearing childhood. In this study, various motives of the disappearing childhood will not be discussed. However, it can be concluded that the dividing line between childhood and adulthood is eroded (Postman, 1982: 80). Thus, “in a way we are transported back into that world which Ariés had imagined for the Middle Ages in which the boundaries between adulthood and childhood were fluid and non-existent” (Cunningham, 2005: 188) and in which “children demanded and received earlier access to the adult world” (Cunningham,

2005: 194). They are much more enclosed in special fields determined by adults and go through a course of disappearing childhood with their “behavior, language, attitudes, and desires – even the physical appearance- that are indistinguishable” from that of the adults (Postman, 1982: 4).

## 2.2 Childhood in Turkish Society

History of childhood has not so much been paid attention in Turkish literature. There are a few works on it<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, existing works discuss childhood of the specific periods through studies of oral history and specific topics like history of toys or child in theatre. Similar to the western literature, it is a recent issue in social sciences in Turkey.

Child has always been valued in Turkish society. Even the Turkish epics belonging to the periods before Islam show that the women had significant place in society. When women were regarded as significant, children were accepted as value. But despite their perception as value, children stayed undefined till their particular ages (Neydim, 1998: 19). According to Islamic beliefs, child is born as Muslim and innocent. Transition from childhood to adulthood was contingent upon some physiological conditions and puberty marks the end of the childhood (Tan, 1994: 14). While the children were not regarded as responsible for their actions until their seven years old, children between seven and fifteen years old were subjected to some punishments as a result of their behaviors. For this reason, transition to adulthood cannot be considered only as a physiological process. At the same time, it is a social and cultural process (Tan, 1994: 14). Hence, adulthood is a phase acquired at the end of a preparation process rather than a state that actualized by itself.

In Ottoman era, the children were not treated differently from adults with regard to their dress and participations in everyday life. They started to live in adult world from their seventh age and on. This situation continued up to the Tanzimat era. But, the views about childhood began to change with initiation of the westernization process. In Tanzimat era, the children were advised to read, educate themselves and not to stay as immature. In this period, knowledge, discipline and formal schooling together with schooling of the girls were encouraged (Neydim, 1998: 25).

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<sup>9</sup> Some of the relevant sources are Bekir Onur’s *Türkiye’de Çocukluğun Tarihi* (2005) and *Oyuncaklı Dünya* (1992).

Beginning with the republican era, with “the rapid transformation from traditional, rural, agricultural, patriarchal society to modern, urban, industrial and egalitarian one”, family structure and also perception of children has begun to alter. (Ataca & Kağıtçıbaşı & Diri, 2005: 97). The aim has become to construct participant, entrepreneur, modern individuals who are capable of planning their own future instead of the individuals who are fatalistic and contented (Doğan, 1999: 194, 195). The children have been put in the center of this project. They are more sanctified and emotionally more valued as compared to the earlier periods. They have been accepted as value both materially, which is “more common in rural lower income/education strata” and emotionally, which is “more common among urban middle classes” (Ataca & Kağıtçıbaşı & Diri, 2005: 99). Similar to the earlier periods, adults are the primary decision makers and “children do not have many rights until they are grown up and married” (Ataca & Kağıtçıbaşı & Diri, 2005: 100). Mothers are seen as source of love and affection, whereas as the children grow up “authority and respect start dominating” the relationship between children and fathers (Ataca & Kağıtçıbaşı & Diri, 2005:103). As not being different from the previous periods, the socialization process of children seems at variance with respect to sexes and Turkish family, especially the traditional Turkish family is portrayed by generational and gender hierarchy. That is to say, “the father is stronger than the mother, who is in turn stronger than the children” (Ataca & Kağıtçıbaşı & Diri, 2005: 100). Control in childrearing has always been “the norm in Turkey but it does not connote a lack of love...rather it is an aspect of the overall surveillance and control of the members of the family” (Ataca & Kağıtçıbaşı & Diri, 2005: 102).

### **2.3 Children’s Literature**

There is always some debate as to whether there is a separate literature for children or not both in the world and in Turkey. Some authors oppose the distinction between children’s and adult literature by the claim that literature is a whole and there should not be such a distinction. On the other hand, some of the authors who believe in the necessity of entertaining and educating children in a symbolic world that is built by the use of childish elements and isolated from complex realities of the society, emphasize that there should be a literature for children (Dilidüzgün, 1996:

24). In this study, whether there should be a literature for children or not will not be discussed. Additionally, while saying children's literature, it is not meant a genre whose audience is only children.

Children's literature has emerged as dependent upon the social changes that are especially the development of pedagogic studies and printing press (Enginün, 1987: 37). The major "difference between children's and adult literature lies in the fact that the former is written or adapted for children by adults" (O'Sullivan: 2006: 13) and it is "the name we give a form of cultural production controlled almost entirely by adults" (Tatar, 1995: 740). Due to being controlled by adults and also its "pedagogical function" (Ewers, 1992: 174) so-called children's literature has usually been didactic and moralist. While the child is accepted as someone that is educated, children's literature becomes one of the appropriate tools "into which the dominant, social, cultural and educational norms are inscribed" (O'Sullivan: 2006: 13).

### **2.3.1 Children's Literature in the World**

It is difficult to trace history of children's literature to a precise starting point because of the difficulty in defining it. Nevertheless, it can be said that it has begun with oral tales (Russell, 2001: 3) and its first sources are folk culture, religious books and beliefs (Enginün, 1987: 37). Even though children were represented in "literary works published prior to the eighteenth century, it was not until the Enlightenment and the rise of Romanticism that the figure of the child began to play an important role in literature" (Goodman, 2005: 47).

During the middle ages because of the short life spans and the heavy living conditions, the children could not be much cared for. Only the children of the privileged classes could have the opportunity to education. In addition, books were costly and scarce thus a few people could read (Russell, 2001: 4). In mid-fifteenth century, with the changes taking place in Europe and with the invention of moveable-type printing press, books started to be printed at lower prices. Though, the books for children were not widespread in this period, the religious books and instructional works showing children how to behave in society were printed (Russell, 2001). In seventeenth century, the rise of Puritanism and the philosophy of John Locke heightened the society's awareness of children. In early nineteenth century,

Jean Jacques Rousseau brought a different approach to the concept of children's reading. He emphasizes on the significance of moral development of children and aimed at teaching how to be good human being with his books. With the influence of Rousseau on children's literature through the didactic tone in his books for children, the attitude of the writers to see the children as people who need to be educated persisted during the early nineteenth century and distinction among children's books were monitored rarely. However, "alongside the moralistic tales came the revival of the old folktales from the quickly fading oral tradition" (Russell, 2001: 10). Brother Grimm's collected a number of folktales that is still famous. Then, their collection inspired others including Hans Christian Andersen, Asbjørnsen and Moe. Till the late nineteenth century, the children's literature remained under the influence of moral didacticism. Nevertheless, after this period, this situation began to transform with developing technology, the growth of educational opportunities, the strengthening of the family nucleus and the growth of the middle class (Russell, 2001: 12). The adventure and boy's stories, fantasy stories, domestic or girl stories began to emerge in the field of children's literature. In the period between the two world wars, some of the most famous fantasy figures emerged (Russell, 2001: 18). *Winnie-the-Pooh*, *Marry Poppins*, *The Hobbit* and *There and Back Again* were the best known books of this period. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, "postwar prosperity, the increased interest in childhood as a study of sociological and psychological and the growing emphasis on education at all levels have all contributed to advancement of children's literature" (Russell, 2001:19).

### **2.3.2 Turkish Children's Literature**

The origin of Turkish children's literature like western children's literature has been traced back to folk culture and oral literature. Turkish children's literature starts around the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Till this period, it was not met with any written work about children's literature.

In the Tanzimat era, with influence of the new approaches to childhood, the idea of separate literature for children became widespread (Özkırımlı, 1983: 193). According to authors of this period, who were basically inclined to French culture, whole society and especially the children must be educated. Literature was accepted

as one of the tools to achieve this. The substantial aspect of the children's literature in this period was that it directed children towards education without making differentiation between girls and boys (Neydim, 1998: 27). Nabi's *Hayriyye* and Sünbülzade Vehbi's *Lütfiye-i Vehbi* were regarded as this period's first books that were written to give children some advices (Enginün, 1987: 39). It is in this period that the newspapers, magazines for children such as *Mümeyyiz* were published for the first time and *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels* and the books of Jules Verne were translated into Turkish (Enginün, 1987: 40). Though, these novels were originally intended for adults and also translated into Turkish for the adults, children also read them. In addition to these written works, there was a rich oral collection of tales and nursery rhymes. The serious attempts to establish a separate literature for children were seen in Second Constitutional era (Özkırımlı, 1983: 194). In the Second Constitutional Period, education of the children was highlighted due to the concern about education of the new generation who would be entrusted by the new regime. In this period, Ali Ulvi Elöve's *Çocuklarımıza Neşideler*, Tevfik Fikret's *Şermin* were published under leadership of Sâti Bey who was a considerable educator of this period (Enginün, 1987: 41). Ziya Gökalp who defended that the children should be educated by national manners is also an important figure of the Second Constitutional Era. He gave priority to folk culture, collected folk tales and re-wrote them such as *Kızıl Elma*, *Yeni Hayat*. Ali Ekrem Bolayır, Fuad Köprülü and Aka Gündüz who were writers of this period continued to write after declaration of Republic also. They told stories about children who prove power of Turkish people in trading or about an idealist teacher who will modernize a village.

In the Republic period, the number of authors writing for children began to increase. Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Mahmut Yesari, Nimet Rakım Çalapala, Huriye Öviz, Nihat Adsız, Cemal Erten and Cahit Uçuk were some of the writers of this period (Enginün, 1987: 44). Pain and feeling of compassion were outstanding themes in the first novels of early Republic period. Mahmut Yesari's *Bağrı Yanık Ömer*, Muallim Cemal's *Küçük Durmuş* and Huriye Öviz's *Köprü-altı Çocukları* (1936)<sup>10</sup> were some of the books narrating the feeling of loneliness and being forlorn (Ateş, 1999: 239).

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<sup>10</sup> Ahmet Rasim's *Güzel Eleni* (1900) and Huriye Öviz's *Köprü-altı Çocukları* (1936) that show similarities with Tuğcu's novels with regard to their melodramatic narratives can be accepted as the first examples of books telling stories of the children struggling with misery on the streets.



Also, in this period, some authors collected folktales. Naki Tezel's *Çocuk Masalları*, Eflatun Cem Güney's *Dertli Kaval, Nartanesi, Dede Korkut Masalları* and Pertev Naili Boratav's *Zaman Zaman İçinde* are some of them that are composed of collected folktales (Ateş, 1999: 239). In this period, historical novels in which heroes were idealistic historical warrior Turks, biographies and poems especially about Mustafa Kemal and novels that intended to teach children to be thrifty appeared. Rakım Çalapala's *Atatürk'ün Romanı*, Falih Rıfkı Atay's *Babamız Atatürk* can be given as examples of biography books written in the 1940s and the 1950s.

After 1950, some classics have been translated into Turkish and towards 1970s an obvious revival in children's literature was observed (Özkırmı, 1983: 194). Cahit Uçuk who became popular in the 1940s with her books like *Türk İnkizleri* and *Türk Çocuğuna Masallar* continued to write after 1960. Kemalettin Tuğcu also became popular in this period. Talip Apaydın who was known with his novels narrating the relation between the urban and the rural area and Gülten Dayıoğlu were regarded as some of the popular writers of the 1970s (Alpay, 1980: 172). The most important characteristic of the 1970s is that books that were written from a left-wing perspective were published (Neydim, 1998: 39). In this period, adult literature influenced children's literature and some books telling social problems like migration were written such as Nezihe Meriç's *Alagün Çocukları* and Kemal Bilbaşar's *Yonca Kız* (Ateş, 1999: 242). Though the translated books were still dominating the children's literature, it appeared an attempt to encourage native authors to write for children in the 1970s. Authors writing for the adults like Aziz Nesin, Muzaffer İzgü, Ülkü Tamer, Erdal Öz, Rıfat Ilgaz and Fakir Baykurt wrote for children also. But this tendency did not last long (Neydim, 1998: 39). However, it should be noted that the books of these authors continue to keep their places in today's children's literature. Towards the end of the 1970, the number of children's books increased since 1979 was proclaimed the International Year of the Child by the United Nations. After 1980, the number of the books and diversity in children's books has increased but classics have continued to predominate over Turkish literature. Most significantly, with the "transformation of Islam into an active ideology", the children's literature has started to be used "as a way of constituting Muslim subjectivity" hence an increase in Islamic publications has been observed (Saktanber, 1991: 172). This is not unexpected since "children's books are among

the basic socializing agents which transmit social values, norms and behaviour, and Islamic values constitute no exception to this” (Saktanber, 1991: 173).

Though, it is undeniable that there is diversity in children’s books, children’s literature has mostly been didactic and moralist in general and the tone of children’s literature has not changed entirely today. As of the Tanzimat era, writers have aimed at educating children in the direction of the needs and benefits of the society. Nevertheless, it can be said that this didactic and moralist tone in children’s books has often been explained with social engineering that Kemalist cadres submitted folk culture to reconstruct popular cultural products with moralist and didactic discourse<sup>11</sup> (Erdoğan, 1998: 117, 121). The aim was to construct a national identity by using folk tales and novels at which Turkish people were familiar. Children’s books written under the influence of this dominant paradigm represent the view that every child should be the defender of the ideals of the Turkish Republic. Along with the influence of these attempts and also due to the sovereign perception of children in the society, Turkish children’s literature has usually been composed of ideal value system that is imposed from the top. It has always been used for the “symbolic construction of the identity” and children’s books have been accepted as one of the most appropriate tools for provision children with “the cultural definition of gender-specific appropriate behaviour, and with acceptable reasons for obeying various forms of authority” (Saktanber, 1991: 173).

## **2.4 Children in Yeşilçam Melodramas**

In the 1960s and the 1970s, Turkish cinema market experienced a boom and it was acquired a characteristic as a form of popular culture. This period conveyed “a new breath, new intellectual opportunities” to cinema (Scognamillo, 1998: 193).

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<sup>11</sup> In 2006, we experience an official attempt similar to that of the Single Party period, which aimed to determine and decide what children read. In 2005, The Ministry of Education presented a list including 100 advised books for children (<http://www.meb.gov.tr/haberler/haberayrinti.asp?ID=924>). This list has brought many discussions together. First one is the selection method of the books. In order not to cause polemics, this list has been composed of the books of dead authors only. The other opposed and discussed issue is the distortion of the original texts. It is generally claimed that the content of some of the books and the names of the characters in the novels have been distorted by using Islamic terminology in the benefit of Islamic ideology. Moreover, Republican People's Party has taken the decision of submitting question to the government with the claim that in these books Islamic terminology and slang expressions have been used. It seems that this list and the items on the list will render other discussions (Erdem, 2006; “MEB’ten”, 2006). It seems that releasing of such a list with the title of *100 Fundamental Books* is an official interference in itself.

Nijat Özön sums up the main characteristics of this period as follows: “the persistence of the films in which heroines are rowdy and mannish and which are full of slang, production of the series such as *Ayşecik* and explosion of the films starring child actors/actresses, adaptations of foreign films and best-seller novels for cinema” (as cited in Scognamillo, 1998: 194). According to Özön, the films that were produced between 1960 and 1965 neither became effective to constitute a current nor reflected a conscious, powerful and honest attempt of realism (Özön, 1995a: 32). Nonetheless, it was the period between 1960 and 1975 that the films especially the Turkish films influenced people’s life overwhelmingly (Abisel, 1997: 123).

According to Nilgün Abisel, popular films of the 1960s and the 1975s are noteworthy since they made explanations for the conflicts and tension experienced in these periods, portrayed, interpreted and represented the world and also they made their audiences accept these tensions and conflicts as “normal” (Abisel, 1997: 126). Furthermore, Hilmi Maktav says that Yeşilçam has usually portrayed a “model of society” that was nourished from Kemalist ideology and overlapped with Republican People’s Party’s (CHP) understanding of populism (Maktav, 2001: 161). RPP envisages a “society with class, but purified from class conflict” (Parla in Maktav, 2001: 163). Maktav argues, this model constituted a prolific background for Turkish popular films and their success mainly stemmed from this background that is based on the social reconciliation between the rich and the poor. He states that these Turkish movies sublimated poverty with their ideal poor heroes/heroines and made their audiences accept poverty as a value not a social problem with their “transcendental” heroes/heroines and presented the “degenerated lives of the rich” as object lesson in how not to behave (Maktav, 2001: 166). Though the significance of Abisel and Maktav’s arguments cannot be denied, success of these films cannot be explained only with their background based on “classless society” that RPP ideology espoused. Since, as Hall says, “the people who consume these popular cultural products and enjoy them are not ‘cultural dopes’ who can’t tell that what they are being fed” (Hall, 1981, 232).

As it was stated previously, 1960s was the heyday of Yeşilçam melodramas. Though “the earliest films in Turkey that may be described as melodramatic were made during the silent era, in the early 1920s”, Muharrem Gürses is generally accepted as the director of the first Turkish melodramas with his films in the early

1950s (Kılıçbay & İncirlioğlu, 2003: 239). Nijat Özön accepted Muharrem Gürses as “the best moviemaker who represented Turkish cinema’s average with his films” (Özön, as cited in Özbek, 2003: 154). According to Özön, most of his films are “pure melodramas as it is understood even from their names (*Yetimlerin Ahı/The Curse of the Orphans, Gülmeyen Yüzler/Unhappy Faces, Yavrularımın Katili/The Murderer of My Children, Talihsiz Yetim/The Unfortunate Orphan, Vicdan Azabı/Pangs of Conscience, Talihsiz Yavru/The Unfortunate Child*)” since this melodramatic narration “does not derive from artificial, borrowed elements that are used for commercial interests” (Özön, as cited in Özbek, 2003: 154). In Gürses’ melodramas, “there is a painfulness peculiar to people of the East, whose roots are in deep” (Özön, as cited in Özbek, 2003: 154). He narrated stories about poverty, orphanhood and “homelessness” referring to the sense of loneliness, being forlorn (*garibanlık*) and having no one to trust in his films. The story of his movies is not evident and predictable unlike that of the Yeşilçam melodramas. Their storyline does not give audience the sense of certainty that virtuosity and moral/humane values are the solutions of all troubles springing from misfortunes and “evils”. These films’ central theme is that life is full of pain for someone and it is not certain that everybody gets what he/she deserves sooner or later. There are “good” and “evil” characters yet the plot does not always end up with the “evils” being punished and the “good” being saved. At the end of the story, it can be seen that almost all the leading “good” characters die (*Yetimler Ahı*). Hence, his films do not always signify poetic justice. These features are what made Gürses’ films pure melodramas and distinguish them from most of the Yeşilçam melodramas.

In the 1960s, this melodramatic mode that was represented by Gürses films began to vanish in a positive mode as Meral Özbek says by giving Memduh Ün’s *Üç Arkadaş* as an example. This film is different from Ün’s previous films, which have been accepted as representatives of the Gürses’ school, since it signifies an invitation to hope (Özbek, 2003: 155). Özön says that *Ayşecik*, in which Ün is extremely optimistic (Özön, 1995b: 118) and in which he narrates people’s wishes for living humanly, the dangers of the big city, its troubles and little people who are faced with catastrophes and shocks reflects this positive mode well (Özön, as cited in Özbek, 2003: 155). 1960s became the golden age of child stars in Turkish cinema. Memduh Ün’s *Ayşecik* (1960) (Little Ayşe), the first adaptation of Kemalettin Tuğcu’s novel

(Özgüç, 2002: 74)<sup>12</sup> has launched the production of films with child stars. Six years old Zeynep Değirmencioğlu became a star with her role in this film. Özön says, “despite its defects deriving from being adapted from a ‘pedagogic, moralist’ novel”, this film is noteworthy since “it narrates life of a working class family successfully that has not been encountered in previous films” (Özön, 1995b: 118). Following the popularity of *Ayşecik*, many films like *Sezercik*, *Ömercik*, *Afacan* and *Yumurcak* series starring child actors/actresses such as İlker İnanoğlu (*Yumurcak*), Sezer İnanoğlu (*Sezercik*), Menderes Utku (*Afacan*) in their leading roles were produced by the use of almost the same formula of *Ayşecik*.

In Yeşilçam, the child image through child stars has usually been created in *Ayşecik*, *Sezercik*, *Afacan* and *Yumurcak* series (Öcel, 2001: 53). In these films, there is always a child actor/actress in the leading role. The main characteristic of the lead child actor/actress derives from that this child can do what the other children in the film cannot. He/she plays a chief role in creation process of the film. This means that child is given a major duty in the film and his/her physical, emotional or intuitive features become matter of primary importance (Öcel, 2001: 50). The plot is about a child who lives as orphaned and poor temporarily and his/her family. It is usually similar in all the series following *Ayşecik*. As their names express such as *Gülşah Küçükanne* (Gülşah the Little Mother), *Yumurcak Köprü Altı Çocuğu* (Yumurcak the Homeless Child) and *Öksüzler* (The Orphans), they generally narrate orphanhood and “homelessness” of the child. The child mostly tries to mediate his/her family life, reunite his/her parents, earn money and take care of his/her sick mother/sibling by giving up all the childish traits. He/she talks like grown-up and deals with troubles in a morally adequate way. The orphanhood and poverty become temporary states thanks to this child (*Ayşecik*, *Sezercik Aslan Parçası*, *Sezercik Yavrum Benim*, *Gülşah Küçükanne*, *Afacan Küçük Serseri*). In these films, the characteristics of the child are exaggerated. He/she works at heavy jobs and earns money enough for not starving to death; suddenly turns into a well-behaved child; helps the police to catch the criminals and so on. Özön says that the sudden turning of naughty *Ayşe* into a well-behaved child, her attempts to do something and her friendship with a police

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<sup>12</sup> In 1961, Tuğcu’s book namely *Kolsuz Bebek* and in 1964 *O Yolun Yolcusu* (Yüz Karası) were adapted for cinema (Özgüç, 2002: 74). In interviews with him, Tuğcu always expresses his dissatisfaction with adaptations of his novels (Tuğcu, 1991: 74). In addition, some of his novels such as *Üvey Baba* (2000), *Küçük Besleme* (1999) and *Mercan Kolye* (1998) were adapted for television.

officer all seem hard to believe but they are not completely impossible (Özön, 1995b: 119). This positive mode and optimism can be observed almost in Yeşilçam melodramas with child stars<sup>13</sup>. After 1975, a few melodramas starring child actors/actresses have been made. With changing socio-economic and cultural structure of the society, perception of children and childhood and also their representations in films have also changed.

In this chapter, by talking about the dominant conceptions of childhood, I have tried to discuss that approaches to childhood and children in Western societies and in Turkish society have intersected at some points without disregarding the fact that childhood as a social, cultural and historical category has changed from time to time and from society to society since despite the different motives, children have usually been considered as figures who are born as innocent and who must be educated and civilized. Children's literature has always been accepted as an appropriate tool for preparing children for a life and for constituting identities. History of didactic, moralist children's literature is mostly related with the history of concept of child and dominant conceptions of childhood. As Walter Benjamin underlines, the intention of educating children as the most docile, the best and the most jovial individuals constituted the basis of this didactic and moralist literature (Benjamin, 2001: 44). Turkish children's literature constitutes no exception to this in general. Most of the children's books are composed of moral and didactic principles teaching to children how to act, behave and think thus to be a "good" person and a citizen.

In this chapter, I have also talked about Yeşilçam melodramas starring child actors/actresses and their similarities with Tuğcu's books in terms of their narrative structure and child images. It can be concluded that the reasons why Tuğcu's books became so popular can also explain these films' popularity in one sense. However, it cannot be simply claimed that these films are visual representations of stories of

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<sup>13</sup> In the 1960s, beside these melodramas, some films taking the problems of children into consideration were produced such as Nuran Şener's *Suçlu Çocuklar* and *Aydede'ye Gidiyoruz* (Akçalı, 1987: 582). After 1975s, while the production of series starring child actor/actress have almost come to end, some films narrating social problems of children have begun to be produced. Ömer Kavur's *Yusuf ile Kenan* (1979) that tells the story of the friendship between two children lost in a big city and Aydın Sayman's *Sır Çocukları* (2002) that tells the story of the children in the streets and of the streets are examples of these films.

Tuđcu's novels due to the other dynamics and also the differences between their narrative structures. In these films, only the short period of the childhood is narrated unlike most of Tuđcu's novels. That is to say that it is not met with a child who grows up, decides to marry or does his military service in these films. Orphanhood is a temporary state and child manages to get bread only in the absence of his/her parents. He/she substitutes for his/her parents for a short period. His/her aim is reunite his/her disintegrated family unit rather than to establish a new order like orphan poor child characters of Tuđcu's novels. This is the main thing that is influential in construction of these films' "positive" and more "hopeful" mode as being different from Tuđcu's novels.

## CHAPTER 3

### GENERAL TENDENCIES IN THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF KEMALETTİN TUĞCU’S NOVELS

This chapter will begin with presenting brief biography of Kemalettin Tuğcu to discuss the common points between his life and the narrative structure of his novels and also to explore the some circumstances that motivated him to write. This chapter will focus on general tendencies in the narrative structure of Tuğcu’s books. Thus, I will try to explore the general characteristics of these novels through author’s style, plot of the novels, fixed signification and the use of stereotyped characters. This study will not aim at designing groups that will reduce the meanings of the books to some categories by disregarding diversifications. Nevertheless it will conspire to make generalization to envisage the pattern of the books.

#### 3.1 The Succinct Biography of Kemalettin Tuğcu

Kemalettin Tuğcu was born in 1902, in Çengelköy and died in 1996. His children’s novels made him one of the most memorable writers of the Turkish children’s literature. He saw Constitutional Monarchy, Second Constitutional Era and Turkish Republic (Özgentürk, 1996: 7). Tuğcu was born as physically disabled in his grandfather’s villa and as a child of an officer father and a housewife mother. In most of his books, it is possible to meet with an “authoritarian” officer character, “docile” housewife woman and physically disabled children. Nemika Tuğcu asserts that Tuğcu always held his father responsible for his crippled legs. The bonesetter, who was called by his parents to cure him tied Tuğcu’s feet with a bandage and told his parents not to untie it for a period. When Tuğcu began to cry due to the pain in his feet caused by the bandage, his father could not bear his constant cry and decided to untie the bandage. Because of this, Tuğcu’s problem in his feet became a permanent defect. Hence, he blamed his father and stressed his thoughts about this by saying, “...I am not sure that my father untied the bandage either because of feeling



compassion or anger and intolerance toward my tears. Unfortunately, because of this, I had to live as physically disabled” (as cited in Tuğcu, 2004: 48). According to Nemika Tuğcu, due to Tuğcu’s doubts about the intentions of his father while untying the bandage, these two feelings, compassion and anger, are often used in stories of his books (Tuğcu, 2004: 48). In his twenties, one of his feet was cured and he began to walk with the help of walking sticks. He preferred to live alone for a long time and then married a woman due to his mother’s wish.

Tuğcu’s melancholy stemmed from his crippled legs was the main factor that moved him to write. He lived apart from the community up to his thirties and preferred to live only by writing. He did not go out since he did not want to forget his melancholy what motivated him to write. The life of solitude sufficed to him and writing took the place of speaking for him. He explains some specific reasons why he wrote as follows:

I am writing for myself. This is an emotional state deriving from being withdrawn into myself. If you have a strong imagination, everything is possible. I haven’t gone to the cinema in order not to forget my melancholy. My authorship is an addiction even it is pathological... Actually, I have dealt with loneliness by writing. However, my stories always give hope and have happy endings. I do not kill any of my characters in my novels. Children do not like crime (Yüksel, 1993: 8).

I am writing neither to earn money nor to make so-called literature but only to spend my time. Writing is something pathological for me. I feel whatever I write. This is the reason. This resembles to the gramophone. Gramophone disk records your voice when the phonograph needle rotates; but whenever it is rotated again, it gives your voice back. The human feeling follows the same route actually. The audience can understand my feelings while reading (Yılmaz & Arıcı, 1988: 28).

Tuğcu did not have formal education due to his crippled legs and he educated himself by reading novels and history books. He was interested in handcrafts. He learned to speak French by self-study and to play piano and violin from his mother. In his novels, he often uses piano and French as signs of richness and talks about child characters who are skilled in a particular craft and who make a living with their crafts. Tuğcu says that authors before the Republican period especially authors of New Literature Group (Edebiyat-ı Cedide) influenced him. *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, *Heart: A Schoolboy's Journal*, *Gulliver's Travels* and *Don Quixote* were his favorite

books and he enjoyed reading Jules Verne's and Cervantes's novels especially (Akman, 1995: 14). After starting to write poems and novels for adults, he decided to stop reading other authors' books due to the anxiety of plagiarism and being influenced (Tuğcu, 2004: 156). At the beginning of his career, because of writing for just himself, he burned his texts in the pool of their house. He wrote novels for adults, poems, short stories and serials for Yavrutürk, books like *Kocanızı Nasıl Muhafaza Edersiniz?* (How can you keep your husband?) and articles for *Ev-İş* (House-Work) that was the periodical including writings about different issues such as women, skin care and methods of being an ideal housewife and of maintaining a husband's well being. He also translated some novels such as *The Air Race* (Hava Yarışı), *The King of Scouts* (İzciler Kralı) and *The World Tour with a Car* (Araba ile Dünya Turu) into Turkish. After writing some adult novels, poems, serial novels and short stories, he began to write books for children at Rakım Çalapala's request. His first novel *Sokak Çocuğu* was published in 1955. Tuğcu said that he did not want to write novels for children at the beginning due to following thought:

Forty years ago, even newspaper was not affordable. Children had no money to buy a magazine, let alone a book. Also, writing for children has some obligations. If you write novels for children, you have to obey some moral rules ("Doğan Kardeş", 1976: 27).

Tuğcu stressed that he was not interested in politics. While people both from the right-wing and the left-wing have criticized him, he kept on writing with the same style and said that he did not pay attention to these critiques (Tuğcu, 2004: 213). Nemika Tuğcu says that though Tuğcu lived in different political and social milieu, he wrote with the same style that is devoted to his conservative and enlightened way of thinking (Tuğcu, 2004: 213). He continued to write up to his death in the same way but he succeeded in addressing the feelings of the people.

It is not unexpected that Tuğcu wrote stories telling poverty and orphanhood with melodramatic mode since as he says that he also grew up in spiritual deprivation (Şenol, 1993: 54). He did not have a "normal" and "happy" childhood so stayed as a child in one sense. This can be thought as one of the reasons why he narrates grow-up orphan poor children with heartfelt style. However, his reasons of writing and the

motives that encouraged him to write such touching stories should not reduce the wealth of his novels to some clichés as it has been done by most of the critics.

### **3.2 General Characteristics of Kemalettin Tuğcu's Novels**

To address common aesthetic standards, popular culture mostly uses standards, formulas, stereotyped characters and subjects (Gans, 1999: 46) that refer to conventions. Conventions consisting of “favorite plots, stereotyped characters, accepted ideas, commonly known metaphors and other linguistic devices etc” have cultural functions (Cawelti, 1972: 118) This means that they represent “familiar shared images and meanings”, “assert an ongoing continuity of values” and “help maintain a culture’s stability” (Cawelti, 1972: 118). They are essential since they provide an idea about the changing thoughts, values and beliefs. Yet, to say that popular culture is standardized and it uses conventions does not mean that there is no diversity in it in terms of form and content. But, these diversifications are not so much noticed when it is compared to high culture as Gans states. In terms of many respects, the schools in the high culture are equivalents of the diverse formulas used in popular culture since both represent the solutions to issue of creation (Gans, 1996: 46). Tuğcu’s texts as being popular novels are also composed of some formulas, favorite plots, stereotypes and common meanings attributed to these characters but they also contain some diversifications, as it will be discussed.

#### **3.2.1 Favorite Plotting**

The narrative of these novels involves a series of events connected in time. It is evident with an anticipated beginning, a middle and an end. The story is written in dialogues mostly. The dialogue is the strength of these novels since the emotions and the thoughts of the characters are mostly expressed in the dialogues. In most of Tuğcu’s stories a totalistic conception of the life cycle is presented despite some of his novels in which the life cycle is partially reflected and very short period of time of the childhood is narrated. That is to say that child grows up; he/she is faced with the problems, he/she gets a stable job and sometimes he/she decides to marry (*Garip*,

*Serseri Çocuklar, Küçük Bey*)<sup>14</sup>. In Tuğcu's stories, individual strength and inner-strength of the children especially the poor orphan children are stressed rather than communal solidarity and support of relatives.

The story is also simple and mostly about poor orphan children, their relationship with the adults and their encounter with the rich people. It generally begins with an event of loss or/and deprivation. This is mostly disintegration of the family and poverty accompanying it. After loss of parents and getting poor, the child starts to work to take care of himself/herself and his/her family members who are left behind. In the middle of the story, the children's troubles and deprivations is narrated. The protagonist works at different jobs and changes his/her place and job very often until he/she establishes a steady order. He/she meets with various events and different people. As it is stated, in these novels story is simple. But sometimes often changing position of the child, his/her encounter with so many supporting characters and writer's style cause ambiguities. This also may make the audience miss connections between the main character and others and also between the events. While changing his/her job and location, the protagonist becomes talented. He/she grows up physically while he has to grow up emotionally and mentally already. At the same time as being faced with troubles and people's unpleasant behaviors and thoughts, the main character saves "needy", "weak" adults, children around him/her. Mostly, until the end of the story he/she usually cannot have a stable job and a house. He/she is "homeless" in a sense even he/she has a place to live. The plot always ends up with the poor protagonist's success. He/she succeeds in getting a stable job for living, escapes from poverty and sometimes he/she decides to marry.

The names of these books signify that as if these novels tell different stories. Nevertheless, though the names of the books such as *Yetim Ali* (Orphan Ali), *Cambazın Kızı* (The Girl of the Acrobat) or *Altın Bilezik* (Golden Bracelet) are not irrelevant to the story or part of the story, those books mostly tell similar stories. They are all about the poor orphan children. Nevertheless, Tuğcu rarely tells different stories that do not resemble to most of his other novels. For example in *Tekinsiz Ada*, the story of a woman and his child who start to live in an island after the death of woman's husband, which is accepted as a haunted place among the

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<sup>14</sup> Kemalettin Tuğcu's books that will be used in this study will be cited with their name and page number.

people is told. This novel reminds us of the story of Robinson Crusoe in a sense. For instance in *Siyahlı Kadın*, author tells the story of a woman who asks for help from a psychiatrist since she believes that weird events happen in her house.

Stories have “happy” endings in terms of the protagonist of the story, which mean that poverty and the pain are successfully dealt with. Everybody gets what he/she deserves. Some of the rich people realize their mistakes and some of who do not all pay for their mistakes in some way. When the orphan, poor protagonist successfully tackles problems without sacrificing his/her humane values and virtues, the order that is disintegrated at the beginning of the story is re-established at the end but in a different way. This “happy” ending always connotes melancholy giving the sense that material and physical deprivations can be handled but nothing can remove the traces of the past, which is full of sufferings. It is a “happy” ending that is accompanied with the feeling of being forlorn (*garibanlık*) that never ends since these children sacrifice their childhood for saving themselves and their parents. In Tuğcu’s stories, “happiness” and “happy ending” is not represented like that of the melodramas starring child actor/actress. The child star of these films does not have to sacrifice his/her childhood for his/her family’s well being since he/she has to work or give up his/her childish acts for a while. The other reason is that in these films, the family members temporarily fall apart and at the end they are reunited. Unlike the orphans of Tuğcu’s novels, his/her orphanhood and poverty as a spiritual state is mostly temporary. That is why; at the end of Tuğcu’s stories there is not “happy ending” that gives the sense of “happiness” similar to that of the melodramas and also that of most of the novels for children.

### **3.2.2 Author’s Style**

Turkish children’s literature has usually been didactic and moralist due to the motives that have been discussed in the previous chapter. Even though Tuğcu’s books are not different from most of the children’s books in terms of being didactic, his very unique writing style distinguishes him from other novelists of children’s literature. The authors writing for children mostly prefer to educate children through a symbolic world that they establish by disregarding complexities of the real life. Tuğcu’s novels are separated from books of other novelists at this point. In symbolic

world of his novels, there are no “secrets”. He preferred to display the realities of the world rather than hiding them. For Tuğcu, children should be taught how to act, think and behave and prepared for the life. But they should not be isolated from adult world in which they will live in the future. He includes “unpleasant” feelings and thoughts in his stories, sometimes that may “bite”, unlike most of the writers. To illustrate, he does not hesitate to use expressions such as “cur” (sokak köpeği) to describe a homeless child or “infested with lice” to depict a villager. Benjamin says, children do not demand childish things from adults. They can comprehend even the deep seriousness in the texts if it is heartfelt and told sincerely (Benjamin, 2001: 45). Thus, Tuğcu’s style that makes him one of most criticized figures of the children’s literature also distinguishes him from other writers.

Tuğcu also gives information and makes explanations about many topics in his novels. This educative style of Tuğcu resembles to that of the Ahmet Mithat Efendi. Depending on the interview with Mustafa Ruhi Şirin, it can be said that Ahmet Mithat’s novels influenced Tuğcu. Similar to Ahmet Mithat Efendi but without cutting the storyline like him, Tuğcu gives information and instructions to his readers from the mouths of his characters. He mentions blood test that is done to reveal the biological father; talks about fingerprint identification, gives information about the treatment methods of some diseases, about races and nations existing in the world. He explains why some people have black skin some have white (*Boş Beşik*, 20). After talking about race discrimination, he stresses that the laws must not treat particular group of people differently. Sometimes he gives information about different countries and their populations and capitals such as India and Sudan (*Dilenci Baba*, 75). He gives examples from history by talking about for instance Byzantine Empire or Sultan İbrahim (*Aradaki Demir Kapı*, 68). Tuğcu sometimes speaks through his child characters with a language that would be relatively difficult for child audience to comprehend. For example, he uses some words and terms such as *arbor* (kameriye), *May sixth* (hidrellez), *pick* (tezene) which are not familiar to child audiences apparently and then he explains their meanings. After using the words such as *irahmet* or *iriza*, he explains why villagers pronounce the words beginning with letter “r” by putting a vowel letter in front of the word by saying that in Turkish, there is not any word beginning with letter “r” (*Öksüz Dilimi*, 84).

Tuğcu also shows the ways that can be helpful while dealing with poverty besides child characters' personal attempts. He talks about for example the salary that must be paid to the orphans (*Küçük Erkek*, 20), inheritance that must be given to the adopted children (*Küçük Serseri*, 77), the salary that must be paid to the widow women (*Küçük İşportacı*, 14), seniority compensation that must be paid to the fired person (*Şımarık Kız*, 56) and the legal arrangements between employer and employee. By giving examples related with some specific situations, he intends to show the morally and legally adequate ways to his audiences and to give instructions on what to do when they are faced with similar situations. Tuğcu also attaches significance to details. For instance, if the child is put in prison before his crime is proved, he makes an explanation about this by getting one of his characters to speak as follows: "The people whose crime is not proved are not put in prison under normal conditions instead they are put in a different place separated for them. However, this child has to be put in prison because this place is full" (*Küçük Serseri*, 27) or talk about a man who is fined because of throwing away his garbage to his neighbor's garden (*Sokak Köpeği*, 48).

Tuğcu does not approach to troubles fatalistically though he insists that being honest, hardworking and patient are the main ways for dealing with them. He always tries to give his audiences an idea about the other ways. Jale Parla says, "Every author is father of the text that he creates in a sense. But, how he behaves depends on his personal decision and choice. Does he know everything and teach it? Does he judge? (Parla, 2004: 51). Tuğcu wrote with the aim of teaching everything that he knows and regards as necessary to his readers. Sometimes he judges. It seems that he feels the responsibility of a father and tries to make up for losses of the children with his authorship and by telling what a father tells.

### **3.2.3 Fixed Signification**

Kemalettin Tuğcu uses signs to describe conditions, spaces and places. The meanings of those signs are fixed almost in his each novel. In his stories, piano is often used to signify richness (*Altın Rüyası*, *Bir Garip Kızcağz*, *Doğduğum Ev*, *Süt Kardeşler*, *Simitçi Kız*). It is also presented as an instrument that is desired by the poor who know that it is a luxury that they cannot afford to buy it. While the children

of the rich families are mostly reluctant to learn to play piano, the poor children are very enthusiastic about it. Speaking French, besides piano, is another indicator of richness. The rich learn foreign language especially French mostly in abroad. Speaking French and playing piano signifies the obsession of the people with being “civilized” also (*Şımarık Kız, Yavrucak, Sakat Çocuk, Benim Annem, İnci'nin Kismetini*). Another commonly used sign is cleaner woman. While hiring a cleaner woman is indicator of richness, being have to work as a cleaner signifies an intense poverty. The sort of the food that is consumed is another indicator of either richness or poverty. Meat and fruit are accepted as the foods that the rich people afford to buy, whereas dried beans, soup and pilaf signify the food of the poor (*Küçük Hanım, İçler Acısı*). In the houses of the rich people, refrigerator, television and telephone and in the houses of poor people, the stove and bed is the most important symbols. In the eyes of the poor children, who see the children who go to school or go on a trip with their fathers' automobile and who have bicycle, possessing an automobile and bicycle is indicator of being rich (*Bizim Mahallenin Çocukları, Serseri Çocuklar*) as the following excerpt exemplifies:

While I am playing with zıpzıp with my friends in front of our door, I see that the children of the rich family go on a trip with their fathers' car. Like all the children, I take my zıpzıp, stand up and I watch these rich children without breathing, their private driver, their car and how this car moves<sup>15</sup> (*Arkadaşım Teoman*, 8).

On the other hand, the simple toys like teetotum or zıpzıp (a child's toy) that can be obtained without high expenses and the games such as hide-and-peek, hopscotch or jumping rope (*Bizim Mahallenin Çocukları*) are indicator of being poor. This differentiation between the toys symbolizing social statuses of children is expressed in one of the novels as follows:

The children's wishes change with time. These wishes also change with respect to richness. A kite or a wooden car that is made with firewood makes poor children happy. On the other

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<sup>15</sup> “Ben sokağa çıkıp kapının önünde mahalle arkadaşlarımla zıpzıp oynarken bazan Adnan Beyin çocuklarının otomobile bindiklerini ve gezmeğe gittiklerini görürdüm. Bütün çocuklar gibi ben de zıpzıplarımı elime alırdım, ayağa kalkardım, çocuklara, şoföre ve otomobile, sonra otomobilin nasıl hareket edip gittiğine nefes almadan bakardım”.



hand, the rich families buy bicycle for their children when they graduate from elementary school<sup>16</sup> (*Son Çocuk*, 42).

In Tuğcu's novels, sort of the foods that the poor consume, the stuff that they have in their houses or the toys that their children have signify not only poverty but also the simplicity of the lives of the poor.

Tuğcu describes spaces also through some specific signs. His stories mostly take place in İstanbul and unspecified villages. In most of Tuğcu's novels, there is not differentiation between the rich villages and poor villages even though he rarely expresses whether it is poor or rich (*Dağların Delisi*, 82). Most of the villages regardless of their conditions are described as areas of multiple deprivations thus some of the signs that are used to describe them mostly indicate what is absent in there. They mostly lack schools, roads and network of water, white electricity and products of new technology such as refrigerator or television. They also lack different kind of foods (*Kapı Yoldaşları*, *Bir Ocak Söndü*, *Şehir Çocuğu*) since the villagers do not eat what they produce such as cheese, butter, yoghurt or eggs. It is stressed that it is not possible to find white bread in the village since instead of white bread the villagers eat bread baked in very thin sheets (yufka ekmeği), which is depicted as "dishcloth" from the eyes of the urban dwellers (*Şehir Çocuğu*, 15). Besides its deprivations, the village is also described with some of its features unique to it. It has adobe houses, well, kerosene lamp and its villagers have habit of eating meal spread out on the ground and sleeping on the bed spread on the floor (*Küçük Göçmen*, *Büyüklerin Günahı*, *Hacıbaba*, *Annemin Hikayesi*). On the other hand, the urban area is described with its "possibilities". It is represented as a space in which white electricity, network of water, central heating system, products of new technology products such as radio, refrigerator, elevator, places to have fun, various kinds of foods are available (*Benden Sonrakiler*, *Köydeki Arkadaşım*, *Bir Ocak Söndü*). In Tuğcu's novels, dominant tendency is to define urban area as the center of various opportunities and comforts whereas the village as the area of deprivations.

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<sup>16</sup> "Her yaşın kendisine göre bir isteği vardır. Bunlar da zenginliğe göre değişir. Fakir bir aile çocuğu için kocaman bir uçurtma veya odundan kesilmiş ortası delinmiş bir tekerlekle yapılan bir tahta araba sevinç yaratır. Daha zengin olanlara ilkokuldan mezun olunca bir bisiklet alınmıştır".

### 3.2.4 The Use of Stereotypes

Stereotypes are generalizations or classifications about a specific group of people based on an image. Stereotyping allows author to tell stories without explaining the motivation that lies behind behaviors or attitudes of each character. In Tuğcu's stories stereotypes are also often used. In his texts, the main stereotypes are the poor, the rich, the urban and rural dweller, disabled children and stepparents.

#### 3.2.4.1 The Poor and the Rich Urban Dweller

The main character is mostly a poor orphan child (usually a boy) and he/she is described by positive term. He/she is "good", "honest", "hardworking", "merciful", "moral", "respectful", "well mannered" and "skillful". In Tuğcu's novels, most of the poor children have mothers but they are usually fatherless. Either they die or leave their family. So, it is not easy to fathom characteristics of the poor urban dweller men by looking at the fathers of the protagonists. Also, in these novels the poor urban dweller adult characters are not described in detail since the main story is about the encounter of the poor children with the rich. However, it can be said that the poor urban woman is "merciful", "morally upright", "honorable", "kind" mother and a wife. She is usually "fair" and "hospitable". But despite the humane values that are attributed to her, she is mostly described as "weak" and "dependent". Similarly, the poor urban dweller man is "good", "honorable," "merciful", "honest" and "vulnerable".

The rich children and also the adults are mostly described by negative terms in contrast to the poor. They are "spoiled", "degenerated", "merciless", "disrespectful", "tactless", "selfish" and "apathetic" people (*Köye Gelen Yabancı, Köyden Gelen Kız, Şımarık Kız, Babasının Oğlu*). They disregard humane and moral values thus they are the "evil" characters of these novels. The rich children are mostly "spoiled", "lazy", "aimless", "disrespectful", "merciless" and "ill-tempered". Most of them do not occupy themselves with anything. They feel obliged to go to school because of pressure of their families. The consequence of their unwillingness is always their "failures". They are usually the "laziest" students of their classes. Even if they finish their school, this comes true with the help of their poor classmates usually. They do not want to establish a relationship with people especially with the

poor children. But despite this dominant tendency, there are also rich children who are “hardworking” and “respectful” like the poor orphan children. But even if they are described by positive terms, it is implied that these values are attributed to the poor actually as the following expression of the poor boy shows: “You are merciful and nice girl. Everybody regards you as spoiled and arrogant. But I know that you are virtuous and good like a poor house girl”<sup>17</sup> (*Unutulan Çocuk*, 39). These children are not “evil” but they are only victims of their parents since what makes them “spoiled” or “disrespectful” persons is their parents’ upbringing. In these novels, what is criticized is not their personality but that of their parents because it is believed that they are also born as “innocent” and “good” like all the children.

#### 3.2.4.2 The Rural Dweller

While talking about rural dwellers, Tuğcu does not make a distinction between the rich and the poor villager. Due to his description of village as a deprived area, all the villagers are imagined as if they are poor. The rural dwellers are described mostly by negative terms from the eyes of the urban dwellers. Almost all the rural dwellers are described as “vulgar” and “ignorant” persons who are “antipathetic” towards changes. The other commonly used characteristic that is often used to describe them is their pronunciation. It is emphasized that they cannot speak “correctly” since while uttering some words, they pronounce the second vowel letter of the word more softly. They say *argadeş* instead of *arkadaş* (friend), or say *avşem* instead of *akşam* (evening) (*Büyüklerin Günahı*, 20).

In the eyes of the urban dwellers, the rural dweller child is “dirty”, “vulgar”, “stupid” and “impolite” as the child says: “the children with swelled stomach and thin legs play at the street. Some of them do not wear underpants. Some of them have a face with herpes and blain on which a lot of flies settle”<sup>18</sup> (*Satılan Çocuk*, 31). Both the urban dweller and the rural dweller generally consider that these children are “unlucky” to be born in a village since they cannot have the opportunity to see anywhere else except from their villages. The characteristics of the poor and the rich

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<sup>17</sup> “Sen merhametli ve cici bir kızsın. Herkes seni şımarık, kendini beğenmiş addeder. Fakat ben iç yüzünün fakir bir ev kızının ki kadar temiz ve aydınlık olduğunu biliyorum”.

<sup>18</sup> “Yollarda bir iki şiş karınlı ince bacaklı çocuk oynuyor. Kiminin ayağında don yok. Kiminin yüzündeki uçuklara ve çıbanlara bir çok sinek konuyor”.

urban dweller child have been enlisted above. But, it can be added that urban dweller child either he/she is poor or rich is represented as “clever”, more “educated” than the villager child. It is thought that he/she has “sophisticated” taste and “high” capacity compared with the villager child since villager child has to work in the field thus he/she cannot find time and opportunity to be interested in other activities that require mental effort. Despite this, Tuğcu sometimes puts emphasis on exceptions by talking about “cultured” and “educated” children living in a village or growing up in a village (*Bu Çocuk Kimin, Bir Garip Kızcağız*).

In Tuğcu’s novels, the characteristics that are unique to villager women are mostly specified besides their features stemming from being villager. He describes them as “unskilled” women who have “thick” eyebrows, “large” feet and hands, “stupid look” (koyun gözlü), “voracious appetite” and “mannish appearance” (*Adını Değiştiren Çocuk; Ana Kucağı*, 44) and who only know to cook soup and dried beans. They wear “baggy trousers” (şalvar), the “full-gathered knee breeches worn with tight leggings” (potur) and the “rawhide sandal” (çarık) instead of nylon stockings and low-cut shoes (*Adını Değiştiren Çocuk, Küçük Göçmen, Bir Ocak Söndü, Benden Sonrakiler*). On the other hand, Tuğcu does not usually describe villager men by their physical appearances or dresses that are specific to men. However, from the eyes of the urban dweller, villager men are described as so “lazy” that they do not know anything except from playing cards, smoking from hookah in the coffeehouse (*Şehir Çocuğu, Köyden Gelen Kız, Şeytan Çocuk*).

### **3.2.4.3 The Disabled Children**

Kemalettin Tuğcu often talks about physically disabled children and their “negligent” parents in his books. Mentally disabled children are not met in these novels. Disabled children are represented as the most unfortunate group of children since as Tuğcu means that the poor orphan children can escape from poverty one day but disabled children cannot become completely well again. They never forget and also do not let others forget their disability by repeating their “differences” from them all the time. They become disabled because of their parents’ “negligence” mostly. While talking about disabled children, Tuğcu gives information about the

treatment method of diseases, especially about polio, causing physical disabilities. He usually accentuates on significance of being vaccinated as a preventive measure.

In Tuğcu's novels, the disabled children are usually children of the rich families. This relation can be explained with Tuğcu's intention of indicating that being rich is neither a solution to illnesses nor compensation for being disabled. He tries to draw audiences' attention to the fact that being rich does not mean anything if you are not healthy and also being poor but healthy is always preferable to being rich but unhealthy. In Tuğcu's novels besides orphanhood, having a physical disability is also embodied as a sensitive state. For example, the father of a child who defamed a disabled child says, "If you defame a healthy child, I do not mind. But laying the blame on a destitute, offended child is big sin"<sup>19</sup> (*Küskün Çocuklar*, 16). Disabled children are mostly represented as "touchy", "unhappy", "withdrawn" and "hopeless" people. They are always sad because of being "different" from healthy people. They always see their disabilities as a hindrance to go to school or to go out, actually to live like "normal" people. As Tuğcu implies, living as a disabled person never becomes a state that can be accepted emotionally. To illustrate, in one of his novels, Tuğcu tells the feelings of a hunchback child as follows:

The poor hunchback boy thinks that he cannot work in such a job (he means interested in sport). He cannot do his military service and cannot wear the honorable uniform of the army. He cannot be a civil servant either...He cannot easily bear his disability but he has to work in his father's job<sup>20</sup> (*Küskün Çocuklar*, 75).

Even parents do not easily accept their children's disabilities and like them, they regard physical disabilities as the main obstacles to being a "happy" as the following expression of a parent who lost his/her blind son shows: "Fortunately he died since he did not see"<sup>21</sup> (*Mahallenin Sevgilisi*, 65). In spite of his stress on sensitiveness of

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<sup>19</sup> "Herhangi bir sağlam çocuğa iftira atsaydın pek aldırılmazdım. Ama bu biçare, dünyaya küskün çocuğa suç yüklemek büyük bir günahdır".

<sup>20</sup> "Zavallı kambur genç belki hayatında hiçbir zaman böyle bir alanda çalışamayacağını düşünüyordu.. Asker olamayacak, o şerefli elbiseyi giyemeyecekti. Herhangi bir işte memur da olamazdı. Belki babasının yazıhanesinde, onun gösterişli koltuğuna oturacak, arkasında kaybolduğu bu masada oturmak bile onu sıkacaktı".

<sup>21</sup> "Zaten gözleri görmüyordu...Yaşayıp da ne olacaktı fikara! Öldü de kurtuldu".

these children, it seems that Tuğcu usually does not write with the aim of “consoling” disabled children or in a way that makes his disabled audiences accept their state as “normal”. Even though he uses some expressions advising his audiences not to offend disabled children and indicating that bullying disabled children is a sin or laying blame on them cannot be tolerated, he usually implies that the pain of the disabled children never ends and they never live like the healthy people.

#### 3.2.4.4 Stepparents

The stepparents are other groups of stereotyped characters that are mostly met in Tuğcu’s books. Unlike the widespread view, “evil” stepparents are not dominating most of Tuğcu’s novels. Besides, it is also possible to encounter with good stepparents. Nevertheless, as the following conversation between an orphan child and a woman exemplifies, stepparents are generally regarded as “evil” persons: “The neighbor calls the orphan child to her side in order to “cut an *orphan slice* of bread for him”. The boy does not understand and asks her what she means. The woman explains the meaning of *orphan slice* as follows:

A motherless child is called orphan. The stepmothers cut so thin slices of bread that you can see the other side of the slice (Woman cuts a slice. When Halil gets this slice which is thin like muslin against the window, he is amazed. Then woman goes on talking). Oh, my son, when your mother dies, you are orphaned and when a stepmother comes into your home, everything gets worse<sup>22</sup> (*Öksüz Dilimi*, 6).

After explaining the meaning of *orphan slice*, the woman sings a folk song. The lyrics of the folk song also tell “evil” stepmothers: “Stepmother feeds her stepchild with bulgur<sup>23</sup> pilaf whereas her biological child with a rice pilaf. Ah!

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<sup>22</sup> “Kadın öksüz çocuğu yanına çağırır ve “gel sene bi öksüz dilimi keseyim” der. Çocuk bunun ne demek olduğunu sorar kadına. Kadın “anası ölen çocuğa öksüz dirler. Üvey analar da somundan öyle ince bir dilim keserler ki bir yanından bakıp öte yanını görürsün” der. Kadın somundan öyle bir dilim keser. Halil bu tülbent kadar ince dilimi cama tutar, şaşar da kalır”. Arkasından kadın “Eee oğul insanın anası ölmeye görsün. Öksüz galdın mı, e bi de başına bir üvey ane geldi mi işler kötü olur”.

<sup>23</sup> It is a kind of wheat that is very cheap.

Mothers Oh! Mothers. The stepmothers are so evil”<sup>24</sup>. In Turkish tradition, being motherless as expressed with statements that stress the unifying characteristic of the mothers in family such as “if you have not mother, you have not father either”<sup>25</sup> or “if your mother does not see you, your father does not you see either”<sup>26</sup> signifies a loss connoting a fatherless state. Additionally, it is commonly believed that the state of being motherless gets worse and becomes more traumatic for children with joining of the stepmother to the family since these children feel as if they lose their fathers too as the following excerpt shows:

Please God! Do not separate the child from four eyes that take care of him. There are two eyes in child’s mother, two in his/her father. If the eyes of his/her mother do not see him/her, the eyes of the father do not see him/her either. His/her life breaks down. The father does not realize how his child lives and does not understand his/her hunger, does not even feel his/her absence. He supposes that his/her stepmother takes care of him/her<sup>27</sup> (*Öksüz Dilimi*, 8).

Though not all the stepparents are described as “evil” and “unjust” as in the case of reality, similar to the dominant view about their “evilness”, the single mothers and fathers mostly avoid marrying others not to let their offspring be subjected to the bad treatments of stepparents. Since it is believed that meeting with “good”, “self-sacrificing” and “fair” stepparent is a chance (*Üvey Baba, Babasızlar, Kimsesiz Adam, Mercan Kolye, Bu Çocuk Kimin, Doğduğum Ev, Sokaktan Gelen Çocuk*).

In this chapter, I have tried to talk about the turning point in Tuğcu’s life that possibly influential in narrative structure of his novels and to underline general characteristics of the narrative structure of his novels to figure out dominant

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<sup>24</sup> “Kendi oğluna yedirir pirinç pilavını, üvey oğluna yedirir bulgur pilavını, ah analar vah analar, ne de hayın oluyor üvey analar”.

<sup>25</sup> “Anan yoksa baban da yoktur”.

<sup>26</sup> “Ananın gözleri görmez olursa babaninkiler de görmez olur”.

<sup>27</sup> “Allah bir çocuğu dört gözden ayırmasın, diyorlardı. Bu, çocuğun anası ölmesin demekti. İki göz babada, iki göz de anada var. Ananın gözleri artık görmez olursa çocuğun yaşantısı yıkılır gider. Baba görmez o çocuğun halini, ne açlığını duyar, ne yokluğunu. Üvey ana bakar eder sanır. Halil’in ki gibi üvey ana da böyle hayın olursa çocuk ölsün, daha iyi”.

tendencies. The characteristics of the stereotypes, general features that are attributed to the spaces and places and also the signs that Tuđcu generally uses have been enlisted. This is done with the aim of exploring the constant formulas constituting the narrative structure of these books. As being composed of conventions, these novels do not surprise their readers with their predictable storylines and the common meanings that are attributed to characters and with their endings. Tuđcu usually narrates what is expected from his novels. This means that he usually describes the rich in negative terms whereas the poor in positive terms. The endings of his stories signify realization of the poetic justice. But, some diversifications in the main story, ambiguities in the storyline that mostly stems from writer's style, his descriptions of the characters and the spaces by using "biting" expressions and the various details make his each novel dissimilar in a sense. These can be accepted as critical points minimizing the readers' feeling of reading the same story.



## CHAPTER 4

### ORPHANHOOD, POVERTY AND CONSERVATIVE THEMES IN KEMALETTİN TUĞCU’S NOVELS

This chapter will discuss Tuğcu’s novels through representations of childhood, adulthood, orphanhood, richness and urban poverty. It will also seek to explore the conservative elements in these novels. Tuğcu’s novels tell us that some people may become “disabled” in a sense at some moment of their lives: some may lose their parents, some their money or health. The following conversation from *Küskün Çocuklar* can sum up the metaphorical meaning. *Tevfik* character just talks about his physical disability ascribed by birth, whereas *Orhan* character mentions other deprivations and losses. Both of their expressions connote being “injured” and “disappointments”, “fragility” and also “resistance”:

- (Tevfik) (hunchback child) Orhan, I wish, there was a natural selection and the disabled children would not survive.
- (Orhan) The disabled people and other children that are disabled afterwards like Cengiz do not think like you. Furthermore, not only the disabled children are offended and sad, for example Beşir (Arab child). He is physically and mentally healthy. But in our society actually white people sometimes cannot accept him. He lives like a crow among pigeon and dove. However, we like him. Also there is Nazlı. She lost her mother. She was orphaned as a child. Also her father had to quit his job<sup>28</sup> (*Küskün Çocuklar*, 83).

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<sup>28</sup> “- (Tevfik) (Kambur Çocuk) Orhan, keşke tabiatla bir eleme olsaydı da sakat olanlar yaşamasaydı, diye düşünüyorum.

- (Orhan) Sakat olarak doğanlar veya Cengiz gibi sonradan sakatlananlar senin gibi düşünmüyor. Hem sadece sakat olanlar küskün ve mahzun değildir. İşte sana zekası, sağlığı yerinde bir genç, Beşir. Ama zaman zaman bizim cemiyetimiz, daha doğrusu beyaz gençler onu hazmedemiyorlar. Güvercinlerin, kumruların arasına düşmüş bir karga gibi yaşıyor. Halbuki biz kendisini çok seviyoruz. Sonra bir Nazlı var. Kızcağz annesini kaybetmiş. Çocuk yaşta öksüzlüğü tatmış. Şimdi babası bir teftiş sırasında açık vermiş...Bir tek kuruşu hesabına geçirmiş değil. Ama müfettişler bunu anlamaz, işten el çektirmişler”.

As the excerpt exemplifies, in these texts, deprivations, “disabilities”, “lacks” as material-economic situations change from person to person but how they are felt and how they are dealt with do not usually change. Thus, the narrative structure of novels addresses the feeling of exclusion, “homelessness” connoting the feeling of loneliness and fragility and also the ways how these deprivations and losses are dealt with.

#### **4.1 Loss of Parents: Orphanhood**

In Turkish, there are two words signifying orphan: *yetim* and *öksüz*. *Yetim*, whose origin is traced back to Ottoman Turkish, has two meanings: “alone, unique” and the “child whose father or both mother and father is dead” (Devellioğlu, 2006). According to the dictionary of *Turkish Language Association*, the word *yetim* refers to “fatherless child” and *öksüz*<sup>29</sup> refers to both “motherless child” and the “child whose mother and father is dead”. According to the Turkish-English dictionary of *Redhouse*, *öksüz* is defined as “orphan”, “fatherless”, “motherless” child and also refers to person “who is alone in the world”, “who has no relatives/friends”. According to *Oxford*, *öksüz* is defined as “motherless child”, “orphan” and also refers to a person “without friends and relations”. In this study, by saying orphan, if it is not specified, the child who is deprived of parents by death or desertion will be meant in literal meaning of the word. However, in terms of its connotations, the word “orphan” will be used to refer to child who is “alone” and feels himself/herself as “forlorn” (*garip*) despite or due to the existence of parents since he/she has “powerless”, “ill”, “irresponsible”, “immature” parents and orphanhood will be used to refer to a spiritual state that is lived despite/due to existence of parents.

##### **4.1.1 “Savior” Children vs. “Helpless” Adults**

In most of the societies, there is a dominant tendency to think that children are dependent and weak figures; fathers are breadwinners and decision makers whereas mothers are homemakers and responsible for child rearing in the family. Nevertheless, in these texts, adults are represented as people who are in need to be

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<sup>29</sup> <http://www.tdk.gov.tr>.

taken care of whereas the children as their saviors. Childhood signifies maturity and power, not dependency. This is one of the constant formulas of Tuğcu's novels and also Yeşilçam melodramas starring child actor/actress and it connotes "real" orphanhood. With loss of the parents or due to the presence of "needy", "irresponsible", "indifferent", "evil", "sick" and "dependent" parents connoting breakdown of the parenting roles, the ongoing order is interrupted, the traditional roles reverse and the child becomes the only one that can hold family together.

Most of the protagonists of Tuğcu's novels have mothers but they are fatherless like *Keloğlan* and most of the characters of Tanzimat novels. In Tanzimat novels, fatherlessness signifies absence of authority. Characters of these novels cannot become masculine and stay immature (Gürbilek, 2004: 141). On the other hand, absence of father authority that makes *Keloğlan* much more independent in his decisions and behaviors (Saktanber, 1991: 33) makes Tuğcu's child characters more powerful. When these children break free from the authority of the father, they also get away from the childhood that may last long. Loss of father becomes an emancipating moment in children's life and "this is converted into a virtue" (Gürbilek, 2001: 63). It can be said that Tuğcu represents these fatherless children as powerful and not "degenerated" since he intends to use their representations as "social control mechanism" as it is done in Tanzimat novels by dandies (Mardin, 2006: 43). Fethi Açıkel emphasizes that being brought up without father authority signifies an extraordinary state in a society in which paternal culture is sovereign. Thus mythologizing of the prophets or great leaders in religious and political discourses through their fatherlessness (Açıkel, 1996: 174) indicate that being a leader or a prophet connoting power despite the absence of father authority is an unusual state that is "sublimated". Similar to this, in Tuğcu's texts, growing up by being deprived of father authority is presented as a sublimated state by mythologizing these children as "savior". On the other hand, the presence of father is not always sign of authority due to "helpless" and "dependent" personality of the fathers like most of the mothers.

In most of the societies and also in traditional Turkish society, father participates in occupational system and he is usually accepted as the agent of social stability, protector and breadwinner of the family and more qualified to make concrete decisions such as accommodation. In these novels, the role of the father is

also defined with these terms thus when he is absent, family system is shaken until the boys, not the mothers, take the responsibility of family. The expectation is that the boys have to be more powerful to substitute for their fathers, to take care of their mothers/siblings since it is generally considered that women work at home whereas the men/boys work outside as a man tells to a boy: “your father suffered from misfortune...you are little but taking care of your mother is your responsibility since you are a male”<sup>30</sup> (*Hırsızın Oğlu*, 17). Boys voluntarily accept their new role and feel responsible for meeting all the expenses of the house without the need of a working mother and of the other female family members since from then on as being “little men”, being breadwinner of their household is their duty<sup>31</sup> (*Güzel Bir Gün*, 93). They give up most of the things that they used to do such as playing games or going to school signifying being a child. That is to say that they sacrifice their childhood. But their anxiety about staying as a child everlastingly always dominates their melancholy stemming from sacrificing their childhood.

In these texts, the poor mothers are mostly “kind”, the source of love and affection but they are not disciplinarians. With these features, they represent the mothers with whom Turkish society identifies itself. But their trouble is that they are so “weak” and “dependent”. Because of this, maternal deprivation is mostly experienced on the basis of feelings. The absence of the mother/woman as a “helpless” person does not have an effect on the child’s living materially as much as the father’s absence does. Most of them cannot take over the role of the new breadwinner in absence of their husbands. Therefore, the loss of the father brings the loss of the mother in this sense. They usually do not know what to do when they are faced with the loss of their husbands since their role is defined in the house as a “good” wife and mother. Mostly they have not any skill or profession and do not easily become adapted to their new situation. While the little boys work hard to look after their family, women who are aware of their insufficiencies do not attempt to do anything except for feeling sad: “The woman cannot stop her crying because she has to depend on a twelve years old child for living and this situation upsets her” (*Küçük*

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<sup>30</sup> “Babanın başına bu felâket geldi...Yaşın küçük ama davranmak, birşeyler yapmak sana düşüyor. Aman yavrucuğum bu zavallı anacığın destek ol. Sen bir erkeksin”.

<sup>31</sup> “O artık bir ev erkeği idi. O küçük bir adamdı. Küçüktü ama büyük adamlar kadar üzerinde yük vardı. Bütün sıkıntıları tek başına çekecek, sırasında taş taşıyacak küfecilik edecek fakat yine de evinin yiyeceğini alıp götürecekti”.

*İşportacı*, 22) and except for expressing their sadness: “We are left to the care of twelve years old child. He is deprived of his all childhood rights. He does not play and smile anymore unlike other children. He wakes up early to go to work like an old man”<sup>32</sup> (*Kimsesiz Adam*, 7). Children are mostly aware of the women’s weakness as a boy expresses: “My mother is very unqualified woman. When my father died, she wanted to me to work as an apprentice for our living” (*Babam ve Ben*, 7). Even though most of the women do not usually work and have no profession/craft, not all of them stay at home and wait their offspring to earn a living. Some women struggle to earn money by working as cleaner woman or tailor (*Yetimler Güzeli*, *Deniz Kızı*, *El Kapısı*, *Küçük İşportacı*, *Çocuk Hırsızları*).

In Tuğcu’s novels, orphanhood does not only signify a state that is lived with the physical loss of the parents. Children have to go through a sort of orphanhood even if their parents are alive. These children do not have a “chance” even to live as orphaned since they are not only responsible for themselves but also for their parents. Some of them have “irresponsible” parents as a girl says: “I thought that there are two persons that are close to me. But I understand that both of them got lost. I was left alone in this world. I am orphaned when my parents are alive”<sup>33</sup> (*Annelerin Çilesi*, 24). From now on, they are no more his/her parents but only “strangers” that can be called as Mr. and Mrs. as a girl addresses in her letter:

What is the meaning of your education? A chicken can be a more caring mother and a cock can be a better father than you. You commit a murder that even an ignorant person does not. This letter is your identity card. If someone asks you who you are, you show this letter<sup>34</sup> (*Büyüklerin Günahı*, 47).

Some of them have emotionally “weak” parents. Thus, consoling them lies within children’s responsibility. To illustrate, when the mother starts to cry because

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<sup>32</sup> “On iki yaşında bir çocuğun eline kaldık. Bütün çocukluk haklarından mahrum. Artık ne oynuyor ne de öteki çocuklar gibi gülüyor. Yaşlı başlı bir adam gibi erkenden işe gidiyor”.

<sup>33</sup> “Karı koca beni kuşa benzetmeye karar vermiş, iyice hazırlanmışsınız. Ama şunu bilin ki hiddetle, şiddetle evlat terbiye edilmez. Dünyada bana yakın olan iki insan var sanıyordum. Babam anam. İkisi de toz olmuşlar. Şimdi tek başımayım dünyada. Annesinin babasının sağlığında hem öksüz, hem yetim bir kız oldum”.

<sup>34</sup> “Yüksek tahsiliniz neye yaradı,? Bir tavuk sizden daha hayırlı ana, bir horoz sizden çok daha iyi bir baba olurdu. Eh cahil adamların yapamayacağı cinayeti siz yaptınız....Bu mektup sizin kimlik kartınızdır. Kim olduğunuzu sorarlarsa koynunuzda taşıyacağınız bu mektubu çıkartıp gösteriniz”.

of leaving her daughter alone while going to the hospital, the child consoles her as follows: “Mom, why did you forget doctor’s words? He told you not to give up hoping. Please do not cry. I never cry. I will wait you and pray to God for you” (*Yavrucak*, 4). If they get poor, not the adults but the children start to think of ways to survive as the protagonist of the *Altın Bilezik* Ahmet does. When his father’s shop burns, Ahmet migrates from rural to İstanbul to work for living of his family and to make his sick sister well (*Altın Bilezik*). This is also the case in most of the melodramas. The movies *Ayşecik*, *Yumurcak Köprü Altı Çocuğu*, *Gülşah Küçükanne* and *Küçük Ev* tell almost similar stories. All of the child stars of these films have parents who are either sick or imprisoned. *Ayşecik*’s (*Ayşecik*), *Sezer*’s (*Küçük Ev*) and *Yumurcak*’s (*Yumurcak Köprü Altı Çocuğu*) and *Gülşah*’s (*Gülşah Küçükanne*) fathers are imprisoned because of slander. Both *Ayşecik* and *Yumurcak*’s mothers are blinded in a traffic accident. All of the children start to take care of their family members and try to find the villain. To look after their family, *Ayşe* sells newspapers on the streets, sweeps the floor of the shops; *Yumurcak* cleans the automobiles’ windows and works as a porter; *Sezer* works as a waiter; *Gülşah* sells flower, balloon and cigarette on the streets. While *Sezer* never forgets to bring a chocolate to her sister, *Gülşah* takes food to her mother in the hospital; *Ayşecik* and *Yumurcak* buy meat for their blind mothers with their last money. They eat only dry bread but they are so “sensitive” and “mature” that they lie to their mothers about what they eat. They hide their sufferings from their parents, but it is reflected in the lyrics of a song:

I haven’t laughed since my early ages. My destiny makes me cry and not laugh. I have never lived a good day in my troubled life. Under the bridge is my home and my family. You are a boy suffered so much, you are so longing for your mother and father. To whom do you tell your sufferings? What can you do? This is your destiny, under the bridge is your home, you are a boy suffered so much and you are an unfortunate suffering child<sup>35</sup> (film *Yumurcak Köprü Altı Çocuğu*).

Blindness of the mothers in a traffic accident and imprisonment of the fathers due to slander as being temporary states are commonly used formula in these melodramas.

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<sup>35</sup> “Küçük yaştan beri yüzüm gülmedi. Kaderim hep ağlattı güldürmedi. Dertli başım güzel bir gün görmedi. Köprü altı evim, yuvam ocağım. Ne çileli bahtsız bir yumurcaksın, anana, babana öyle hasretsin. Çekiğini kimlere söyleyesin. Alın yazın bu imiş neyleyesin, köprü altı evin, yuvan, kucağın, ne çileli bahtsız bir yumurcaksın”.

Both of the parents have to live in a state that they cannot see their child's conditions thus they cannot interfere it. Unlike Tuğcu's novels, in these films the weakness or sickness of the parents is mostly established through temporary physical states. These children are not really orphaned since they do not lose their parents permanently.

“Savior” child image has repeatedly used in Turkish popular culture. According to Nurdan Gürbilek, what lies behind this child image is Turkish people's attempt to reverse “child society image” signifying “immature” society reflected in the mirror of the West (Gürbilek, 2001: 42). For Kemal İnal, the myth or image of *savior child* has persisted to exist from primitive communities to the modern periods in most of the cultures. İnal says that towards the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the archetypical child myth has become much more sophisticated and the child heroes such as *Oliver Twist*, *Heidi*, *Pollyanna* and *Huckleberry Fin* have taken the place of heroes of the middle age, who are struggling with giants (İnal, 1999: 77). Therefore, it is not unique to the Turkish popular culture. Even though the meaning of this image for Turkish people can also be explained with Turkish society's relation with the West, this cannot be sufficient on its own. It is also related with the perception of child in Turkish society. Turkish people have been sensitive about children especially orphan children. Hence, when then they meet with the child that triumphs over the antagonists that connote poverty and “homelessness” signifying the sense of loneliness and appears as a “savior”, they feel relieved. This is the main reason that lies behind the repetition of this image especially in melodramatic narrations and made Turkish people embrace this image.

#### **4.1.2 Sensitivity of the Orphans**

In these novels, orphanhood is represented as a state that necessitates a special care. Even the animal whose “mother” and “sibling” are poisoned is described as “orphan” in a sense and implied that it needs a more care than other animals (*Serseri Çocuklar*, 50).

In Turkish society, orphans are generally considered as children who need to be protected and treated differently and more painstakingly than others by entire society because of their deprivation of parenting as a social security institution. Thus,

taking their property or rights sounds like a much more unfair attitude than usual. It can be stated that the meaning hidden beneath is simply the magnitude of the family unit in the Turkish society. Also in public discourse, being a child and orphan has usually been presented as a sufficient criterion to be involved in a category of people deserving poor (Öztamur, 2002: 176). Not only in public discourse but also in Koran<sup>36</sup> and in Turkish tradition, orphans have always been regarded as sensitive children and orphanhood has been accepted as a state that necessitates care as expressed with statements such as “right of the orphan”, “orphan property”, “you can eat these, they are not orphan property” and “the right of the newborn orphan child” (tüyü bitmemiş yetim hakkı). While these statements have worked as social control mechanisms for protection of these children and their rights in the absence of the family institution, they are converted into popular slogans of Turkish politics as form of populism that derives its power from Turkish people’s sensitiveness to the orphans and orphan property.

In his novels, though Tuğcu does not disregard mentioning legal rights of the orphans such as salary that is given to them, he usually stresses the protection of their rights/properties by the use of social devices that are beliefs and fears of the people. In these novels, while stealing is presented as a crime that should be punished, stealing orphan’s property is also accepted as an attitude causing evil consequences (*Yetim Ali*, 83). All “good” characters are against the bad treatment to children but if orphans are subjected to it, they react against this sharply since they believe that the result of this attitude become serious. It is widely supposed that the person who treats orphans badly suffers from the bad things sooner or later as a result of their curse (*Yetim Ali*, 82) because it is believed that “orphans have a lot of devils”<sup>37</sup> (*Öksüz Dilimi*, 21; *Köydeki Arkadaşım*, 56; the film *Öksüzler*). For instance, in *Cambazın Kızı*, in which the story of the orphan girl who works for a rich family is told, when the rich house owner expels the girl from the house without giving her money that she deserves, “bizarre” events begin to occur. The woman slips and falls down in the

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<sup>36</sup> To illustrate, in sure of The Cow, the orphans are especially specified as follows: “And remember We took a covenant from the Children of Israel (to this effect): Worship none but Allah. treat with kindness your parents and kindred, and orphans and those in need; speak fair to the people; be steadfast in prayer; and give Zakat. Then did ye turn back, except a few among you, and ye backslide (even now)”<sup>36</sup> (The Cow, 2/83).

<sup>37</sup> “Öksüzün şeytanı bol olur”.



bathroom; suffers from not ending headaches and hiccups (*Cambazın Kızı*, 76). These events that happen to her are all explained with the belief that the orphans are sinister (netameli) persons and their curses always take effect when they are subjected to unjust attitudes (*Benden Sonrakiler, Uğurlu Çocuk*). People, even the thieves, who know the consequences of hurting orphans, do not touch their property because they know that whoever touches orphan property never gets well<sup>38</sup> (*Bizim Mahallenin Çocukları*, 38). People, who know this need to express that it is not an orphan property<sup>39</sup> while giving or offering something to someone (*Küçük İşportacı*, 28).

Orphans become “disabled” in terms of their emotions though they are so powerful while dealing with troubles coming after the loss of the parents. That is to say that they are not only deprived of their parents but also parenting signifying the sense of safety, protection, guidance, love and affection. Together with these, they also sacrifice their emotions that can be felt only in childhood and only by being children. While other people are laughing, joking, having fun and fearing nothing, they feel a never-ending loneliness and fear everything.<sup>40</sup> (*Öksüz Murat*, 28). They try to behave strongly but when they remember their loss, “they feel how an orphan feels”<sup>41</sup> (*Küçük Serseri*, 9). They feel as if they have nothing that makes them happy as the following statement expresses: “There is a different poverty and sorrow inside the child whose parents are divorced. He is not cheerful. He does not join the games and occupy himself with childish acts”<sup>42</sup> (*Ana Kucağı*, 53). Sometimes they try to full their emotional emptiness with affection of other adults and other orphans. Sharing the same pain like poverty makes them become much closer since in the eyes of other children who cannot empathize with them, they are simply orphans.

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<sup>38</sup> “Kimse almaz evlâdım. Mahallede birçok hırsızlık oldu. Evleri soydular, ama bu kumbaracağı kimse dokunmadı. Çünkü bu yetim malıdır. Yetim malını yiyen iflah olmaz”.

<sup>39</sup> “Kendine hazır bir elbise al, para sarfından çekinme, öksüz malı değil. Derli toplu olman lazım”.

<sup>40</sup> “İnsanlar gülüyor, şakalaşıyor, eğleniyor, hiç korkmuyorlardı. Onun içinde sonsuz bir yalnızlık ve her şeyden korkma vardı. Zavallı öksüz Murat!”.

<sup>41</sup> “Dik dik konuşan çocuk babasından bahsederken boynu bükülmüş öyle içlenmiş gibi sesi titremiş ve öyle yetim durumu almış ki...”.

<sup>42</sup> “İçinde bir küskünlük, bir yoksulluk var gibiydi. Öyle pek neşeli değildi. Oyunlara katılmadığı gibi çocukça şeylerle de uğraşmıyordu. Hemen hiçbir oyuncağı yoktu”.

They become supporters of each other because some “sufferings come people together” (*Sınıf Arkadaşım*, 94; *Yetimler Güzeli*, 58; *Sınıf Arkadaşım*, 94).

As Murat Belge says, Turkish people have always been sensitive to orphans (Belge, 2004: 181). Melodramatic narratitons from Muharrem Gürses’ films to Tuğcu’s novels, from *Crying Child* poster to Yeşilçam melodramas representing orphanhood as a moral-spiritual state have always been embraced by Turkish people. *Crying Child*<sup>43</sup> poster, which is like a copy that has not an original, that was mostly seen “in places signifying lower class (poor neighborhood on the outskirts of a city, shantytown houses, coffeeshouses, shops)” as Necmi Erdoğan says, in dolmuş (a shared taxi) as Martin Stokes states and in “houses to where the intellectuals rarely go” as Murat Belge asserts (Erdoğan, 1999: 39; Stokes, 1998: 157; Belge, 2004: 180) became one of the popular icons of the 1970s. Erdoğan says that through this poster, “we hear the echo of now silent ones” (Benjamin, as cited in Erdoğan, 1999: 40) since it is “a surface on which the memory of the past defeats, silences and the repressions are inscribed since this child with his position in this popular icon is a ‘forlorn (garip) boy who is orphaned with whom we identify ourselves” (Erdoğan, 1999: 39, 40). It did not become only a surface with which we identify ourselves but it also signified something very familiar and close to us thus we hung it up on the “best” spot of our walls by framing it with pseudo-gold leaf frame. It has made people feel so familiar to it that most of them believed that it is picture of someone from the family. It was taken care of like how an orphan child is taken care of. It represented the melancholy of someone who is well known. But it also told us that “this boy is hurt but despite this, probably due to this, he survives” (Gürbilek, 2001: 39). It became a visual representation of Tuğcu’s children, Gürses’ films’ orphans with its sorrowful gaze connoting that this child is “subjected to pain that he does not deserve” (Gürbilek, 2001: 39) and with its grown-up look connoting resistance.

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<sup>43</sup> This poster became very popular in the 1970s. It was used as cover illustration of first issue of *Sızıntı* (1979), a periodical that has a right-wing ideology. In 2001, one of the organizations of Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi), a right-wing party of that period, used this poster in its official announcements. It was also used in one of the TV advertisement of a bank. Today, it is also possible to meet with this poster in some of the current television serials or to see it as cover illustration of a periodical’s special edition about *Kitsch and Turkey* (Gösteri, 1991).

## 4.2 Poverty vs. Richness

### 4.2.1 Poverty and Virtue as a “Weapon”

For this study, the state of poverty is not only a material-economic situation. It does not mean only the state of deficiency or physical danger to survive or being deprived of the essentials of a “good” life either. It mainly refers to a psychological and social state (Bauman, 1999: 59, 60) and to a moral-spiritual state as in the sense of Necmi Erdoğan’s argument:

In Turkish cultural history, poverty always refers to a “feeling” (hissetme yapısı) more than a “life standard” or a “material-economical” sign. The words and expressions like “forlorn” (garip), “needy” (gariban), “being forlorn”, “orphan” and “the right of the newborn orphan” (tüyü bitmemiş yetim hakkı) juxtapose poverty on the one hand with suffering (as Bourdieu means) and injury (as Sennett means), on the other hand with desperation, homelessness and exclusion (Erdoğan, 2002b: 26).

In Tuğcu’s texts, the main reason of poverty is the disintegration of the family and the misfortunes following it. In this sense, poverty seems as if it is not as a social problem and social inequalities are “normal” facts of the society. Furthermore, it seems that there are not social classes and class conflicts in narrative of these novels but instead there are poor and the rich. But, Sennett and Cobb assert that “class as a problem of day-to-day existence rather than as an abstraction, creates a hidden content in a wide variety of social issues” (Sennett & Cobb, 1973: 148). Thus, in Tuğcu’s books, the class appears along with the relationship that is established between the rich and the poor and represented through the *gaze* of the poor and also the values addressing the middle class.

Necmi Erdoğan stresses, though social hierarchies and differences in Turkish society are articulated with each other, in imagination of the poor, social life is determined by binary opposition between the rich and the poor and the rich people is generally described by negative terms (Erdoğan, 2002c: 43). Likewise, symbolic world of these novels is constructed through binary opposition between the rich and the poor. The rich are described as people who grasp material life whereas the poor as people who have mostly nothing except for their virtues and hopes to escape poverty one day and being “happy”. While the rich are described by negative terms

such as “immorality”, “laziness”, “mercilessness”, the poor are described by their “strong personalities, uncorrupted moralities and well-built friendships” (Türkeş, 2001: 138) and with their humane values like “dignity”, “honesty” and “goodness”. Sennett and Cobb argue, “class society takes away from all the people within it the feeling of secure dignity in the eyes of others and of themselves” (Sennett & Cobb 1972: 170). Thus, in this case, the primary concern of the poor does not become poverty as a material-economic situation, the social inequalities or injustices that are faced with but the “social distinctions, cultural and symbolic schemas that construct and classify poverty as a “inferior”, “lower”, “worthless” state.” (Erdoğan, 2002c: 45). In this case,

...the subaltern-poor represent themselves as equipped with moral-humane values against the rich. In terms of this, the virtue plays an important role in construction of subaltern-poor of itself. It becomes a weapon (“weapons of the weak”) that makes the poor come up against material misery and moral pain (Erdoğan, 2002c: 34).

Similarly, in Tuğcu’s novels, humane and moral values that are attributed to the poor are presented as strategy to cope with sufferings and also as “weapons” of poverty. Keeping the values becomes the main concern of the poor and they prefer to be left hungry for this. Like poor heroes/heroines of the popular Turkish films of the 1960s and the 1970s, Tuğcu’s poor characters are “transcendental hero” in a sense since it seems that they live another life beyond poverty (Maktav, 2001: 165) with their values. In the poor people’s understanding, poverty is never an excuse and/or explanation of choosing immoral ways for living. Most of them are so honest that they do not steal, trick or beg. Even when they starve, they do not develop strategies except for the morally adequate ones to cope with sufferings such as gathering rotten fruits and vegetables which are left in the bazaar or making a bed by gathering the cotton that disperses over an area from a truck that carries cotton to textile factory (*Sokak Çocuğu, Yetimler Güzeli*). Not choosing illegal ways to survive also necessitates power besides moral values since these children believe in their power to cope with troubles. Despite this, most of the time, they have to prove their honesty to rich people since in the eyes of most of the rich, their poverty is a legitimate reason to stigmatize them as potential criminals. Sometimes their honesty is tested by some methods such as putting a piece of jewelry or money on a table. They are so honest

that they never touch others' belongings. Furthermore, they are so mature to reach the conclusion that these are unpleasant attitudes of a group of people that cannot think "deeply". While in imagination of most of the rich all the poor are beggar, in the eyes of the poor begging and stealing are dishonorable and immoral ways of living. In these texts, there is a stress on begging rather than stealing. It is accepted as so "shameful" way of living that the poor children do not accept even the expensive gifts from others because of the thought that this makes them beggar. As a poor orphan child says, "they may be vagrant and hungry, have no one and they may be vulnerable but they are not beggar"<sup>44</sup> (*Düşkün Çocuk*, 48) since as the blind young girl in *İki Yetime* says "it is a dirty act". Applying such ways to survive indicates the loss of dignity. The origin of Tuğcu's approach to begging can be found in modern view of republican era humiliating begging. The intellectuals of this period have usually compared the "poor but honorable people who are the real poor deserving help with beggars who do not deserve help" (Buğra, 2003/2004: 81). Begging and vagrancy and the existence of "uncontrolled" people in the society have generally been accepted as "threats" to public safety since the early republican period (Öztamur, 2002: 177). In Tuğcu's books, also in some of the films that have been selected, a sharp distinction between the poor who choose to earn their living through "honest" ways and others who choose to beg which is as a "low-down" way of living is noticed. What these novels and the films tell corresponds to how official ideology presents the "undeserving poor" in this sense. On the other hand, these texts underline other side of choosing to beg by referring to children who have to beg and steal or who are forced to beg as the following excerpt exemplifies:

...The vagrant is like a cur living on the streets, which is regarded as worthless...nobody ask whether I am hungry or not. Then everybody accuses me of stealing. Nobody thinks what I will eat, where I will live. Whenever I ask for a job, they show me the door. Whenever I beg for money, they say, "get a job to have food". Look at bastard Ahmet. He is getting worse and worse. If he had parents, they would put him in his bed and call a doctor. Now, somebody who meets with Ahmet drives him away<sup>45</sup> (*Serseri Çocuklar*, 3, 4).

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<sup>44</sup> "Ben serseriyim, kimsesizim, açım, çıplağım ama dilenci değilim".

<sup>45</sup> "...Serseri demek sokak köpeği demektir...Kimse aç mı tok mu diye sormaz. Sonra da bana hırsızlık ediyorsun diye darılıyorsun. Peki ben ne yiyeceğim, nerede barınacağım? İş istersin kovarlar, el açarsın, çalış da karnını doyur, derler. Şu Piç Ahmedin haline bak! Neredeyse yıkılacak. Eğer anası,

In this case, it is highlighted that these children do not commit crime or choose immoral ways voluntarily and intentionally since most of the time, conditions force them to apply illegal ways to survive. After the reasons why he/she steals or begs are explained and presented as if they are legitimate reasons, it is definitely underlined that theft is a crime and morally wrong for whatever it is attempted. Tuğcu always stresses that these children are victims of their parent and in turn victims of the society that do not think “what these children eat” or “where they live” as the child character of *Serseri Çocuklar* says in the excerpt above. Tuğcu began to write in the period when the concept “street children” has recently emerged in public discussions with increasing migration from rural areas into urban (Atauz, 1998: 70). But most of the children in his novels just use the street as their workplace for a while. It is rarely met with children of the street (*Serseri Çocuklar*). When Tuğcu talks about children who live on the streets, even though he explains the “valid” reasons that lie behind their “illegal” actions and does not present them as “objects of fears”, he implies that these children more tend to commit crime than others due to their circumstances. In addition, in Huriye Öniç’s *Köprü-altı Çocukları* and Nebil Fazıl Alsan’s *Köprü Altı Çocukları*<sup>46</sup> similar to Tuğcu’s novels, the children of the street and children living under the bridge are not related with crime. It is emphasized that even if these children commit crime, this stems from the disorders in the society (Alsan, 1969: 100).

The poor of these novels do not steal, beg and “never take more than what they deserve even if they starve and suffer from extreme poverty”<sup>47</sup> (*Sokak Çocuđu*, 115). But this does not mean that they consent to the less than what they deserve as the protagonist of *Altın Bilezik* who knows that he is good at his job says: “I am not a greedy person but I used to earn ten liras in my last job...The money you offered is also a money but it is not sufficient for our living”(*Altın Bilezik*, 75). They do not sell

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babası olsa şimdi onu yorgan döşek yatırır, başına doktora getirirlerdi. Ama şimdi rast gelen kovalıyor”.

<sup>46</sup> Though Tuğcu has not a book namely *Köprü Altı Çocukları* according to the list of Nemika Tuğcu and Turan Yüksel, Huriye Öniç’s and Nebil Fazıl Alsan’s books are generally cited as Tuğcu’s works because of their names and narrative.

<sup>47</sup> “O kibirli değildi. Fakat başkalarına el açmazdı. Aç kalır, sefalet çeker, fakat hak etmediđi bir parayı almazdı”.

their vegetables to rich family blaming them for stealing (*İçler Acısı*, 25) or quit to work for anyone who does not trust them or due to employers' unjust words telling them not to waste time (*Babasının Oğlu*, 7) to protect their dignity as a child expresses: "Maybe, I am hungry but I would like to work as a porter with my honor rather than be indebted to such a man"<sup>48</sup> (*Güzel Bir Gün*, 96). The rich people can understand neither material deprivation of the poor nor their attachments to their values since in their understanding, the poor have not such a luxury to be morally upright and virtuous at the cost of being poor. In their imagination, these values and virtues do not satisfy the poor people's hunger. Thus, the poor should take whatever they are given or eat the foods whenever they find since they have not any other option. For them, if the conditions of the poor are kept in mind, "the poor must not be proud" (*Serseri Çocuklar*, 87; *Üvey Baba*, 31). The rich understand the "meaning" of humane values, only if they are materialized or visible. When the "honest, poor and orphan child with his short trousers and leg whose color turned to purple due to cold" returned the lottery ticket to its owner, only at that time, the rich family is sure about the intention of the child and describes him as "smart and honorable like a prince in a fairytale"<sup>49</sup> (*Yetimler Güzeli*, 19). The rich people are presented as "evil" characters of these novels not because they apply illegal ways such as committing crime or black mail but because they "close their hearts to other people living in poverty" by only saying, "we wish that the god helps them" or saying "this is not our business"<sup>50</sup> (*Dilenci Baba*, 21). They are "evil" not because they are seen as the cause of others' poverty but because they suppose that they have a right to talk/ behave without thinking (*Sakat Çocuk*, 7) or to give orders while talking to people whom they regard as inferior by thinking that their richness hides all of their mistakes (*Yetimler Güzeli*, 34; *Küçük Bey*, 38).

The poor characters of these novels take the risk of starving to protect their dignity. Nevertheless, their attachments to moral and humane values and their

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<sup>48</sup> "Belki aç kalırım ama böyle adamlara minnet etmem. Ben namusumla küfecilik de ederim".

<sup>49</sup> "Fakir ve yetim çocuk şimdi masallardaki şehzadeler kadar şık ve onurluydu".

<sup>50</sup> "(çocuk) onlar yüreklerini başka insanlara kapatmışlar. Onlar bizim gibi başları sıkıntıya düşmüş olanlara yalnız "allah yardımcımız olsun" derler. Ya da "bana ne?" derler (yaşlı adam) "sen bunları nasıl düşünebiliyorsun" (çocuk) "Bu yoksulluk başımıza geldikten sonra düşünmek zorunda kaldım".

struggle against poverty as being “transcendental” heroes/heroines cannot be considered as a “moment that legitimates their roles that the social hierarchies determine” but as a “way to deal with these roles when they cannot be accepted” (Erdoğan, 2002c: 51) and a way that makes them bear the pains until they reach a “normal” life.

#### 4.2.2 Being “Seen” vs. Fear of Contamination

In these novels, “not the wealth on its own but the wealth in terms of the life style, behaviors, attitudes that it generates” (Erdoğan, 2002c: 35), not the richness but its discourse calling the poor opportunist<sup>51</sup> (*Küçük Bey*, 38), not poverty, but talk about poverty among the rich people<sup>52</sup> (*Kırk Ev Kedisi*, 56) and the *gaze* of the rich who keep their bodies away from that of the poor injure the poor rather than their material deprivations. Since for them poverty does not only mean being deprived of food, clothes or a house but also it means that their deprivations are seen by others (Erdoğan, 2002b: 27) and their recognition as subjects. What they live is not “simply a material state but at the same time it is a state of poverty that is lived in the form of symbolic violence” (Erdoğan, 2002b: 27). When they escape poverty, they thank God not only because they do not starve anymore but also they do not have to satisfy their hunger with food given to them by official institutions as if they prove their poverty by using official certificate (*Son Çocuk*, 35). For them, the meaning of this is that their poverty is not seen and they are not called “poor” any more since as Simmel says, “someone is poor does not mean that he belongs to the specific social category of the “poor”...It is only from the moment they are assisted...that they become part of a group characterized by poverty (Simmel, 1971: 177). Despite their attempts to live poverty away from *gaze* of the rich and without being called “poor”, this does not become easy due to physical proximity.

In these texts, though the rich and the poor characters are differentiated in terms of their living conditions, they mostly live in physical proximity to each other

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<sup>51</sup> “Fakirlerin zenginlerin kahrını çekmelerinin sebebi onlardan para koparmaktır. Yoksa kara gözlerine aşık değildirler. Bu yüzden de zenginlerin fakirlere karşı güvenceleri azalır. Her insanın kendilerine para hatırı için hoş göründüklerini sanırlar”.

<sup>52</sup> “Köyde olsa hiç umursamazdım. Ama zengin insanların yanında fakirliğini anlatmak insana güç geliyor”.



in contrast to the reality of the today. The rich and the poor live in the same quarter, in the same street even in the same apartment as a child expresses:

As my father is poor and silent, his father is rich and esteemed.  
We live in the same neighborhood and even in the same street.  
Their three-storey house looks at our small, old and one floor  
house from above. It stands as if it crushes ours<sup>53</sup> (*Arkadaşım Teoman*, 3).

Their houses are very close to each other but the rich urban dwellers live in their “comfortable” houses, sometimes in their villas with their servants, cooks and gardeners whereas the poor urban dwellers in their “cold” houses by being have to cope with very “primitive” living conditions. While the servants shop for the rich, private drivers take their children to the school (*Arkadaşım Teoman*, 9; *Unutulan Çocuk*, 34; *Huysuz Çocuk*, 30) and all the “luxurious” products such as radio refrigerator, telephone, and piano are available in their houses (*Küçük Bey*, 34), the poor can see these only in rich people’s houses (*Öksüz Murat*, 36). The initial goal of the poor is to meet their basic needs and daily foods. Even when they find a shelter instead of a house, simple stuff and enough food not to starve to death, they regard themselves as lucky. Some of them have almost nothing except for basic things needed for living as it is told in *Dedemin Çocukları*: “The inside of the house shows us how poverty is lived. A board table, a bed which is not made, old clothes are thrown here and there and one or two pots and pans in a very narrow kitchen”<sup>54</sup> (*Dedemin Çocukları*, 48) or as it is described in *Öksüz Murat*:

...There are old shoes on the floor. The dress of the woman who opened the door is patched. Though she is not old, her hair turned gray. She has a face which has turned black...the wooden steps of the house are creaking...Murat is feeling that he has a difficulty in breathing. There is an intense smell of misery in this house...There is an old broken clock on console table. It seems that there is not anything that can be regarded as furniture: only an old console table and a couch<sup>55</sup> (*Öksüz Murat*, 84, 86).

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<sup>53</sup> “Benim babam ne kadar fakir ve sessiz bir adamcağız ise onunki o kadar zengin ve hatırlıydı. Aynı mahallede aynı sokakta oturuyorduk. Onların üç katlı evleri, bizim küçücük eski ve tek katlı evimizin tepesinden bakar, bizimkini ezecekmiş gibi görünürdü”.

<sup>54</sup> “Evin içi yoksulluk anlatıyordu. Tahta bir masa, yatakları toplanmamış bir karyola, öteye beriye atılmış eski elbiseler ve daracık bir mutfakta bir iki kapacak”.

<sup>55</sup> “...yerde eski ayakkabılar duruyor. Kadının basma entarisi yamalıydı. Pek yaşlı olmadığı halde saçları ağarmıştı. Uzamış, kararmış bir yüzü vardı...evin ahşap merdivenleri gıcırdayordu.. .Murat

Not only houses of the rich and the stuff in their houses but also their consumption patterns differ from that of the poor. While they eat meat, from their view, other meals like dried beans (kuru fasülye), soup and bulgur pilaf suit the taste of the poor merely. They do not want to eat beans by calling it “banal” but they cook it only if their children ask for it because of curiosity after seeing it from the poor (*Bizim Mahallenin Çocukları*, 101). The poor children only see what the rich eat as expressed by a child: “The poor family living near the house of the rich family closes their window not to smell the cutlet cooked in their kitchen. They turn their heads away not to see different kinds of fruits which are brought to their house”<sup>56</sup> (*Öksüz Murat*, 74). Due to living in physical proximity, the rich cannot avoid being confronted with the “eyes of the poor” since “the physical and social transformations” did not “drive the poor out of sight” (Berman, 1990: 153) yet. In such a condition the poor as “...see they are seen...” (Berman, 1990: 153). Hence, poverty becomes much more evident through social hierarchy that is “materialized by being subject or object of the gaze” (Erdoğan, 2002c: 36). Smelling, touching based and “ocularcentric relationship between the rich and the poor make symbolic distance much more visible” (Erdoğan, 2002c: 36). The rich try to minimize the relationship with the poor, so with the eyes and the bodies of the poor, because of fear of contamination. They prevent their children from sitting at the same desk with the poor (*Arkadaşım Teoman*, 12), do not return the greetings of their poor neighbors and they do not even shop at the same stores due to the belief that the poor are “dirty” (*Bizim Mahallenin Çocukları*, 91). In addition, they do not let their children talk to poor children by saying: “The polite, rich people do not talk to riff-raff”<sup>57</sup> (*Arkadaşım Teoman*, 38). They fear that a poor homeless child touches their offspring while walking (Öniz, 1951: 58) or they do not want them in their houses by calling them “filthy” (film *Özleyiş*). Even if they do not have to get in touch with the

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nefesinin daraldığını hissediyordu. Bu evde derin bir sefaletin kokusu vardı...Konsolun üzerinde belki aylardan beri işlemeyen bir eski saat vardı. Odada eşya namına bir şey yok sayılırdı. Bir eski konsol bir sedir”.

<sup>56</sup> “Mutfağınızda pişen pırzola kokularına karşı pencerelerini indiriyorlar, sizin apartmanınıza gelen çeşit çeşit meyvaları görmemek için başlarını çeviriyorlar”.

<sup>57</sup> “Kibar, zengin insanlar ayak takımı ile görüşmez”.

bodies of the poor, seeing them makes the rich feel being contaminated as the child protagonist of *Köprü-altı Çocukları* expresses:

I am homeless and forlorn but I have never stolen. Being forlorn was not my choice. Death has taken both my mother and my father...Sometimes I have starved. Nobody has taken care of us. People hearing that we live under the bridge have stayed away from us as if they saw something dirty. I ask you whether this is our mistake. If people do not want to establish a relationship with us and do not want to help us, is this mistake theirs or ours?<sup>58</sup> (Öniz, 1951: 66).

Gül Özyeğin says that middle class people keep doorkeepers and their families, the dangerously close “strangers living among them” away from themselves only with disdain (Özyeğin, 1996: 146). Similarly, in imagination of the rich, the poor are the “strangers” living very closely to them since despite their poverty, they continue to live in the same neighborhood with them. Therefore, when the rich have to accept that they cannot easily avoid encountering with the poor, they try to maintain the social and cultural distance by using stigma as a device, that is by regarding their body as symbol of “hygiene” and “elegance”, whereas that of the poor children as “dirty” and smelling of “sweat” and “garlic”. In these novels, poor children are stigmatized as “dirty” but they also bear a stigma owing to their parents’ jobs as a rich child’s words exemplify: “When somebody looks at a child’s face, he/she can understand if he/she is a child of a doorkeeper” (*Bir Garip Kızcağız*, 38). But, as Gül Özyeğin says stigmatization of children of doorkeepers is different from courtesy stigma that Goffman<sup>59</sup> discusses since it comprises all the family living in a dark flat underneath the apartment (Özyeğin, 1996: 152). Similarly, in Tuğcu’s novels, while children of doorkeepers are called “dirty” as offspring of doorkeepers, they acquire a degree of stigma due to living in stuffy and moist flat underneath the apartment like their parents (*Küskün Çocuklar*). Furthermore, akin to today, in

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<sup>58</sup> “Evsiz kimsesiz oldum fakat hırsız olmadım!...Kimsesiz olmamak da benim elimde değildi. Ölüm anamı babamı almıştı....Aç kaldığımız geceler oldu!...Kimse başını çevirip bize bakmadı. Köprü altında yattığımızı işitenler, bir mikrop görmüş gibi yüzlerini buruşturarak bizden uzaklaştılar. Fakat bunda bizim ne kabahatimiz var bayım? İnsanlar bizi aralarına sokarak yardım etmek istemiyorlarsa kabahat bizim mi yoksa bize yardım etmiyen insanların mı?”

<sup>59</sup> Erving Goffman says “the loyal spouse of the mental patient, the daughter of the ex-con, the parent the cripple, the friend of the blind, the family of the hangman, are all obliged to share some of the discredit of the stigmatized person to whom they are related” (Goffman, 1963: 30).

Tuğcu's novels most of the women working as cleaner are doorkeepers' wives (*Arabacının Kızı, Küskiin Çocuklar*). Moreover, like today, in the imagination of the rich women, the working of wives of doorkeepers as cleaners is what it is "usual". The wives of the doorkeepers accept this job more "voluntarily" than other women since they do not get poor after losing their husbands instead they have to live in poverty from the beginning. However, in the eyes of other women, working as cleaner or servant has a pejorative meaning. They accept these kinds of jobs if they have not any other option to survive. They also take the risk of starvation rather than accept such a job in order not to let their children acquire a stigma as woman's words express:

I do not go to others' houses to serve in order not to let others call you a child of a cleaner mother. The human being may die because of starvation and misery but he/she should not lose his/her dignity...Earning money from giving hypodermic injections is certainly preferable to be a cleaner woman or a worker<sup>60</sup> (*Benim Annem*, 7, 10).

Children, especially the boys do not want their mothers or sisters to work at such a job either by saying: "It does not matter how much my sister earns. She will lose her dignity if she accepts this job. People will humiliate her rather than appreciate her success if she works as a servant<sup>61</sup> (*Büyüklerin Günahı*, 54). Similar to today, there is always a certain social distance between the house owner and the cleaner woman. The rich house owner avoids being in personal contact with the cleaner woman due to the thought that if the cleaner woman is treated friendly, she will get spoiled and the authority of the house owner will be shaken. In the eyes of them, cleaner women are tended to stop working in the middle of the day and take a break frequently to drink coffee and to smoke anyway (*Bir Çırağın Öyküsü*, 52). Similarly, today, most of the rich women complain about the working hours and breaks of these women and "separate dishes and bowls of the cleaner women and

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<sup>60</sup> "Ben sana gündelikçi kadının oğlu dedirtmemek için dairelere hizmete gitmiyorum. İnsan belki açlıktan sefaletten ölür ama şahsiyetini kaybetmemeli...İğneci Nesibe olmak herhalde gündelikçi Nesibe işçi Nesibe olmaktan daha iyidir".

<sup>61</sup> "Ya biz bir aile kurbanı olup çıkmadık mı ortaya? Kardeşim ne kazanırsa kazansın, o hizmetçilik yapmakla şerefinden kaybediyor, cemiyet onun başarısını düşünmez, hizmetçilik yapmış diye kötüler".

they do not eat meal at the same table with them because of fear of contamination” (Erdoğan, 2003c: 44). The rich women of Tuğcu’s novels also regard any kind of contact with these women as derogatory but they feel compulsion to eat meal at the same table with them to prevent them from quitting the job (*El Kapısı*, 15).

In these novels, the rich and the poor are represented in a physical proximity mostly despite the social and cultural distance between them. Nevertheless, it is seen that Tuğcu sometimes talks about the differentiation between the rich and the poor in terms of the spaces they live. Though, he does not so much mention names of the neighborhoods, in some of his novels, also in some of the selected films, *Şişli* and *Nişantaşı* are presented as neighborhoods in which mostly the rich live (*Ekmek Parası*, *Hayırlı Evlat*, *Öksüz Murat*, *Küskün Çocuklar*, *Baba Evi*, *Simitçi Kız*). It is not always explicitly said that *Şişli* and *Nişantaşı* are the neighborhoods of the city in which the rich live as the child character of the film *Izdırap Çocuğu*<sup>62</sup> says: “We buy balloons, chewing gums, caramel from Tahtakale and then sell them to the rich children living in Şişli”. But, his emphasis on the richness of these districts is understood through some expressions and descriptions as the poor child polishing shoes on the streets describes the people walking on the streets of Şişli by saying: “natty children, little servants watch him while he is working”<sup>63</sup> (*Ekmek Parası*, 44). Besides this differentiation, Tuğcu also rarely talks about the people who live on the periphery of the city in shantytowns (gecekondu). He wrote during the period when migration from small towns into big cities increased and shantytowns began springing up. In some of his novels, he occasionally uses the terms shanty and being a shantytown dweller. At the same time, he rarely uses the concept of working class (*Küçük Erkek*, 64) and implies the “usual” relationship that is established between being a shantytown dweller and being a cleaner woman and a worker at the factory (*Küçük Bey*, 64, 27; *Huysuz Çocuk*, 25). Those different concepts and/or terms such as shantytown and working class used in his texts are neither coherent nor significant of different things. Tuğcu does not describe shantytown as if it is settled on the periphery and also does not tell poverty living there differently from that of the center. The poor children living in the shantytowns and even the villagers are

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<sup>62</sup> The plot of the movie is almost same with *Ayşecik ile Ömercik*.

<sup>63</sup> “Süslü çocuklar, küçük hizmetçiler etrafına birikiyor, nasıl çalıştığına bakıyorlardı”.

subjected to the same stigmas with the poor, just one difference that is the usage of the expressions describing them. That is to say that they are called shantytown poor or/and villagers not just poor. They are called “dirty” people smelling of “garlic” and “sweat” and wearing patched clothes like all the poor (*Çingene Kızı*, 28). They have to live on the periphery but they are not entirely isolated from urban life living in the center as the following excerpt from *Küçük Bey* exemplifies:

The new trendy names like Pınar, Şafak are immediately used here for newborn children, the new songs; new records start to be listened here. Among the offspring of the workers, tradesman and the factory workers these names are very common...The girls living in the shantytown keep up with the latest fashion. The length of the skirts become shorter or get longer with those of the city at the same time, the colors of the hair change with the changing fashion. They tie scarf and wear blue jeans, which makes them look like they have worn mannish clothes<sup>64</sup> (*Küçük Bey*, 17, 22).

Stigmatizing the poor and the shantytown poor derives from that the poor live very closely to the rich. The poor who realize the rich people’s fear of touching and contamination do not want to meet with the eyes and the bodies of the rich. They also do not want their poverty to be seen by them. In this way, they, as stigmatized, also contribute to maintenance of social and cultural distance between themselves and others stigmatizing them.

### 4.3 Conservative Themes

The truth of conservatism as a modern and tenuous concept can be “designated as a political doctrine, an ideology or a form that penetrates both of them and as a style of thought as Mannheim means” (Çiğdem, 1997: 32). It is an “attitude” or a “mental state” that articulates every kind of doctrine or ideology” (Çiğdem, 1997: 32). Conservatism is a pragmatic “style of thought that *practically* adapts itself to the present conditions by abandoning theoretical records of the past if it loses its

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<sup>64</sup> “Hangi isim moda ise, hangi şarkı yeni çıkmışsa hangi plak piyasaya sürülmüşse hemen gecekondular mahallesinde duyulurdu. İşçilerin, esnafın, fabrikada çalışanların hatta gezginci esnafın kızları arasında Sibel, Şafak, Pınar, Başak gibi isimler çoktu. Oğlanlar da hep yeni isimleri taşıyorlardı... Gecekondular semtindeki kızlar modayı hemen günü gününe takip ederlerdi. Etekler şehirdekilerle beraber kısalır, uzar, saçlar modaya göre renk değiştirir veya saçlarına bellerine kadar uzanan eşarp gibi bir şey bağlar ya da ayaklarına blucin giyer erkek kıyafetine bürünürlerdi”.

functionality” (Çiğdem, 1997: 33). As Kemal Karpat says it is an “effort to make old attachments and concepts fit a new structure” (as cited in Yıldırım, 2003: 10) and it advocates maintenance of “some of the selected traditions” (Beneton, as cited in Bora & Onaran, 2003: 236).

In his novels, Tuğcu generally emphasizes on what is changing, how is changing and what should or should not change with the time. He talks about attitudes, values, manners and traditions that he considers as to be conserved. While showing that new practices take the place of the former ones losing their functionality, he emphasizes that the traditions and customs which must be conserved work as a control mechanism determining the limits of this. Tuğcu implies that time is changing but the most important thing is to conserve values, customs, manners which do not and also should not change in time rather than to think whether present time is good or not. In his novels, there is not nostalgia but “sublimated” values that are needed in construction of the new.

It is not possible to discuss Tuğcu’s novels on the same basis with Turkish novels that are cited as conservative. As it is stated before, in these novels, the usage of the different terms and concepts are not “consistent”. Furthermore, this “inconsistency” does not signify author’s shifting views during the time. Thus, the analysis is aimed at discussing conservative themes in these texts rather than analyzing them on the same basis with conservative Turkish novels.

#### **4.3.1 Urban and the Rural Space**

Tuğcu’s stories mainly take place in a city, which is mostly İstanbul and/or in a village. The urban is presented as the center of “modern” life and the rural as a space in which agricultural production is carried out. Tuğcu does not usually tell stories taking place in town. But when he talks about it, he describes it as an area that has a position between the urban and the rural area (*Karataşlı Emine, Annemin Hikayesi*). It is more “modern” than a village but not as “modern” as a city. Also, its dwellers live by consuming what the villagers produce like urban dwellers. In these novels, the urban and the rural areas are usually represented as in the form of binary opposition and also in connection. The relation between them is established with

either rural dweller who migrates from rural to urban or/and with the urban dweller that lives in rural area temporarily.

The village is represented with its “deprivations” and “deficiencies” rather than its features that are unique to it whereas the urban area is described by its “comforts” and “opportunities”. Urban dwellers suppose and also get villagers to believe that despite its “disadvantages”, urban area is the only one that has everything needed for living “humanly”. It seems that Tuğcu tries to teach “modern” and “civilized” life to rural dwellers by talking about opportunities of the urban life such as existence of modern tools like radio, telephone or refrigerator and also talking about deprivations of the rural areas such as lack of modern roads or doctors (*Karataşlı Emine, Bir Ocak Söndü, Şehir Çocuğu*). By saying urban, it is usually meant İstanbul and the names of other cities are not usually mentioned. The European side of the city that is called real İstanbul<sup>65</sup> is presented as more “civilized” and rich in comparison with the Anatolian side (*Hayırlı Evlat*). European side is described as the center of recreational facilities since it has places in which its dwellers have fun like *Beyoğlu*. On the other hand, dwellers of the Anatolian side are described as people living much more modestly (*Ekmek Parası*). Nişantaşı and Şişli, neighborhoods of the European side, are the regions in which mostly the rich live. Tuğcu tells the differentiation between European and Anatolian side through two districts of the city namely *Üsküdar* and *Nişantaşı* similar to Peyami Safa who narrates cultural split in his *Fatih-Harbiye* through *Fatih* and *Harbiye*<sup>66</sup>. In Safa’s *Fatih-Harbiye*, *Galata Köprüsü* (Galata Bridge) symbolizes this cultural split, whereas in Tuğcu *Boğaziçi Köprüsü* (Bosphorus Bridge)<sup>67</sup>. The dwellers of Üsküdar still live in their wooden houses and continue their lives still with “old” habits and customs. While the adults visit their neighbors in religious holidays (bayram), their offspring gather candy and money. On the other hand, most of the dwellers of

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<sup>65</sup> Today, European side of the İstanbul is still regarded as original İstanbul. While the other side of Bosphorus is called Anatolian side, European side is called only İstanbul.

<sup>66</sup> In his *Fatih-Harbiye* (1931), Peyami Safa compares two quarters of İstanbul. In order to go to from Fatih to Harbiye, one has to cross over Galata Bridge. This bridge does not only separate neighborhoods but also cultures.

<sup>67</sup> Üsküdar is on the Anatolian side of İstanbul; Nişantaşı and Şişli are on the European side of it. Today Şişli and Nişantaşı are center of shopping and Nişantaşı is one of the famous places for nightlife. Nişantaşı is still regarded as quarter of İstanbul in which mostly the rich live, shop and have fun.



Niřantařı and řiřli disregard their customs and traditions. For them, religious holidays mean vacations that they can relax at home or go on a trip. Not only the rich of the Niřantařı and the řiřli, but also the tradesmen and garbage men working in these neighborhoods disregard their traditions. They are surprised when a child who has recently moved to Niřantařı from Üsküdar celebrates their religious holiday and they express their opinion by saying, “it seems that you are new here” (*Hayırlı Evlat*, 19). According to Tuęcu, the wealth is the main reason for disappearance of traditions and customs. A conversation that is held between a child and her mother exemplifies this well. When the little girl asks her mother whether it is possible to buy pine tree or not in Christmas, woman tells her that in Turkish traditions and customs pine tree has not a place. For her, the rich buy pine tree because they only think to have fun. She emphasizes on the necessity of dressing up with care in religious and national holidays of Turkish society (*Yetimler Güzeli*, 14). In *Fatih-Harbiye*, the main character Neriman, in Tuęcu’s novels the rich dwellers of the Niřantařı display some attitudes indicating the denial of the past.

Tuęcu also talks about the differentiation between the urban and the rural area. He describes rural as an area that is deprived of all the requisites of the “civilized” life as the following conversation between a boy who has to migrate from urban to rural and an urban dweller girl expresses:

- (The Boy) All I have is this house, five-ten animals and a piece of land. Could you call this an effort to develop?
- (The Girl) What is there in the village as a sign of civilization? Others live in adobe houses and cook on stoves of burnt logs. You bought a bottled gas, had a cooker and also you are living in a house that can be called modern<sup>68</sup> (*Büyüklerin Günahı*, 76).

While representing village as a “deprived” region, Tuęcu describes rural dwellers as if all of them are poor. Rural poverty refers to “deficiencies” of the village and also “ignorance”, “dirtiness” and “unhealthiness” of villagers rather than an economic situation. Thus, in Tuęcu’s novels, there are not rich or poor dwellers. All the dwellers are described as poor due to being villagers. The words of Yakup

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<sup>68</sup> “-Benim nem varsa řu ev, beř on hayvan ve baę bahçeden ibaret. Siz buna kalkınma gayreti diyebilir misiniz?

-Köyde medeniyet alameti olarak ne var?, Dięerleri kerpiç evlerde iki odunu çatarak ocakta yemek piřirmiyorlar mı? Siz tüp gaz almıřsınız, güzel ocađınız, modern denilecek eviniz var”.

Kadri represent Tuğcu's notion about the village and its dwellers in a sense. Yakup Kadri says "Nobody even the angels cannot save you because we have to save you from yourself firstly" by referring to villager (as cited in Buğra, 2003/2004: 90). Yakup Kadri does not get angry with villagers but feel uncomfortable due to their presence (Buğra, 2003/2004: 90). Even though he sublimates some of their characteristics, Tuğcu generally feels uncomfortable with conditions of the villages and the villagers similar to Yakup Kadri since as the urban dweller man says that they are too "lazy" to expect everything from God:

I feel pity for the villagers and also I am angry with them. They have a habit of expecting everything from God. Unless it rains, there will not be crops. If they have an opportunity to irrigate the crop, either they are too lazy to irrigate it or they say that they must not interfere in God's job. Their habits of waiting for the rain makes them expect everything from others. They do not like changes and also transformations<sup>69</sup> (*Baba Evi*, 78).

While stressing that the village has to be improved to save it from itself and from its "lazy" dwellers, Tuğcu implies that the village always stays as "lacked" and "deprived" with its one side since provision of the opportunities, comforts and technology that the urban areas have is not easy. In addition, even if it is provided with "modern" roads or schools and even if its dwellers are taught to dress like urban dwellers, the village cannot be saved as a whole due to mentality of its dwellers who are "antipathetic" towards changes as an urban dweller man says:

If we try to establish a village, we want to protect ourselves from avalanche, torrent and winter. The village should have road, water and coppice. There is not any village in which all these are available. Furthermore, the rich villages do not maintain their conditions for a long time. When you teach them to read, they become shrewd and migrate from rural to urban due to desire for living in a civilized space. When you let them live as ignorant persons, in this case they become indolent and lazy<sup>70</sup> (*Baba Evi*, 18).

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<sup>69</sup> "Bu köylü kısmına hem acıyorum, hem kızıyorum diyordu. Oturup herşeyi Allahtan beklemeğe alışmışlardır. Yağmur yağmazsa ekin olmaz. Ekini sulama imkânı elinde olsa ya üşenir de bunu yapmaz, ya da Allahın işine karışılmayacağını söyler. Yağmur bekleme onları herşeyi bir başkasından beklemeğe alıştırmıştır. Değişikliği ve değiştirmeyi hiç sevmezler".

<sup>70</sup> "Biz köy kurmağa kalksak çığdan korunmak, selden korunmak, kıştan korunmak isteriz. Yolu olacak, akar suyu olacak, ağaçlığı olacak. Köylere bakıyorum. Bütün bunların bir araya geldiği köy

The urban dwellers think that it is not easy to change villagers but sometimes with implicit or explicit attempts, they seek to transform village and its dwellers. To illustrate, it is done implicitly when an urban dweller man tries to convince villager men to let their wives attend a reading course by telling them that their wives can also read Koran after learning to read<sup>71</sup> (*Köyden Gelen Kız*, 45). It is done explicitly with an urban dweller's attempt to change villager women's appearance directly.

Representations imply that as if Tuğcu identifies the rural area with the East in terms of its description as "lazy", "ignorant" and "antipathetic" towards the changes whereas the urban area that refers to İstanbul, similar to most of the conservative novels, (Türkeş, 2003: 592) with the West with regard to its "comforts" and "opportunities" signifying "modern" life. Nonetheless, Tuğcu promotes a middle way between these two. What Tuğcu presents as an "ideal" order can symbolically be explained with his representation of the dead-end streets of İstanbul with its apartments and villas standing very closely to each other, whose dwellers are still greeted, which is independent from complexities and "corruptions" of the city life but also it can benefit from its possibilities.

#### 4.3.2 Nationality, Religion and Manners

Religion and nationalism are not among the issues that Tuğcu often talks about in his novels. Yet, he sometimes emphasizes that manner and nationality are different issues and they should not be confused<sup>72</sup> (*Çıkmaz Sokak*, 62). Tuğcu does not talk about Turkish Republic explicitly either. Despite the fact that he was a child of an officer father and he wrote for children, he does not cite the name Mustafa Kemal or Atatürk in his novels even when he talks about officers and national

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yok. Bir zaman şenlikli olan zengin olan köyler bile hayatlarını sürdürememişler. Okuma yazma öğretirsiniz, gözü açılır, uygarlığı arayıp şehre kaçar, cahil bırakırsınız miskin ve uyuşuk olur".

<sup>71</sup> "Sizin karılarınız insan değil mi? Nedir bu kadınların sizden çektiği? Hepiniz kahvede onlar tarlada" der arkasından ağır konuştuğunu anlayıp "Müslümanlık yalnız sizlere mi? Benim eşim onlara kuran okumasını öğretiyorsa günaha mı giriyor? köyde kaç kadın var ki ölüm döşeginde kocasının başında kuran okusun" der. Muhtar "hanımın kuran öğrettiğini ne bilelim diyince öğretmen "okuma yazmasını öğretse ne çıkar?".

<sup>72</sup> "Terbiye başka, milliyet başka şey".

holidays. In addition, he mentions religious holidays more than national festivals. He establishes the connection between the homeland and the loyalty to it especially with the sublimated “glorious”, “respectful” and “honest” officers of the army. In most of his novels, it is possible to encounter with a character that is related with army. He sublimates a poor child’s attitude, who buys a flag with his last money or the mentality of a poor child who would like to starve rather than work for the European employing Turkish people in the name of their country (*Altın Bilezik*, 32).

In his novels, though Tuğcu rarely talks about religious beliefs or its obligations, he sometimes mentions religious holidays and describes being a “good” Muslim as being honest, trustworthy and good. Being Muslim and Turk is used together, if they are mentioned explicitly as the man says while talking about a child’s nationality: “you are a Muslim Turk” (*Küçük Göçmen*, 39).

Tuğcu does not usually talk about lifestyle, manners and elements that he regards as over-westernized in an explicit way. The “tragic” consequences of wrong/excessive Westernization are mentioned especially through the “degenerated” lives of the rich people. To illustrate, not the attempts of the rich to learn French but their attempts to adopt a westernized life style is presented as a trouble. Tuğcu criticizes such people living according to western manners by saying that “the family makes *valet de chamber* and *femme de chamber* work in their houses” (*Şımarık Kız*, 40) similar to Recaizade Ekrem does in his *Araba Sevdası* (The Carriage Affair). In his book, Recaizade Ekrem criticizes Bihruz Bey who idolizes the Western manners as follows: “In his house there is private *salle a manger*, French professor and Greek *valet de chambre* that let him know that the meal is ready by calling him by saying ‘*Monsieur est servi*’” (as cited in Mardin, 2006: 36). Bihruz Bey is “estranged from traditional Ottoman values, has an unconditional admiration of Western culture and is easily carried away by the consumption regime accompanying modernization” (Gürbilek, 2003: 608). To Mardin, the abundance of dandies like Bihruz Bey in Tanzimat novels as a response to the shock westernization becomes instrumental in terms of being the device of social control (Mardin, 2006: 43). Tuğcu’s reaction to over-westernization is not sharp and clearly noticed as in the case of the Tanzimat novels. Nevertheless, he sometimes expresses his reaction against westernized way of life through the rich characters in terms of their consumption patterns and manners. For instance, he criticizes the man’s understanding of being Turk, who

marries a French woman with desire to imitate European-style life (*Çıkılmaz Sokak*, 49). He underlines the difference between the modernization and over-westernization by saying, “the most important thing is the coming back to Turkey as only civilized”, “as learned merely speaking French without resembling to the coquette women of that country” (*Küçük Hanım*, 42) and without being “corrupted” because “European customs also involve immoralities”<sup>73</sup> (*Kırk Ev Kedisi*, 69). Tuğcu’s concern is with the imported attitudes, manners, morality and behaviors that he accepts as inappropriate for the culture of Turkish society rather than indicators of being successfully modernized such as technological products that are imported from the West or its language.

### 4.3.3 Construction of the “Modern” Turkish Family

Tuğcu can be called supporter of Kemalist reforms that “aimed not to liberate women but to provide them with education opportunities that make them good mothers and wives (Arat, 1998: 52). Tuğcu was writer of periodical *Ev-İş*, which was released with a foreword in its first issue underlining that the “obvious basis of the revolutions, Turkish republic and Turkish community is the house and it continues to be the house” (Demiray, 1937: 8). In the house, the main duty is allocated to the women who must live for the sake of others, for their husbands’ and children’s well being. Tuğcu also accepts house as the basis of society and maternity as the primary duty and the virtue of the woman. Despite the “representation of disintegration of the family through woman in conservative novels” (Türkeş, 2003: 592), in Tuğcu’s novels, the ways of removal the risk of breakdown of the family unit are shown by moral principles and manners taught to the candidates of mother and wife by parents and other social agents. The adults who are “vulnerable” to poverty start to behave as “adults” and feel responsible for their offspring when the issue is morality.

Ayşe Durakbaşa argues that women who were subjected to Kemalist socialization had to develop an individual understanding of morality. This new morality is based on a puritan understanding of morality. With this, control of sexuality of both women and the men was taken into consideration. Women have been regarded as responsible for controlling their own sexuality and for educating

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<sup>73</sup> “Frenk adetleri biraz da ahlaksızlık”.

men about this (Durakbaşı, 1998: 46). In Tuğcu's texts, this understanding of morality is expressed through representations of girl. Not the boys but the girls are accepted as responsible for controlling their sexuality since as a woman says: "Girls should protect their bodies as they are. Yet for boys there is not such a concern, because it is so difficult to control their bodies"<sup>74</sup> (*Kız Evlat*, 50). The girl who realizes that she is not a male behaves carefully to protect the dignity of her family (*Küçük Bey*, 29). The girl who regards couples walking on the streets by hugging and touching each other as "immoral" thinks "such behaviors are inappropriate for the society in which she lives"<sup>75</sup> (*Babasızlar*, 66). Also, a boy avoiding being seen together with his female friend in public space is equally respected in the society with the girl refusing to go to her male friend's house to study. Since, it is thought that grownup boys who know that girls tend to make mistakes must pay attentions to their behaviors (*Şeytan Çocuk*). If the girls or the boys are unaware of the consequences of their behaviors, adults directly interfere. For instance, if the girl's breasts wave while jumping rope, an adult who sees that a stranger comes to the street of the neighborhood warns her by saying that "you should rest for a short while" (*Çıkmaz Sokak*, 26). Surveillance of their behaviors is done by dwellers of the neighborhood together with parents. The *gaze* of the dwellers takes the place of that of the "fathers" when they are absent. Since morality of the girls/women mean that of the neighborhood and the society in turn. In these novels, it is implied that the girls who adopt the understanding of morality of the society embodies "modern", "self-sacrificing" wives and mothers of the future, not the "consumer", "coquette" and "lazy" "European-style" women occupying themselves with manicure, pedicure, reading fashion magazines, gambling and drinking instead of cooking or cleaning their houses (*İnci'nin Kısmeti*, 20) and the "vulgar", "ignorant" rural-dweller woman. In these novels, main duty of the women is defined in the house. Yet, participation of women in social life with some professions like as teachers or doctors that stand as "continuation of their maternity roles" is advocated (Göle, 1998: 97). This indicates two things in Tuğcu. Firstly, profession of the woman is accepted as a weapon that

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<sup>74</sup> "Kızlar vücutlarını olduğu gibi örülenmeden muhafaza zorundadırlar. Ama oğlanlarda böyle bir tasa yoktur. Onları kontrol çok güçtür".

<sup>75</sup> "Ama bence böyle dolaşmak hiç de iyi değil. bu hâl bir hayvanlaşmak olmuyor mu? İnsanları birbirine bağlayan tertemiz, sevgi, insanın içinde değil midir? Sonar bizim toplumumuz muhakkak ki böyle sokak ortasında sevgi gösterileri yapılmasını uygun bulmaz"

can be used when it is necessary (*Kız Evlat*, 58). The other point is that Tuğcu implies that teachers and doctors are key figures standing at the center of modernization of the rural areas.

Kemalizm accepts Anatolian woman both as “savior” and “needing to be saved”. She saves reforms of Republic from being degenerated and the reforms save her from fanaticism of Islam (Göle, 1998: 91). In Tuğcu’s novels Anatolian women are not talked about. All the women living outside İstanbul are described as if they are villager. In addition, it seems that Tuğcu does not believe in villager women’s potentials in any field. It is implied that despite their disinclination to change, the appearances of some of them may be changed to some degree by attempts of urban dweller woman who can be example to them by wearing trousers, skirts and nylon socks reflecting their “urban style” as the following expressions exemplifies:

Güllü lost weight. She is only 30 years old but she seems older. She has a wrinkled face. Her hands and feet have been deformed. But when she has begun to work in the house, the dark color of her skin has turned into white and the thick skin covering her hands and feet has disappeared. Mr. Kenan makes Güllü wash her hands and feet frequently and says, “Güllü does not walk as if you are walking in the field. In your each step, your slipper takes off”. The woman did not wear baggy trousers (şalvar) and colored cotton kerchief (yemeni) any more instead she wears skirt, headscarf, sock and slipper<sup>76</sup> (*Baba Evi*, 58).

Look at this woman. She looks like urban dwellers. Only her headscarf is extra. Most of them make their hair cut by using their falling hair as an excuse. Do you notice? You are a good example to them<sup>77</sup> (*Baba Evi*, 78).

Similar to Tuğcu’s urban dwellers, most of the rich characters of Yeşilçam melodramas describe villager woman as “vulgar” and “ignorant”. Changing the physical appearance and manners of her to create a “modern”, “polite” urban dweller

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<sup>76</sup> “Güllü de hayli incelmşti. Ancak otuz yaşında vardı ama ona bakanlar orta yaşlı derlerdi. Yüzü hayli buruşmuş, el ayak şeklini kaybetmişti. Ama şu son bir yıl, ev içinde çalıştığı için rengi ağarmış, sanki ellerini, ayaklarını saran kalın deri yer yer dökülmüştü. Kenan bey ona durmadan el ve ayak yıkatar: “Güllü tarlada yürür gibi yürüme. Her adımda ayağındaki terlikler fırlıyor diyordu. Artık kadının arkasında o şalvar yoktu. Başında kat kat yemeni, çember başlık yoktu. Saçını, başını topluyor, bir baş örtüsü ile kapaniyordu. Ayağında da etek vardı. Çorap ve terlik kullanmağa başlamıştı”.

<sup>77</sup> “Şuna bak, bir şehirliden farkı var mı? Bir baş örtüsü fazla. Çoğu saçının döküldüğünü bahane ederek saçlarını da kestiriyor. Dikkat ediyor musun? Bazısı saçlarını ensesinden tepesine doğru bir kurdele ile bağlıyorlar. Eee, ortada örnek olarak sen varsın”.

woman has become one of the constant formulas of Yeşilçam. In the film *Analar Ölmez*, Sezer attempts to do this also. While training her mother, he rebukes her by saying, “I understand, you came from a village, you are vulgar, ignorant and impolite but please try to change”. In addition, in Ülkü Erakalın’s film *İki Yetime*, the rich dandy people make fun of a girl coming from a rural area by saying, “look at her hands, they are as big as a shoe. She has very big feet. She is vulgar. It seems that she comes from outside”. Villager women are usually represented with their features that must change. In these texts, it is stressed that these women should look “modern”, be adapted to so-called “civilized” city life but they do this according to the Turkish manners not to westernized life style and its consumption habits. They should wear skirt, nylon sock even in the village; get free from their headscarf, baggy trousers (şalvar) but they should not disregard social and moral rules. For instance, if the woman colors her hair by herself, this is not presented as a problem. But if she goes to coiffeur for this, her act will indicate that she does not behave in accordance with her main responsibility that is being a good mother and a wife (*Mercan Kolye*).

Tuğcu is a writer aiming at teaching everything that he regards as necessary to children. In his opinion, it becomes too late to learn the gender roles at adulthood. The heroes/heroines of these novels are grownup children who have to be cognizant of most of the secrets of adults. What those children are not supposed to learn by themselves is socially constructed differentiation between man and woman. When adults teach this to them, they feel an obligatory detachment from the last field in which they can behave as children. With this, they do not learn their differences from the adults but learn how to behave in accordance with their social gender roles.

In this chapter, I have tried to discuss representation of childhood, adulthood, orphanhood, richness and urban poverty and also the conservative themes. I have tried to focus on how the child and the adult, the rich and the poor and the urban dweller and the rural dweller encounter with each other and how they interpret the relationship that they establish with each other. As it has been argued, orphanhood refers to a spiritual state signifying loss of feeling of security, affection, support and also a state that brings feeling of loneliness, being forlorn, “homelessness” and exclusion together. It is also the main reason of poverty. With orphanhood and poverty, all the established and determined relationships between the children and



the adults and between the dwellers of the same neighborhood change. Children take the responsibilities of the adults and the dwellers of the same district begin to be differentiated from each other as being poor and rich.

It can be said that Tuğcu was an advocate of conservative modernization project and this is mainly noticed through the representations of the urban and the rural area and their dwellers. He explicitly expresses that he is not comfortable with the existence of villages and also with their present conditions. Though, he stresses the necessity of their change, it seems that he does not believe that this can be attainable. Tuğcu is a modernist and secular conservative. But, he does not imply that classes are “functional constituents of modern society” and “classes, conflicts and tensions are natural sociological realities that emerged from new divisions of labor in modern society” as republican conservatives claim (İrem, 2002: 106). On the other hand, he does not see society as a homogeneous entity either. His novels represent upper and lower class with its own terms and through values and meanings that are attributed to them. In these texts, social conflicts between the rich and the poor is not shaped in the form of class struggle and represented as if they are not lived at societal level. Thus, at this point poverty refers to only an economic situation that is dealt with individually. Yet, the ocularcentric and touching based and determined social relationships, rich people’s fear of contamination, the poor people’s attempts to protect their dignity and the social hierarchies reflecting the conflicts between the rich and the poor show that poverty is not reduced to individual level. These texts mainly address middle-class model of life from the gaze of the poor though the values that are attributed to the lower class and poverty are sublimated. Since most of them are not born as poor but they get poor. They know what the “wealth” means. Hence their upward social mobility does not indicate a movement to a better position but it refers to a re-shift to their former position. When they become successful, they do not join the world of the rich but they succeed in re-joining their own world that they have to live outside it for a while.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have tried to carry out a study of Kemalettin Tuğcu's novels for children in an attempt to analyze their narrative structure. My main focus has been the representation of orphanhood and poverty as moral-spiritual states and not simply a material-economic situation. In this study I have also tried to discuss the conservative elements in these texts though it seems that it is not among the writer's main contribution. Since, as Gramsci says, "although the author's explicit aims must be considered when judging his work, this does not mean that therefore some other contribution of the author should be omitted or disregarded or depreciated, even if it is in opposition to the ostensible aim" (Gramsci, 1985: 134). To understand how childhood, adulthood, orphanhood, richness and poverty are represented, I have tried to "relate the experience of the imaginary characters to the specific historical climate from which they stem" and "to transform the private equation of themes and stylistic means into social equations" (Lowenthal, 1961: 144).

Children's literature is generally defined as a field that is controlled by adults. It comprises both those books which are written by adults and examined as appropriate for children by adults. It generally assumes that children need to be taught all they need to know such as morals, manners or cultural norms concerning gender roles. Despite the diversity in it, Turkish children's literature in general is no exception to this. Most of the Turkish children's books are composed of ideal value system. This didactic and moralist tone in children's literature has often been explained in terms of social engineering by modernizing elites. Like other cultural items, literary works have also been submitted to a kind of social engineering with the aim of using them as tools of educating Turkish people and establishing a homogenous culture. The other motive that lies behind this didactic and moralist tone can be explained with dominant perception of child and childhood. The child is generally seen as someone who needs to be educated and literature is accepted as one of the appropriate tools for educating children and upholding adult values.

Nonetheless, it can be claimed that Tuğcu's novels differ from most of the books for children at this point despite their didactic and moralist tone. It seems that Tuğcu did not write with the assumption that children's thinking is simple in nature. He did not have a formal education thus didacticism was not reflected to his novels "sharply" as is often the case in most of other authors' novels. His novels center more on children themselves, their emotions, fears etc. Most importantly, he talks about feelings, thoughts, attitudes, sometimes that may "bite", unlike most of the authors who do not include "unpleasant" feelings or thoughts in their novels by regarding them as inappropriate for children. To illustrate, Tuğcu uses dialogues calling a disabled child "ugly" or describes a villager child as "infested with lice". This is one of the reasons why some critics regard his novels as "harmful" for children. But this style that has been discussed and criticized widely even today has become one of his distinguishing features and one of the main motives that lie behind success of his novels.

Tuğcu always tells simple and evident stories with predictable storylines and end. The main story is about the struggle of the orphan child against poverty and his/her relationship with the adults and the rich. At the end of the story, he/she succeeds in escaping poverty and making up losses. The disintegrated family unit is re-established but not at the same way with the former one. At this point Tuğcu's texts differ from Yeşilçam melodramas starring child actor/actress. Orphanhood is a temporary state in these films unlike most of Tuğcu's novels. The plot of these films is usually about the child's attempts to re-unite his/her family rather than establish an entirely a new order. He/she takes the responsibility of his/her family only for a short period. The main character of these novels and the films is always a child who is mostly a poor orphan boy. He/she is described by positive terms such as "goodness", "honesty", "honor", "dignity" and "maturity". But, this poor orphan child is especially noticed by being "savior" of the "sick", "dependent" and "weak" adults. They save the present time not the future. The representation of the poor children as "savior" and the poor adults as "vulnerable", "dependent" or "sick" people together with the humane and moral values is one of the main constant formulas of Tuğcu's books and also Yeşilçam melodramas starring child actor/actress. The nature of the relationship that is established between the adults and the children is what makes children feel as orphaned despite the existence of the parents. While the children act

and talk like grownups, adults “trapped” in children's bodies. Orphanhood and poverty accompanying it make them “powerful” rather than “vulnerable”. Nurdan Gürbilek explains the abundance of this savior child image in popular items with Turkish people’s attempt to transform its “immature society” image reflected in the mirror of the West into a loveable one (Gürbilek, 2001: 42). Though, it is undeniable that there are various dynamics that lie behind their repetition in different cultures, it can be said that it is mainly related with the perception of the children and childhood. Turkish people have usually been sensitive about children especially orphan children. When they see a child who is homeless or who has no one, they feel sympathy and empathize with them. Thus, when then they meet with the “savior” child image, they feel relieved even if it comes true through representations. This is the main motive that made Turkish people embrace this image.

While describing orphan poor children as “savior” and representing with humane values that are attributed to them, Tuğcu portrays the rich children and also most of the rich by negative terms such as “selfishness”, “mercilessness”, “disrespectfulness” and “rudeness”. He presents them as the “evil” characters of these novels not because they commit crime or blackmail but because they are lack of humane and moral values. In these texts, the rich and the poor are mainly differentiated in terms of the characteristics and the values that are attributed to them. Nonetheless, they live in physical proximity to each other in contrast to the reality of the today. Poverty that is mostly experienced due to the orphanhood does not make all the poor have to live on the periphery of the city in shantytowns yet. The houses of the poor are very close to that of the rich. Furthermore, they have to work for the rich to earn a living. Therefore, it is not possible for the poor to avoid establishing a relationship with the rich and seeing how they live, what they eat or wear. While encountering with the rich, their poverty is also seen by them. They do not want to be confronted with their *gaze* not because of feeling of shame for their poverty but to protect their dignity since they know that in rich people’s imagination, they are “impolite”, “opportunistic”, “dirty” people and smelling “garlic” and “sweat”. They do not want to be assisted by the rich either since for them, the meaning of being called “poor” by being assisted is that they are the “weak”, “desperate” people who consent to everything even if it is directed to their dignity and honor. The rich do not want to encounter and also establish any kind of relationship with the poor either.

While identifying themselves with “hygiene”, they stigmatize the poor as “dirty” and “stinking”. They use stigma as a device for maintaining the social distance and hierarchies between themselves and the poor. Therefore, while the lives, eyes and the bodies of the rich and the poor are inevitably confronted with each other, social hierarchy that is determined through ocularcentric and smelling, touching based relationship contributes the maintenance of the cultural and social distance. This is what makes poverty apparent as a moral-spiritual state.

In this thesis, I have also discussed conservative themes in these texts. It seems that Tuğcu is a “supporter of formal principles of the Kemalist Republic” like republican conservatives (İrem, 2002: 88) and an advocate of modernization in the sense of it means “an instrument of mobilizing the masses under his own limited and rather conservative modernization project” (Gürbilek, 2003: 611). The conservative elements are noticed especially in representation of urban/rural area and their dwellers. Rural area and its dwellers are usually described from the eyes of the urban dwellers. Rural area is generally portrayed as a “deprived” region. To imply that rural area cannot be improved easily, Tuğcu usually compares it with İstanbul and its deprivations with İstanbul’s “comforts” and “possibilities”. It seems that he does not believe in aspiration of the villagers to change and he expresses his thoughts by describing them as “vulgar”, “ignorant”, “lazy” and “antipathetic” towards changes. On the other hand, urban is presented as the area in which requisites of “modern” life are available. Nevertheless, Tuğcu underlines the limits of this modern life. Aynur İlyasoğlu says, “the “necessary and sufficient” dose of the modernization has usually been determined through women and religion by elites” (as cited in Durakbaşa, 1998: 30). In Tuğcu’s texts, the limit and the dose of the modernization are also shown by women representations. He implies that “ideal” Turkish woman is represented by “modern” woman who acts in accordance with her gender roles not by the traditional “vulgar”, “ignorant” rural dweller woman and by the “degenerated” rich woman. To portray “ideal” Turkish woman, Tuğcu uses representations of the girls as being different from conservative novels. Since for him, girls as being mothers and wives of the future should learn their gender roles at childhood. They should look “good”, be responsible for controlling their sexuality, educate themselves, participate in social life and they do these for their duties defined in the house not for themselves. That is to say that these are needed for education of their children and also for their

husbands' well being. In his novels, Tuğcu also explicitly talks about over-westernization of the rich. His main criticism of over westernization focuses on the behavior, entertainment activities, dressing codes and consumption patterns with regard to "degeneration" and to the disappearance of traditions. In his opinion, what is imported from the West is determined and limited. He is not supporter of nostalgia but he believes the necessity of maintenance of the some values, customs, social conducts that should not change with time.

Tuğcu's novels dominated children's literature in the 1960s and the 1970s. They have significance not only owing to their popularity but also due to their indication of "mass of feelings and conceptions of the world predominant among the 'silent' majority" (Gramsci, 1985: 348). While talking about commercial literature, Gramsci uses the term "interesting" that he defines as an "element of culture" (Gramsci, 1985: 347). By this term, he means that the "interesting" elements that "vary according to times, the cultural climate and personal idiosyncrasies" contribute to the success of work of art and even to commercial culture" (Gramsci, 1985: 347). Thus, it can be said that Tuğcu's novels and Yeşilçam melodramas starring child actor/actress owed their success and popularity mainly to their narrative about "interesting" topics of that period which were orphanhood, poverty, richness and urban/rural dichotomy. Therefore, their representations can give us clues about the "mass of feelings and conceptions of the world" in the 1960s and the 1970s. Tuğcu establishes a symbolic world that provides us with an opportunity to hear the voices of the orphan, the poor, the rural dweller, the cleaner woman, the doorkeeper, the homeless child etc. i.e. the voice of who are "silent". When the poor and the rich encounter with each other, the feeling of exclusion of the poor is heard. When the urban dweller and the rural dweller are confronted with each other, the low voice of the rural dweller stigmatized as "vulgar" and "ignorant" is heard. What injure them are not only the stigmatization of the rich or the urban dweller but also the "truth" in what they say because they also regard themselves as "dirty" and "vulgar". They do not want to shake hands with people since they also believe that their hands are "dirty". They also describe themselves as "ignorant" as most of the urban dwellers do because of the belief that this is inevitable since they are born as being offspring of "ignorant" villager parents. Thus, while their attempts are aimed at not to being seen by the people stigmatizing them in order to protect their dignity, they also do

not want to meet with the people evoking their deprivations, pains and injuries that they have already known.

Tuğcu's novels were read in the periods when people have to suffer from broken lives. When the urbanization and industrialization accelerated, the growth in population increased the migration of labor force from urban areas into rural areas, when the cleaner women, shantytowns, street children entered the social life of Turkish society. In this period, hybrid forms such as arabesque music emerged as a "map of meaning" (Özbek, 2003: 41, 111). Tuğcu's novels cannot be considered as a hybrid form but they can be called a "map of meaning" for everyday life of the "silent majority" (Gramsci, 1985: 348). They represented pains, feelings of exclusion of the people and the tensions experienced due to these changes. They also showed that all these stories seem hard to believe but they are not completely impossible. This is their utopian dimension. For Bloch, popular texts, cultural artifacts may contain "visions of freedom and happiness" (Kellner, 2003). Tuğcu's texts also contain some utopian elements not only because they were popular novels but also because of their stories that show similarities with fairytales that have significant place in Bloch's theory of hope. In fairytales, little heroes and the poor folk try to reach the landscape where life is better. They do not wait for this better world and happiness but by contrast they search and also try to get them. In their search for a better world and happiness, these little heroes struggle against the vulgar and the evil. "Courage and cunning are their shield, their spear is reason" (Bloch, 1986: 354). Lenin says that in fairytales there are "revolutionary elements" since "when the peasant is still in bondage, the poor fairytale boy thus won the king's daughter" (as cited in Bloch, 1986: 354). Tuğcu's protagonists like poor boy of the fairytales try to reach a better life. Humane and moral values together with their hope of changing their destiny become their active "weapon". They neither wait to reach this better life nor put themselves in God's hands. They put every opportunity to good use in order to escape poverty. Eventually, they cope with sufferings.

Tuğcu's books were products of the period when poverty was not a "threat" (Gürbilek, 2001: 46) and the poor, street children were not regarded as potential criminals. Today, his books are not read any more. Pain is no more represented by the poor orphan children who find the way to deal with troubles. The story about the children who become successful by using their wisdom is no more "plausible" not

only for the middle class people but also for the poor (Gürbilek, 2001: 46). They have been called “other Turkey’s people” in public discussions (Erdoğan, 2002b: 21) and categorized as so-called *underclass* that is seen as people, who are useless, unwanted and *feared* (Bauman, 1999: 99). As Bauman says, “the poor have always been with us but what being poor means depends on the type of “us” with whom the poor live together” (Bauman, 1999: 9, 10). Thus, the meaning of being poor has changed with changing “us” and the poor homeless child image is being replaced by that of a potential criminal. With changing “us”, children who are the potential audiences of these novels have also changed. Poverty is not a state that is lived closely to them anymore. The city has been decomposed and lower, upper-middle class districts have been differentiated. They do not go to the same schools with children of doorkeeper fathers or cleaner mothers. They do not encounter with the poor “homeless” children. When they meet with them, they are also prone to call them potential criminals like adults. Thus, these novels do not address their way of thinking or perceptions any more.

By depending on the representations of poverty in these novels, it can be concluded that how the poor perceive the rich and the vice versa has not so much changed since the 1960s. Even the interviews that were carried out with the poor-subaltern people can express this. The following expressions of the poor-subaltern people of today seem as met in Tuğcu’s books or/and melodramas. One of the poor-subaltern who is a shepherd, says, “the rich do not think about us. They have nothing to worry about financially” (Erdoğan, 2002b: 26). The twelve years old girl who sells handkerchief on the streets wants to go to the school and to have bicycle like rich children (Erdoğan, 2002d: 298). Sixteen years old poor boy describes the rich as spoiled people (Erdoğan, 2002e: 519) like the poor children of the Tuğcu’s novels. Today, the type of the relationship that is established between the rich and the poor and how they encounter with each other has changed but poverty with regard to its moral-spiritual aspect has not changed even if the poor have been driven “out of sight” (Berman, 1990: 153). Today these novels are not “popular” any more not because poverty is experienced simply and only as a material-economic situation but because it is not among the “interesting” subjects of today’s cultural climate.



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<sup>78</sup> The years given in the first parentheses indicate the first publishing years of the books according to the list of Nemika Tuğcu (Tuğcu, 2004) and the years in the second parentheses refer to the publishing years of the novels that are cited in this study.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

#### LIST OF THE FILMS

##### **Afacan Küçük Serseri (1971)**

Director : Ülkü Erakalın  
Scriptwriter : Bülent Oran  
Cast : Sadri Alışık, Menderes Utku, Bahar Erdeniz

##### **Analar Ölmez (1976)**

Director : Ertem Göreç  
Scriptwriter : Hamdi Değirmencioğlu  
Cast : Serdar Gökhan, Perihan Savaş, Sezer İnanoğlu

##### **Ayşecik (1960)**

Director : Memduh Ün  
Scriptwriter : Hamdi Değirmencioğlu  
Cast : Muhterem Nur, Zeynep Değirmencioğlu, Turgut Özatay, Leyla Sayar, Hulusi Kentmen

##### **Gülşah Küçükkanne (1976)**

Director : Orhan Elmas  
Scriptwriter : Erdoğan Tunaş  
Cast : Gülşah Koçyiğit, Hülya Koçyiğit, Fikret Hakan

##### **Izdırap Çocuğu (1960)**

Director : Behlül Dal  
Scriptwriter : Behlül Dal  
Cast : Uğur Başaran, Salih Tozan, Feridun Han

**İki Yetime (1961)**

Director : Ülkü Erakalın  
Scriptwriter : Ülkü Erakalın  
Cast : Muhterem Nur, Leyla Sayar, Özden Çelik

**Küçük Ev (1977)**

Director : Safa Önal  
Scriptwriter : Safa Önal  
Cast : Necla Nazır, Sezer İnanoğlu, Beyk İmanverdi, Ayşe Öke

**Öksüzler (1973)**

Director : Ertem Göreç  
Scriptwriter : Hamdi Değirmencioğlu, Erdoğan Tunaş  
Cast : Zeynep Değirmencioğlu, Sezer İnanoğlu, Ekrem Bora

**Özleyiş (1973)**

Director : Aram Gülyüz  
Scriptwriter : Hamdi Değirmencioğlu  
Cast : Zeynep Değirmencioğlu, Mesut Engin, Bahar Erdeniz, Ömercik

**Sezercik Aslan Parçası (1972)**

Director : Memduh Ün  
Scriptwriter : Safa Önal  
Cast : Sezer İnanoğlu, Hülya Koçyiğit, Ediz Hun, Nevzat Okçugil

**Sezercik Yavrum Benim (1971)**

Director : Safa Önal  
Scriptwriter : Safa Önal  
Cast : Ayhan Işık, Sezer İnanoğlu, Hülya Koçyiğit, Erol Taş

**Yetimler Ahı (1956)**

Director : Muharrem Gürses

Scriptwriter : Muharrem Gürses

Cast : Turan Seyfiođlu, Muhterem Nur, Üftade Kimi

**Yumurcak Köprü Altı Çocuđu (1970)**

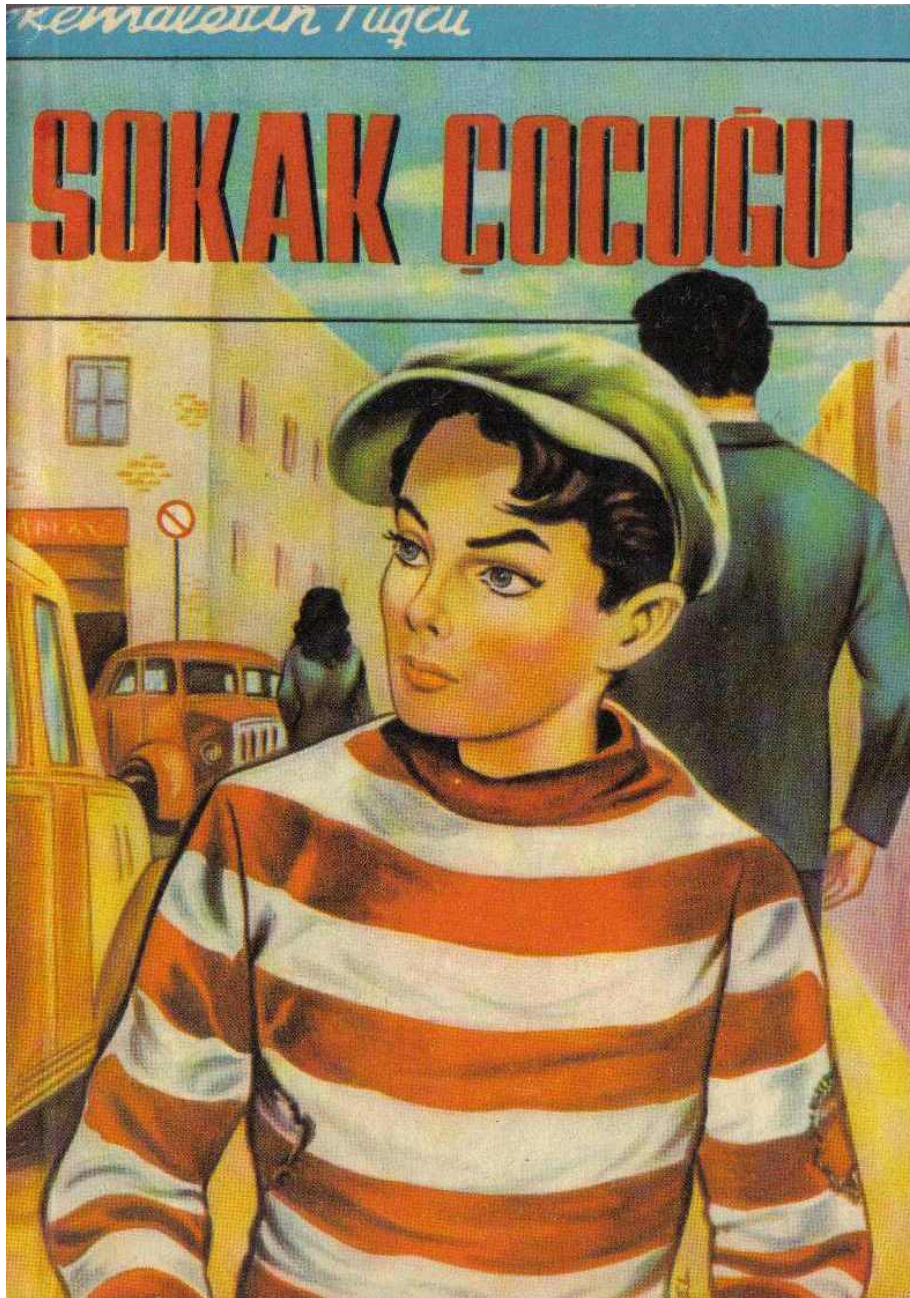
Director : Türker İnanođlu

Scriptwriter : Fuat Özlüer, Erdoğan Tünaş

Cast : Cüneyt Arkın, İlker İnanođlu, Filiz Akın, Kadir Savun

APPENDIX B

SAMPLES FROM COVER ILLUSTRATIONS OF KEMALETTİN TUĞCU'S  
BOOKS



Source: Tuğcu, K. (1969). *Sokak Çocuğu*. İstanbul: İtimat Kitabevi.



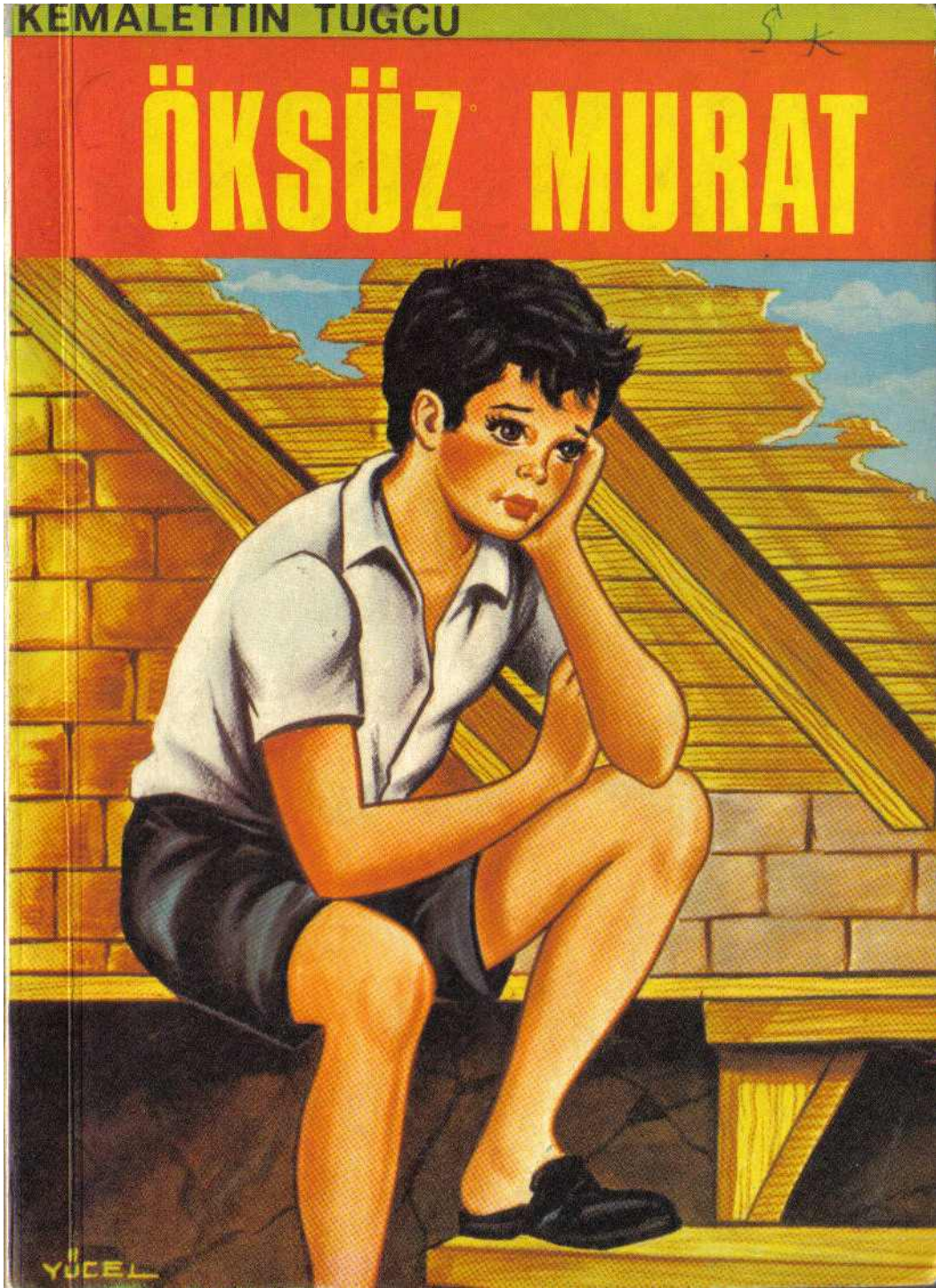
KEMALETTİN TUĞCU

# EKMEK PARASI



Source: Tuğcu, K. (1970). *Ekmek Parası*. İstanbul: İtimat Kitabevi.



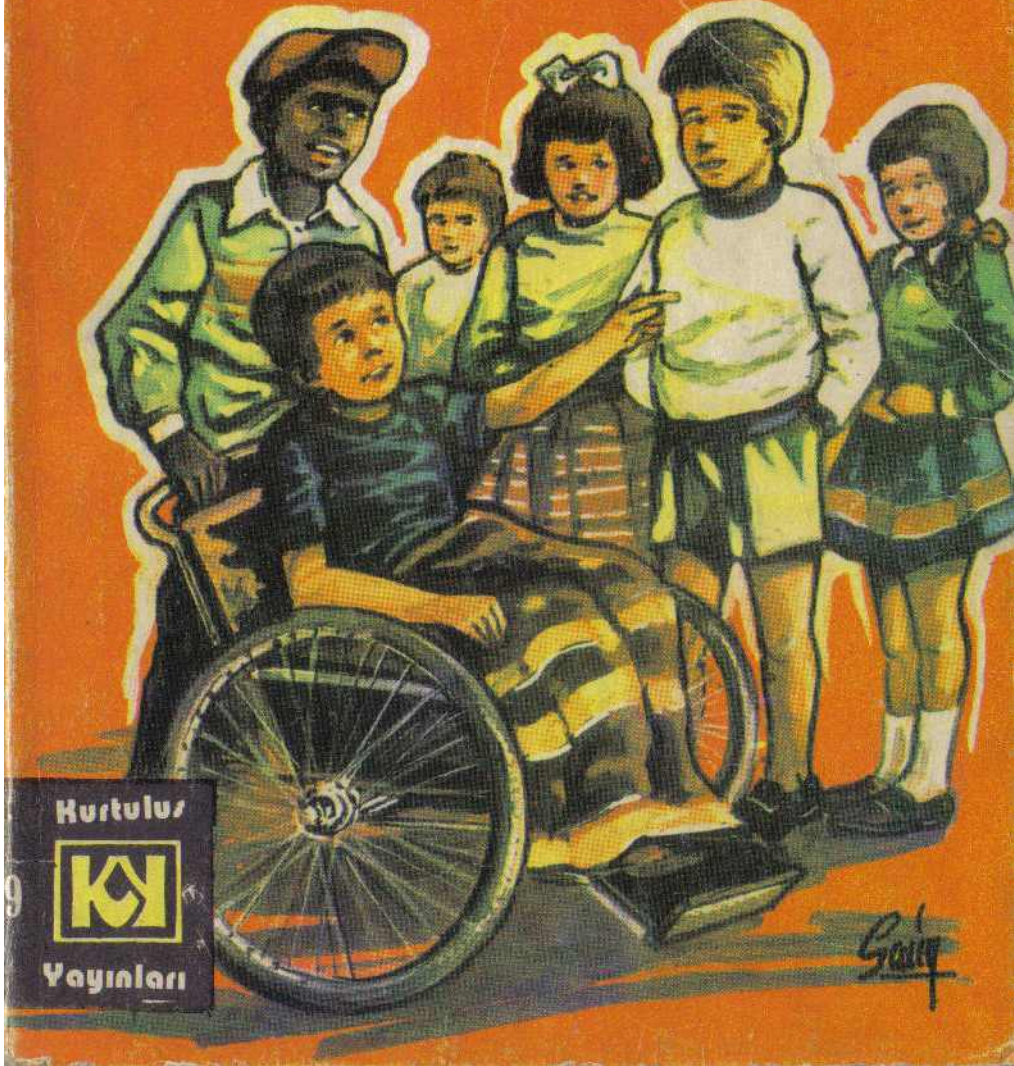


Source: Tuğcu, K. (n.d.). *Öksüz Murat*. İstanbul: İtimat Kitabevi.



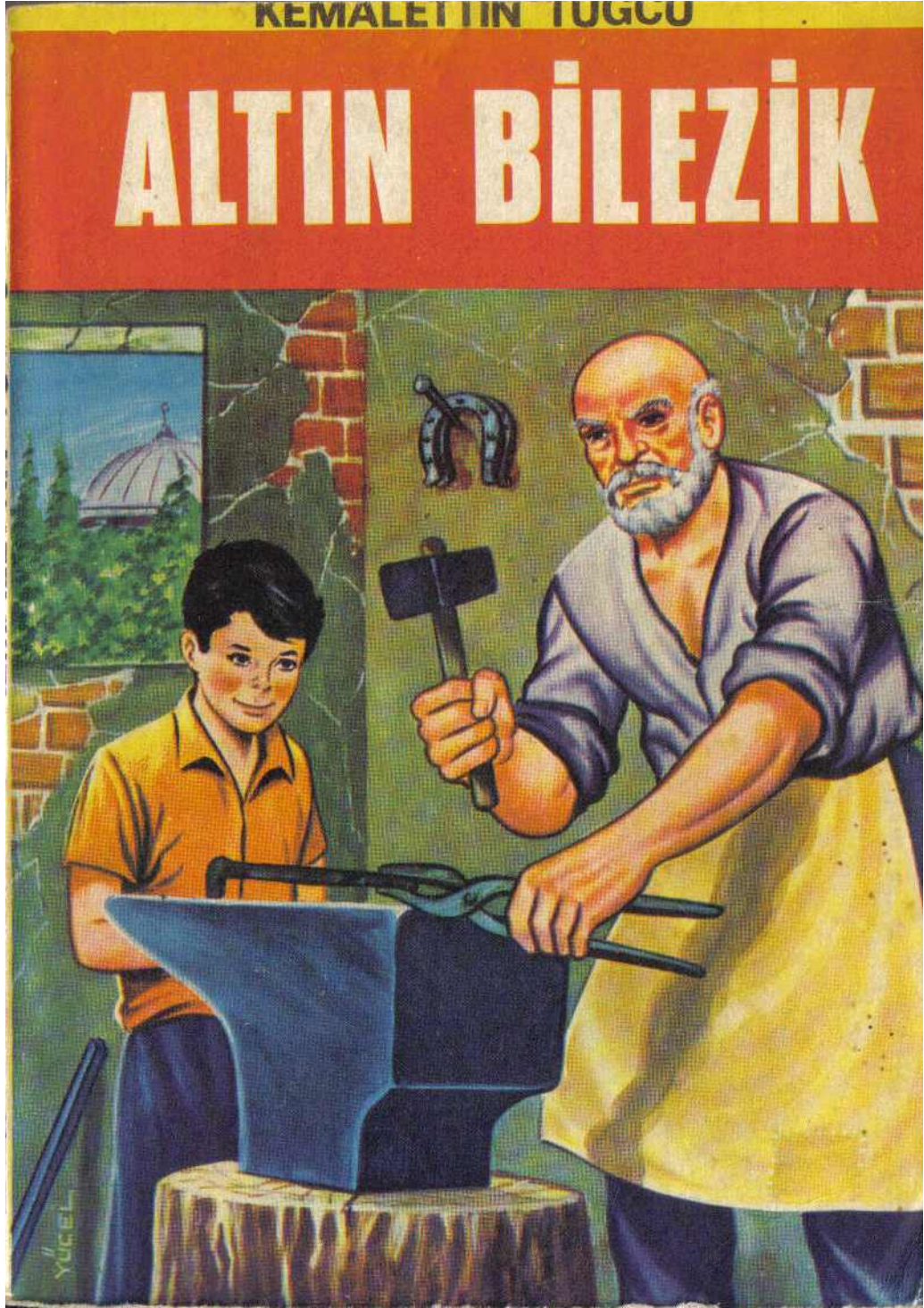
Kemalettin Tuğcu

# KÜSKÜN ÇOCUKLAR

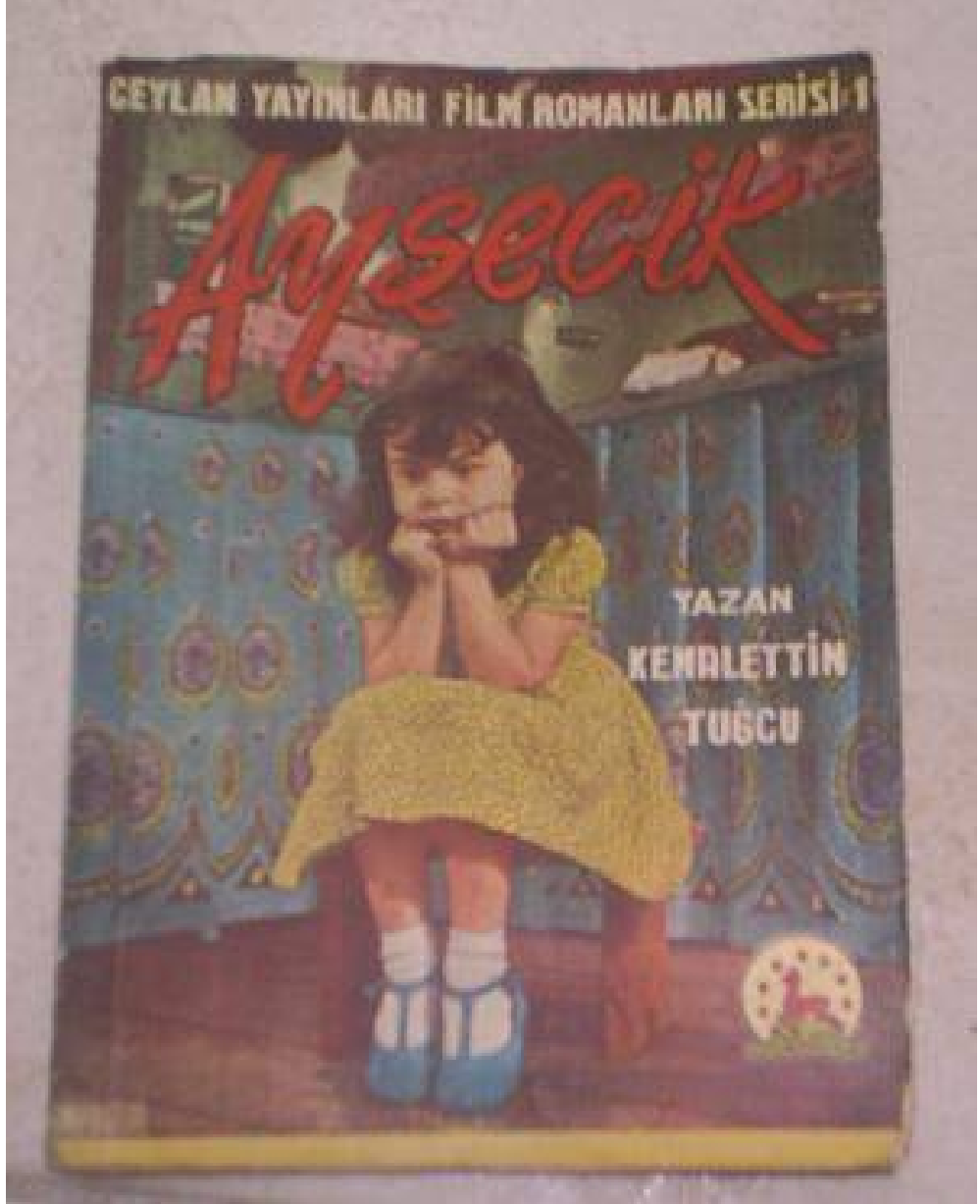


Source: Tuğcu, K. (n. d.). *Küskün Çocuklar*. Ankara: Kurtuluş Yayınları.





Source: Tuğcu, K. (1975). *Altın Bilezik*. İstanbul: İtimat Kitabevi.



Source: Tuğcu, K. (1960). *Aysecik Film Romanları Serisi: 1*. İstanbul: Ceylan Yayınları.



## APPENDIX C

### SAMPLES FROM ILLUSTRATIONS IN KEMALETTİN TUĞCU'S BOOKS



Source: Tuğcu, K. (1969) *Sokak Çocuğu*. İstanbul: İtimat Kitabevi.

Ben kendi boğazımıza bakamıyorum bir de sizi besleyemem, diyor. Nereden iş bulayım?

Küfeci uzun bir ıslık çaldıktan sonra:

— Vay dayı vay dedi. Ortalığın halini bilmiyor mu? Nereci bu adam?



— Çarşıda koca mağazası var. Evin içi tıklım tıklım dolu.

— Hâlâ da yokluktan ağlıyor, desene. Allah kimseyi böylelerinin eline düşürmesin. Ben hep buralarda çalışırım. İki gündür seni görüyorum. Aranıp duruyorsun. Hani elimden gelse yardım ederim ama ben de bu küfe ile dört can bes-





Çocuk kızardı. Tekrar ağlamağa başladı.

Source: Tuğcu, K. (n.d.). *Düşkün Çocuk*. İstanbul: Ceylan Yayınları.



**APPENDIX D**

**CRYING CHILD POSTER**

