

**THE NATIONAL PEDAGOGY OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA
IN TURKEY**

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ABSTRACT

THE NATIONAL PEDAGOGY OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA IN TURKEY

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This dissertation examines the relationship between body, subjectivity and modernity in the making of modern Turkey. It explores how the “disenchanted” world of the people was “re-enchanted” by the modern, Eurocentric, nationalist and republican program of the republican elite. I call this program as the “politico-moral pedagogy” and argue that it arrives at its peak in the 1930s, when the republican regime was consolidated enough to colonize the bodies and the intimacies of people. More particularly, this dissertation studies the republican power at the intersection of the contested domains of the public and the private. It explores how the Kemalist elite, through operating a public, republican discourse, exerted a significant amount of energy and resources at the intimate sphere for creating civilized, healthy and virtuous generations. It traces the genealogy of the “republican morality” as the kernel of the republican “corporeal” and “sentimental” education under the program of the national pedagogy in the constructed and performative domains of the intimate, where people become the pedagogical object to be transformed into “good, strong and healthy” republican citizens.

Keywords: National pedagogy, sentiment, body, intimacy, citizen.

ÖZ

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ TÜRKİYE’SİNDE MİLLİ TERBİYE

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Bu çalışma erken cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye’inde beden, öznellik ve modernlik arasındaki ilişkiyi inceler. Halkın, büyüü bozulmuş dünyasının, Kemalist seçkinlerin modern, Avrupa-merkezci, milliyetçi ve cumhuriyetçi programlarıyla nasıl yeniden büyülenmeye çalışıldığı üzerine yoğunlaşır. Esasen 1930’lu yıllarda, yani cumhuriyet rejiminin bedenlere ve mahremiyetlere nüfuz edebilecek kadar perçinlendiği bir dönemde en üst düzeye çıkmış olan bu program, “cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagoji” ya da kısaca “cumhuriyet moralitesi” olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, “cumhuriyet moralitesinin” soykütüğünün mahrem olanın kurgulanmış ve edimsel alanında izini süren bu çalışma, halkın, erdemli, güçlü ve sağlıklı cumhuriyet vatandaşına dönüştürülürken nasıl da pedagojik bir nesne haline geldiğini, bedenlerin ve hislerin, nasihat ve tenbihlerle nasıl terbiye edildiğini ortaya koyar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milli Terbiye, duygu, beden, mahremiyet, vatandaş.

To IŞIK
with the most passionate maternal love

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Context

When Descartes suggested “I have composed my philosophy in such a way as not to shock anyone, and so that it can be received everywhere, even among the Turks,” in his mind was the possibility of a sort of “personal journey in search for truth,” realized not by “a particular person” (read, a Western man) at a particular time (read, in modern Europe), “but by any thinker who is willing to step into the shoes of the nameless and timeless mediator and reflect philosophically through a voyage of truth discovery.” (Chavez-Arviso 1997, xv). In stating so, Descartes seems to believe in a very unique human thing, the cognitive capacity, or the “rational soul” that exists in all human beings including the Turks. Within his dualistic philosophy the rational soul as the thinking substance is positioned over the corporeal substance, the body. Such positioning, also expressed in the famous philosophic statement, “I think therefore I am” presumably provides human beings with the truth, since for Descartes, it was the resource of genuine knowledge that the human ability to take his/her subjectivity as the object of his/her own study. Here human beings are “constructed as the (a) knowing subject(s) in opposition to or before an ‘object’ that is to be known and controlled.” (Yeğenoğlu 1998, 4).

One would trace the footprints of Cartesian knowing subjects in the mid-19th century Ottoman capital, Istanbul, if one resorts to the testimonials of some European travelers. Visiting Grand Military Hospital in 1841,¹ Charles MacFarlane received an anatomical lecture from a few Muslim Tibbiyeli [medical students] who were opening up a dead body of a black man, without supervision of Doctor Sigmund Spitzer, the Austrian anatomy lecturer at Tibbiye. What made that anatomical scene more curious for MacFarlane is the manner of students: they

¹ It was during Sultan Abdulmecid time that first dissection over the corps of slaves and captives was allowed by an imperial decree for the purpose of education.

were dissecting the body quite mundanely, as if everything was as usual. No fear, no anxiety, no shock. In spite of Descartes' optimism about the rational capacity of any human being, including the Turks for discovering the truth, MacFarlane's pessimism and doubts made him shocked by the dissection and autopsy, with such ruthless assaults on human body in the Ottoman lands, and could not help but remind Tibbiyelis that dissection was contra to the religion. The response he received, "Eh! Sir, perhaps it would not be Galatasaray Medical House to come, for one who searches for religion,"(Berkes 2002, 232) rings an obvious modern secular vocabulary.

Similarly Charles White, another European traveler finds the anatomic voyage of the Muslim students quite problematic in terms of Islam. Neither a Muslim, nor a specialist in Islam, but apparently for being a motivated knowing subject, White cannot help but recount to a hadith of the Prophet Muhammed, stating "Thou shalt not open a dead body, although it may have swallowed the most precious pearl belonging to another."² (Kahya 1979, 757). As Kahya, an expert in history of science, explains, sources of this statement have no trace; they are either true or false, but White cites it to support his conviction about what can be done and cannot be done in the Islamic lands.

A few years later, Henry Christy, another European traveler in the Ottoman lands, jotted down his diary that "all here is very far behind the darkest and hindmost state in Christian Europe except the grand military hospital which is a pattern for any nation." (Ebrehimnejad 2004).

In spite of the shocks experienced by European travelers, dissection of a Muslim body by Muslim students³ was nothing but —to use a Weberian terminology— the "disenchantment" of the Ottoman world and coming out of an unbridgeable gap between science and religion. It was also quite emblematic for marking the modern footsteps of Ottoman subjects, who had been retrieved of the religiously-

² For a comparison, please see Arnold (1993), who reflects on the dissections in India.

³ Kahya argues that that the first dissection was made on a dead Muslim purposively chosen by Talat Pasha (1979, 751).

sanctioned epistemologies of the pre-modern order of things in the Ottoman Empire toward modern temporality and modern order of things. Put it briefly, it marked emerging modern subjects in the Ottoman-Turkish lands.

In this dissertation, I analyze the notion of national pedagogy for exploring in general the relationship between subjectivity, nationality, and modernity, and in particular the ways people are educated as proper Turkish citizens in the making of modern Turkey. I elaborate on how the “disenchanted” world of people was “re-enchanted” by the modern, Eurocentric, nationalist, and republican program of the Kemalist elite. I call this program as “politico-moral pedagogy” and argue that the republican politics in the 1930s is marked by its didactic tone in addressing people. The republican politico-moral pedagogy, or to which I refer concisely as “republican morality,” is not confined to the public sphere and the public institutions, and especially not to the public schools, to the school curriculum and to the textbooks. On the contrary, thanks to this politico-moral pedagogy, the republican regime had a niche to infiltrate into intimacies of people and colonize the bodies and the bare life of people. I also argue that the Kemalist elite in the 1930s imagined the homeland as the “republican classroom,” where not the school-aged children but “people,” who were treated as school children, and especially peasants and women who were deemed remarkable by their illiteracy simply for their limited level of access to the formal schooling; but more importantly by their “ignorance” about the national cause and republican ideals, were about to be educated. Although the courses given in this classroom were limitless as the ignorance of people was deemed limitless, I limit my dissertation with the ones that attempted to educate people in the mundane details of life, including mainly sexuality, health, hygiene and civility. In this regard, the materials I use in this dissertation cover various popular pamphlets, advice books, self-help guides, most of which are in octavo size, and other texts such as special columns in periodicals and newspapers, which directly address people. Such materials popularize the expert knowledge in law, medicine, hygiene, civility and manners, which aim at guiding people in the new republican life, where there was a new Constitution, new laws, and thus, new rights as well as new obligations for

people. Apart from their recommendatory and informatory tone, these materials are common in their writing style: simple and short sentences, in an emotionally-loaded manner; at times “friendly” and “merciful,” at others, an “angry” and “frightening” voice, done mostly in the talk form. Some of these materials were anonymous; some others retain the names of the writers. But apart from the names, or the nicknames, it is almost impossible to find any information about them. Others are written by famous or ordinary pedagogues or physicians, well-known or relatively less-known columnists of the period. There are also many texts distributed by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health, as well as by the People’s Houses and Village Bureaus. Either sponsored by the republican regime or not, all these materials are framed by the larger aim of the republican politico-moral pedagogy, which helped to uncover the republican power at the intersection of the contested domains of the public and the private, and to explore how the Kemalist elite, through a public, republican discourse, exerted a significant amount of energy and resource at the intimate sphere for creating “civilized, healthy and virtuous generations.” Drawing upon these pedagogical materials produced in the 1930s in Turkey, this dissertation traces the genealogy of “republican morality” as the kernel of republican “corporeal” and “sentimental” education under the program of *the national pedagogy* in the constructed and performative—and mostly neglected—domain of the intimate, where people become the pedagogical object to be transformed into “good and strong” Turks.

In the early republican era, the passionate desire for cultivating “strong Turks,” in the physical as well as a moral sense, derives from the elite anxieties about the “sickly” configuration of the people and the nation. The sickness here connotes both literal and metaphorical meanings. It describes the obvious conditions of a nation that emerged out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire and survived following several wars. It also reflects how the republican elite was upset about the Western image of Turks as the ‘sick man of Europe,’ weak and impotent. And finally, it underlines the elite’s emphasis on the ignorance of people about their very character, identity and body. These are common elite anxieties in the making of modern nation-states, which were modeled according to the Western European

countries. In the Turkish context, such anxieties of the elite stirred up the desire for pedagogical operations which would make possible a strong, civilized and homogeneous nation. This homogeneity basically calls for a new attachment to the new territorial unity. It requires a common Turkish identity, a peculiar national character, a strong patriotic feeling. It demands not only a love for the country, but also a love for this worldly life. Simultaneously, it excludes the old attachments and sentiments which are considered to be dominated by the religion and Eastern civilization.⁴

All these requirements—for the creation of a strong nation as one and homogeneous unity—underline, to use the words of Raymond Williams (1977), a change in the “structure of feeling.” This new “structure of feeling” the republican elite sought for to be created is closely related to the fundamental aim of the elite, that is, the secularization of Turkey. Many scholars have underlined that secularization is at the heart of Turkish modernization (Berkes 2002; Yavuz 2000a; Toprak 2005; Gökarksel and Mitchell 2005). Furthermore, it has been repetitively noticed that secularization in the early republican era turned out to be a project of ‘cleansing Islam from the public sphere.’ (Yavuz 2005b). Yet scholars also show how the republican elite attempted to penetrate into the daily conduct of the people: especially the regulations and interventions relating to the headgear and clothing, leisure time activities, music cultures and manners were seen as significant symbols of secularization.(Tunçay 1992; Göle 1997; Bozdoğan 2001; Cantek 2003; Atasoy 2005). Since the basic motive of secularization was not “to destroy Islam but to de-establish it” by ending its power within the social fabric of daily life (Brown 1998), the republican elite tried to replace religious convictions by worldly and patriotic convictions.⁵ They also attempted to reorganize the

⁴ Many scholars of nationalism have underlined the sentimental and psychological side of nationness. Among others Tom Nairn states that “Whenever we talk about nationalism, we normally find ourselves talking before too long about ‘feelings’, ‘instincts’, supposed desires and hankerings to ‘belong’ and so on.” (1994, 70).

⁵ Alasdair MacIntyre (1984) underlines the loss of spiritual context for morality after the secularisation in modern society. The vanishing religious content of morality in the Turkish context was tried to be filled with a national spirit.

religion itself as a supplement to the new republican morality.⁶ In the 1930s religious officers produced new versions of religious textbooks and pamphlets for upholding the idea that “good citizenship was both a virtue and a religiously sanctioned moral duty” (Atasoy 2005, 38). In these new religious texts, a good Muslim appears as one who should “love his country, respect the laws of the republic, submit to the progressive guidance of state officials, do his utmost to learn modern techniques, apply scrupulously the principles of good hygiene, consult a doctor in the case of illness to avoid being the cause of the epidemics, and work energetically for the development of the country” (Dumont 1987). Generally speaking, however, the republican elite was committed to devalue the morals which were informed by religion. Patriotic sentiment is assumed and required to be taken the place of religious sentiment on the ground that the new religion of the republican regime is nationalist (Turkish) morality, which amounts to the civilized and modern morality (Barkur 1983). As explained by Ruşeni Barkur in 1926, that in the republican philosophy the exact equivalent of the term religion is nationality. Accordingly then, whoever “loves, elevates and stands by his nation becomes a man of strength, honesty and dignity” (1983, 170-171). Obviously, the love of country would guarantee one’s physical strength and moral elevation. Otherwise, if one does not devote oneself to the new nationalist religiosity, as in the case before the Turkish republic, Turkish people once again would be subjected to a fatalistic worldview, which resulted in passivity, sluggishness and weakness, which led to the vanishing of Empire in front of Western power. As a matter of fact, neither the moral nor the material aspects of life would remain untouched by the republican politico-moral pedagogy.

1.2. Republican Morality and Public/Private Divide

The assumed change in the “structure of feeling” in the republican era is not confined to the public outlook of people. On the contrary, it requires a deeper

⁶ The relation of the republican elite with Islam has become a controversial issue among scholars. Some underline that republican elite used Islam for mobilizing people during the national liberation war (Zürcher 2000) and after the proclamation of the Republic, they resorted to a strictly “irreligious” discourse. Others, like Ahmet Yıldız (2001) and Soner Çağaptay (2006), underline that Turk always connotes a sunni- Muslim identity in the republican discourse.

intervention into the life: the very intimacy of people should be transformed. The pedagogical operations of the republican elite targeted then the intimate/private sphere, where the seeds of decency, civility, healthiness and strength as the qualifications of the good and “proper”⁷ republican citizens are implanted.

This study conceives the division between the public and the private not as an essential but an analytical category. Susan Gal (2002) rightly argues that, “Since the emergence of the doctrine of separate spheres in the 19th century, social analysts in Europe and the United States have repeatedly assumed that the social world is organized around contrasting and incompatible moral principles that are conventionally linked to either public or private: community vs. individual, rationality vs. sentiment, money vs. love, solidarity vs. self-interest.” Esra Özyürek (2006), in the same vein questions “a well organized distinction between the private and the public” and underlines the shifting boundaries of them for a better understanding of what is “political” in the Turkish context. Following Gal’s and Özyürek’s arguments, this study investigates how these seemingly separate domains are articulated within the republican politico-moral discourse. More specifically, this study focuses on the construction and education of subjects according to nationalist sentiments, civility rules and hygienic regulations as the constitutive part of the republican moral education. By drawing upon interventions and regulations in the much neglected intimate domain, this study shows how the “exterior” or the “public” was associated with the “interior” or the “private”, how the civic republican virtues were connected to the home, family and the remote villages, and how personal efforts and private conducts were tied to the national causes; how child rearing, for instance, was deemed as a national duty.

By referring to the “republican morality,” my aim is not positioning and construing this morality in terms of normative moral theories and universal moral principles,

⁷ Üstel in her book entitled “*Makbul Vatandaş*”ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi, studies the evolution of the citizen education through citizenship books from *Malumat-ı Medeniyye and Hukukiye to Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi*. She uses the phrase “proper” citizen. She suggests that after the Republic, citizenship education at schools was based upon a double mission: civility [civilité] and patriotism [civisme] (2004, 322).

which would be the task of the moral philosophy. There is no doubt that the republican morality defines certain good and evil behaviors, prescribes certain virtues, and obliges certain normative values claiming universality. In this sense, it requires and deserves a philosophical investigation. However, my perspective carries a political stance, thus is primarily concerned with how republican power constructs, manipulates and fills the moral domain for the sake of its secular, Western-oriented and modern political program. While morally concerned politics tends to investigate the public morality, political justice, and civic virtues, and duties assigned to the politico-moral subjects participating in public life, my inquiry on morality goes beyond the public domain and beyond the public conducts of the citizen-subjects. It includes the private sphere and deals with the intimate and personal conducts of people, without neglecting their attitudes and appearances in public life; in fact, this study shows, the manners, habits, feelings and beliefs in the private domain are assigned great significance as they harbor and nurture the public outlook.

1.2.1. Virtue, Body, and Citizen

My search is informed by the feminist contribution to the political analysis (Pateman 1998; Landes 1988 and 2003; Fraser 1990; Arneil 2001), which underlines the political significance of seemingly apolitical domains, that of the private and the intimate for mapping out the morally concerned politics of the republican regime in the private. This brings the basic observations of the republican political tradition, about the political and moral qualities of the “good citizen,” into conversation with the theoretical literature on the new configuration of modern power via the very details of life and the very body of the citizen that have become politicized. Recently there has been an enormous concern over the body and embodiment in the philosophical (Butler 1993; Zita 1998; Donn 1998), historical (Adelson 1993; Canning 1999) sociological (Turner 1992 and 1996; Shilling 1993) and/or in the feminist (Grosz 1994; Birke 1999; Arthurs and Grimshaw 1999; Witz 2000) writings. Despite the continuing struggle over different connotations of the body, in this dissertation, in speaking of body, my intent is neither to decipher the body as a biological, sociological or

phenomenological conceptualization, nor to focus upon dieting, social and individual experiences of pain, or phenomenology of ageing; nor to bring the notion of “somatic society,” (Turner 1996) a society within which major political and personal problems are both problematized in the body and expressed through the body into the Turkish context. Instead, following Michel Foucault (1977 and 1990) and Judith Butler ([1990]1999 and 1993), I conceive the body as a contested construction, as a sedimented signification to make explicit the power of the normative processes and ideals (of the republican morality) to which Turkish people were subjected in their daily life in the early republican era.⁸ This brings us to what Agamben (1998) calls the politicization of life or Foucault’s (1990) biopolitics, which covers both the regulations of the population in terms of biological processes of propagation, birth, mortality, health, life expectancy, longevity; and, the disciplining of the individual in order for optimizing the capabilities of body and increasing its utility and docility (Foucault 1990, 139). By bringing together these different theoretical traditions, this study makes possible to go beyond the weak points of them: the former does not consider the moral and

⁸ In the large literature on the body one would find out various meanings of body including the “implicit body”, which is body as it is, as self-evident; second the “natural body”, via which flesh and blood becomes the central point of analysis, and third the “experienced body”, which is something lived and animated (Canning 1999; Braun 2000). My conception of the body, however, is different from these bodies by focusing on how the body is inscribed, disciplined, shaped and came to be through the constellation of the power in the early republican era. At the core of my genealogical inquiry of body in the early republican era, there exists Judith Butler’s theoretical perspectives, which are elaborated mainly in *Gender Trouble* (1999) and *Bodies That Matter*(1993). Questioning the distinction between ‘sex’, which is assumed to be natural, and ‘gender,’ which is supposed to be cultural, Butler argues that ‘sex’ is not some pre-discursive data about the body but rather one of the norms in response to which the matter of the body is materialized in the first place. Sex as a norm is repeatedly and performatively materialized as a condition of the subject’s cultural viability. Further, Butler claims that the materiality of the body should not be seen as the palpable indication of its extradiscursive reality, but instead as a dissimulated effect of power—an effect we fail to discern due to its appearance of naturalness. By interrogating the matter of sex and its materialization within particular discourses and practices, Butler sheds light on the always conditional means by which matter materializes an intelligible and culturally viable body. What is peculiar to Butler’s thinking is that the materiality is an effect of iteration and interpellation within a hegemonic order of power that both produces and regulates bodies. In this connection, in this dissertation, I search for how people were attempted to be made intelligible and viable bodies, strong and virtuous Turks through the republican politico-moral pedagogy. As Butler claims a genealogical inquiry does not search for the “origins of gender, the inner truth of female desire, a genuine or authentic sexual identity” (1999, xxix), instead it looks into the “political stakes” that designate origins, truths, and genuine identities. In the same manner, in this dissertation my genealogical inquiry of the republican morality aims at exploring the political stakes that define the genuine identity and qualities of the Turks in corporeal as well as sentimental sense.

political ramifications of the “good” citizens in terms of their number, health, longevity, productivity and in their private attitudes and habits. The latter, on the other hand, does not consider the sentimental and normative statements in the regulations of bodies. Although it underlines the normalization of the subjects through power technologies, it does not pay any attention to how subjects would be normalized according to the ideals of creating virtuous citizens for a new, modern national community.⁹

Put it differently, combining the “virtue” as a public good of a political community with the “body” as a site of materialization of power offers us opportunities to consider the politics and citizenship in a new way, where morality and health, soul and flesh, sentiment and reason, character and strength, public and private life of the citizens are not set apart as in a similar vein to the Cartesian division. Such an understanding of politics is opposed to the Schmittian (1996) separation between what is political and what is apolitical, where cultural, moral and social are all defined as the outside of politics and power. The early republican era is an interesting case study of such an understanding of politics, morality and citizenship, which would link macro and micro levels of power, which pays equal attention to the normativities and rationalities of governing, which underlines liberating as well as disciplinary aspects in the making of modern subjects.

David Burchell shows us the significance of the revival of citizenship as a major theme in contemporary political philosophy; yet he states that such revival, which is characterized by a separation between liberal and communitarian visions of the citizen as a “transcendental moral subject” neglects some crucial questions that of “what concrete attributes have been required of citizens, and how citizens have

⁹ Here, I follow White and Hunt, who argue that it is possible to define citizenship in a new way as a technology of government on the ground that “it is what constitutes individual membership in a political community” (2000, 94). They also argue that at the center of their discussion is “the extent to which the care of the self incorporated a political virtue” (2000, 98). By linking the idea of Foucauldian care of the self with citizenship, they aim at escaping the binary divide between private ethics and public politics. Nevertheless, they add that Foucault himself does not provide any substantive development of this linkage (2000, 100). From another angle, Feher and Heller’s (1994) notion of biopolitics allows us to comprehend the combination of the “ethical” with the “hygienic” in the modern times.

historically acquired the attributes to function as responsible civic-minded individuals” are simply sidestepped. (1995, 540). Instead of conceiving citizenship in terms of a nostalgic attachment to the ancient or the classical civic tradition, Burchell requires us to observe the modern face of citizenship, which is not an Aristotelian innate formation, but a more Hobbesian one: “man is made fit for society not by nature, but by education [discipline]” (1995, 543).¹⁰ In this regard, in searching for modern subjection, one should not concern simply with the abstract figure of citizen as in the case of political philosophy, but also deal with the concrete *personae* of citizens. The concrete personae of modern citizens have been “developed in particular times and places through the activities of social discipline, both externally on the part of governments and ‘internally’ by techniques of self-discipline and self-formation” (1995, 549). Such a concern allows one to go beyond focusing on citizen as *a priori* moral subject, but to observe the ethical, yet secularized techniques (under the rubric of manners or health requirements, for instance) via which citizens acquired the attributes of good citizen. And once people are disciplined or educated as good citizens, they become the genuine source for modern nations, which are in search of a homogenous unity.

1.2.2. Nation and Modernity

In *Nation and Narration*, Homi Bhabha (1993) emphasizes the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force and underlines a particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of nation. It is an ambivalence that, on the one hand, the origin of the nation is presented as a sign of the modernity of society, so nation has to be new; on the other hand, it corresponds to a much more transitional social reality.¹¹ Thanks to this ambivalence, the nation-space requires to be investigated in the

¹⁰ For a more detailed analysis on Hobbesian citizenship and civic virtue please see Burchell (1999) and Dietz(1990).

¹¹ Anderson explains this ambivalence as follows: “if nation-states are widely conceded to be 'new' and 'historical', the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past." And as an example he mentions how Kemal Atatürk named the states banks Eti Bank and Sümer Bank. He adds that "there is no reason to doubt that many Turks, possibly not excluding Kemal himself, seriously saw, and see, in the Hittites and Sumerians their forebears." (1991, 11-12)

process of articulation of elements. In the nation-space, meanings are incomplete, since they are in *medias res*. History is also incomplete since it is still being made. In addition, the image of cultural authority is ambivalent, because it is caught in the act of composing its powerful image. However, this ambivalence is not regarded negative by Bhabha, rather, he asserts that the nation as such holds culture at its most productive position both as a force for subordination, fracturing, diffusing, and, producing, creating, guiding (1993, 1-4).

Another point perpetuating the ambivalence of the nation is that: “there is no such thing as national essence.” As a matter of fact, any attempt to find a national essence at the formative point of national history is a futile effort. Anderson's definition of the nation as an imagined community proves the similar understanding. He criticizes Gellner in interpreting the argument that nationalism invents nations where they do not exist. According to Anderson, Gellner assimilates 'invention' to falsity, rather than 'imagining' and 'creating' (1991, 6). Apparently, the nation is a creation. However, it is created not through an originary moment or culturally distinct essence, but through the repetition of symbols that come to represent the nation's origin and its uniqueness. National culture and character are ritualistic so that every repetition of its symbols serves to reinforce national identity. It can be argued that each drawing of maps of nation-state territory, each playing of the national anthem, each and every spectatorship of national sports events and so on, represents this daily affirmation of national identification. Traditions of ceremony, monument and national celebration instill national identity into the calendar and the landscape. Thus, the existence of nation as coherent unity is naturalized. Accordingly, Renan clearly denies any naturalistic determinism –as to language, geography, race, religion or anything else—of the boundaries of nations, for him, the existence of a nation is nothing but a daily plebiscite (1993, 19).

Another important emphasis made by Anderson is that, although the nation is an imagination and creation, this imagination is inherently limited and sovereign. It is my contention that this imagination is inspired from a deep desire of modern

times, that is, construing the political community as body. Concomitantly, the analogy between the national and individual body can easily be decipherable, thinking the fact that in the modern times, man, having the autonomy and free will, is imagined as an autonomous and sovereign body. For man as autonomous is nothing but an effect of power as Foucault would argue (1990, 139).¹² In a similar vein, the nation as limited and sovereign, is again an effect of power. That is to say, both man and the nation are discursively, historically and culturally-constructed imagined bodies. Hence, the increasing emphasis on the body and the construction of the nation, and the political community as the body develops coincidentally in modern times. Through employing Foucault's emphasis on the changing character of power in modern times, the relation between body and modernity can better be expressed. According to Foucault, modern power, which is a new understanding of power, is exercised on the body and it carries a specifically anatomical and biological aspect. The development of *anatomo-political* techniques aims at the individual body and the development of *bio-political* techniques aims at the population as the species body. The first form of the technologies of government is the disciplines of body. The aim of disciplinary technology is to create a docile body.¹³ The body is approached as an object to be manipulated and controlled. The second form of the technologies of government is exercised over members of a population so that they are constituted in certain ways that are connected with issues of the national policy.

It is significant to note that, in Foucault's analysis, the body is figured as a surface of (cultural, national and moral) inscription. Indeed, he describes the task of genealogy is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the goal of history, is the destruction of the body. Accordingly, he writes "nothing in man—not even

¹² Foucault more clearly argues that in modernity "Western man was gradually learning what it meant to be a living species in a living world, to have a body, conditions of existence probabilities of life, an individual and collective welfare..." Put it briefly, in the name of public and private well-being and happiness, the individual and social body are managed as a vital political resource. (1990, 139)

¹³ In his words "it (modern power) centered on the body as its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls" (1990, 261).

his body—is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men.” (1990, 153) In a sense, cultural, national and moral values emerge as the result of an inscription on the body. Judith Butler (1993) argues that, in Foucault’s analysis, the body is understood as a medium, as a blank page. This metaphor defining the body as a blank page exposes certain similarities with the Lockean understanding on children to be educated. As Parry observes in the Lockean *tabula rasa* doctrine, the educator is able to consider the child “only as white Paper, or Wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases”(1999, 29). Similarly, within the modern pedagogical discourse of the elite, people are deemed as children to be shaped in line with modern national ideals. However, Butler seems to object such white blank page or white paper doctrine on the ground that any inscription to use Foucault’s terminology—or education to use Lockean vocabulary—is not realized *ex nihilo*. Instead, she underlines the importance of “sedimentation.” For any inscription or signification to be successful, Butler explains, it needs to be part of a cultural intelligibility, a chain of deeds, and a particular history. Butler's elaboration on materiality as sedimented signification offers some significant implications for the ambivalence of nationness and the construction of nations. That is to say, nations are imagined, fabricated and created unities, and yet, they are not created *ex nihilo*. In fact, the nation-making process is a complex signification and materialization process, and, each national context offers its own peculiarities within the same modern temporality.

1.3. Before the Nation: Power and Modernity in the Ottoman Context

Many studies on power, modernity and subjectivity in the Ottoman-Turkish context have been informed by the dominant narratives revolving around the “strong state tradition” and the “center-periphery” assumptions on the state-society relation. My study basically deviates from this dominant paradigm, which focuses on the transformation of the state as an institution, and conceives of modernization through the modernization of the state itself. I suggest that age-old emphasis on the strong state is stamped with the Oriental Despot conceptualization. Such an understanding at the outset ignores the very possibility of the transformation of and intrusion into the intimate sphere. In what follows, I will delineate the

genealogy of the Oriental despot conceptualization in the Ottoman-Turkish historiography and show how this understanding shaped the academic and commonsensical comprehension on the republican period.

1.3.1. Oriental Despot

“The ubiquitous assumption of modern Eurocentrism”, wrote Çırakman, “—that the West and the East are separate entities with different paths of development and forms of social and political association, and that the former is superior to the latter—was born with the Enlightenment assumptions of Oriental Despotism” (2001, 64). In line with this argument, one can observe that the genealogy of the Eurocentric account of the Ottoman-Turkish body politic under the rubric of Oriental Despot goes back to 18th century of the Ottoman regime, when the definitive word, tyranny, inspiring both fascination and fear at once, was replaced by the pejorative one, namely, despotism, in the travel accounts of certain European travelers and in certain theories about the Orient drawing upon these accounts.¹⁴ It is pejorative not only for labeling the Ottoman rule as a typical traditional power, capricious, arbitrary, unpredictable and even for naming it as “the most unnatural, irrational and inhuman regime on earth” (Hunter in Çırakman 2001, 61) due to the status of the Ottoman Sultan, the Oriental Despot *par excellence*, for having “the power of life and death over all his subjects”[sic]; but also for justifying European governing bodies as the rational and good authorities that operate the rule of law, that establish a free society and that provide their subjects with individual liberties (Çırakman 2001, 58).

This Eurocentric account is so pervading that, as Kafadar detects, certain modern historiographers specializing on the Ottoman Empire cannot help but appall when they reflect upon the demise of the Empire and ask “How was it that this state, now looking so weak and decrepit, so old fashioned, still so Oriental after many Westernizing reforms had once been so enormously successful?...How could some ‘barbarians,’ still nomadic at the outset of their empire-building enterprise, create

¹⁴ These travel accounts shaped Montesquieu’s reflection on the government types. According to him, in a despotic government, “a single person directs everything, without rule or law, by his own will and caprice.” (Montesquieu in Boer, 1995-1996, 45).

such a sophisticated, even if ultimately ‘despotic’ polity?’ (1995, 34). At another context, Abou-El-Haj complains about ahistoric and anachronistic evaluations of certain historiographers in the Ottoman-Turkish context, where the state, conceptually and institutionally appears as a static, traditional force when judged retrospectively according to the norms and categories of the modern-state (2000, 27-31).

Yet, another dimension of such Euro-centrism targets the seemingly unchanging subjectivity of the Ottoman-Turkish people. That is to say, the Oriental Despot conceptualization is never confined to the nature of political authority alone, it also informs the people who are subjected to these authorities and thus presents Orientals¹⁵ as passive, immature and fatalist, as opposed to Occidentals who enjoy the full capacity of humanity as idealized by the Enlightenment, who are rational and strong enough to fight against the natural forces as well as to rebel against the dogmatic and despotic authorities, godly or humanly or both. Consequently Oriental subjects appear as always tradition-bound without any access to modernity.

Given this framework, in what follows I will initially outline the ramifications of the Euro-centric accounts in the dominant historiography on the emergence and consolidation of the Ottoman-Turkish body politic. The track I will follow has been well studied under the title of Turkish or Ottoman-Turkish modernization by various scholars specializing in different academic fields including history, sociology, political science and economics. The arising problem I seek to handle, is that most of the studies in the Ottoman-Turkish modernization have given a pre-discursive identity to the concept of state, which is already enigmatic and elusive (Mitchell 1991, 77), rather than conceiving it as a discursive construction. In this sense, at times, the state is applauded for being the agent of modernization as against the traditional and backward society; at other times, it is criticized for

¹⁵ Montesquieu states “a timid, ignorant and faint-spirited people have no need for a great number of laws.” As Boer explains, despotism appears to be trapped in a vicious circle constructed by Montesquieu. Fear rules over people who are unworthy, it seems, of laws, and thus a despot has a free hand imposing his will” (1995-1996, 47).

curtailing the civil society and democratization in Turkey today. It becomes the hero and the scapegoat of the good and evil occurrences respectively in Turkish history. It is an actor *par excellence*, an omnipotent and unique entity resembling the Ottoman Sultan, whose word is his deed as to the divine authority.¹⁶ The “mystical essence” or the divine authority of the Ottoman Sultan transferred to the Turkish body politic and could not be removed despite his “body passed away” with the ashes of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷

Various repercussions of such Eurocentric accounts on the excessive use and abuse of power as governing mentality of the Ottoman-Turkish body politic can best be traced in the assumptions conceiving of the Ottoman-Turkish experience of modernity by referring to the “center-periphery relation” and the “strong state tradition” within which the state emerges as the climax of all power as opposed to the weak society. In these assumptions, the dichotomous, unidimensional and disproportionate state-society relation is deemed peculiar to the Ottoman-Turkish body politic. This peculiarity is expressed through a difference from the rest of the Middle Eastern countries and from the Western ones. While the former difference is considered as success,¹⁸ the latter lack. Ottoman political body proves a ‘structural contrast’ with the West in that it lacks the various conflicts between “the state and church, between nation builders and localists, between owners and non-owners of the means of production.” Accordingly Mardin suggests that, “In the Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century these characteristics of multiple confrontation and integration seem to be missing. Rather, the *major* confrontation was unidimensional, always a clash between the center and periphery” (1973, 170). More importantly, this clash has become perpetual in the history of Turkish

¹⁶ Although it is an ongoing debate over the religious character of the Ottoman Empire, Küçükcan explains that “The Ottoman Empire was an Islamic state in which the head of the state served as a caliph who had both temporal and spiritual authority” (2003, 477).

¹⁷ In using this terminology, I have in mind Kantorowicz’s (1957) *The King’s Two Bodies* where he reflects upon the emergence of modern political authority.

¹⁸ Please see Mardin’s evaluation here “...certain societies have stronger centers than others...The Middle East has had a long history of attempts to construct the institutional framework of such centers...more often than not ephemeral. Here, the Ottoman Empire emerges as an outstanding exception.” (1973, 169).

modernization. The reasons of such clash are various as follows: the incongruity of urban dwellers with the nomads, the suspicion of the center towards the provincial powers, and the incompatibility of the religious orthodoxy with the provincial religious heterodoxies. Consequently, the centre and periphery seem to appear as 'loosely related worlds,' where the Sultan and his officials occupy the center as opposed to the highly segmented structures of the Ottoman Anatolian periphery. Yet, it should be underlined, that Mardin observes an *increasing* characteristic of the Oriental Despotism only with the declining period of the Ottoman Empire (1973, 171). It is in this period that the Ottoman Empire begins emulating the Western nation-state model; however, the perpetual center-periphery split constitutes the "outstanding" difficulty in establishing a truly Western governance.

In a similar vein, Metin Heper invents various lacks in the Ottoman-Turkish polity: the lack of economic middle classes, of the aristocracy, of the church. Repeating the similar themes with Mardin on the ground that there is no multiple confrontation and resolution tradition in the Ottoman-Turkish polity, Heper goes further to claim that there is no tradition of politics and tradition of solving conflicts through law (1985, 149). As a result, political and legal problems are subjected to the heavy doses of arbitrariness in terms of the state and the irresponsibility in terms of society. Metin Heper finds a similarity in the political mentality of the Ottoman and Republican regimes in expressing, "Continuity rather than change characterizes Turkish political culture" (2000, 63). Underlining this perpetual political mentality, Heper finds out a peculiar statecraft: since the warriors established the Ottoman State by successfully commanding the "eclectic popular culture, heterodox religious sects and threatening rival principalities," the most crucial matter seemed to be "keeping the realm together" and maintaining "harmony among men living in society" (2000, 64). In keeping the realm and maintaining the harmony, the Sultan's will becomes commanding to the extent that it defines the status and place of the people in society. Although there had been efforts for separating the Sultan's will from the statecraft, an *adap tradition* consisting of certain established rules on governing was developed, the Sultanic power remained so central that Tanzimat as well as the Hamidian period witnessed

a similar personal rule. As a result, “the state always constituted an important dimension of the Ottoman political culture” (2000, 65). Basic reflection of such state-centeredness can be seen in the everlasting question of the Ottoman-Turkish elites: “How can this state be maintained?” Until the 19th century, the Sultan was deemed as the locus of the state, after then the bureaucratic elite’s interests were attached to it. In this context, westernization efforts, instead of creating a culture of politics and multiple conflict and consensual tradition, deepened the one-dimensional split of the body politic. And coming to the Republican period, when the Westernization efforts radicalized, the dichotomous state-society relation proved its permanence. The Ottoman mentality on statecraft repeated itself on the republican obsession with the “national unity” and “law and order” (Heper 1985, 68). Thus Heper comes to the conclusion that, “the Ottoman desire for a strong state that would regulate the polity and society from above left a particular imprint on democracy in Turkey” (1985, 71).

There is some truth to this dominant picture of the state-society relation,¹⁹ but it obscures as much as it reveals. First, it misconceives the modern sovereign power of the state by rendering it as homogeneous, compact and coherent unit. Furthermore, whenever the incoherence is observed, this is assumed to be the reflection and remnant of the arbitrary and unpredictable character of the traditional Oriental Despot. Accordingly, it underestimates the ability of people in dealing with the ‘sovereign power’ by rendering them fragmented, passive and irresponsible. Second, it conceives an inevitable dichotomous relation between state and society, and exaggerates the separation of state and society, instead of revealing a relational structure connecting the state power and society. It is evident that there are incidents where governmental activities and operations are opposed, but there are other incidents where these operations are affirmed. There are still other incidents where the state and social power work together. Under the confine

¹⁹ What Mitchell explains as a “structural effect” of the state can be helpful for understanding the ontological and epistemological positions of the state-centred works. These works are based upon certain factual structures, they do not invent the facts out of nowhere. But they do not see the discursive constructive of these powers, instead they give the state a pre-discursive, essential existence. (1991, 94) That is the problem I try to handle.

of the state-centered perspective, however, certain non-stately operations are assumed stately. Finally, it fails to take into account a certain modern desire, which is always an elite project in the West as well as in the non-West context (Taylor 2004) to map and control society and to produce civilized modern subjects. Underlining this failure lies here: that the peculiarity and uniqueness of the Ottoman-Turkish body politic is so emphasized that it appears as “perverse” as Yalman (1997) suggests, thus common modern trajectories are not properly seen in this pervert body.

Recently, however, this orthodoxy on the strong state assumptions has been subjected to various criticisms, one of the interesting of which comes from Çağlar Keyder. In evaluating the Ottoman-Turkish body politic, Keyder (2003) maintains the Eurocentric accounts on the centrality of the state institution, but objects overtly the “strength” of it; on the contrary, he suggests it is weak. When the Eurocentric trap is surpassed, I think, he offers a significant perspective for our analysis. Searching for the meaning of the strong state, Keyder underlines a misunderstanding of the liberals of the 1980s and onwards of Turkey. This liberal understanding observes an ample power in the republican state and bases its political project for curtailing the state power. For Keyder, the seeming power of the republican state is not modern, but traditional. Drawing upon the theoretical perspectives of Michael Mann, he re-operates the Oriental Despot conception, via detecting a despotic rather than infrastructural power in the republican body politic. And ironically in this case, the state appears as impotent in the modern sense, yet omnipotent in the traditional sense (2003, 182). Then again, Keyder does not go further beyond the “strong state” arguments, but re-presents them in a different package, because, what Keyder detects as misunderstanding on the state power is explained well by Yalman as the “Achilles’ heel of the strong state” assumptions. In this statist jargon as repeating “patrimonial-cum-orientalism” of the Weberian spirit of the strong state, assumptions already faced with the “lack” of the “infrastructural power” and the “embedded autonomy” of the Ottoman-Turkish state, with the lack of the institutional capacity to “penetrate into the periphery” (Yalman 1997, 95).

Otherwise, Keyder reiterates the similar story on modernization. For him, the Ottoman modernization is nothing but the modernization of the state. In this process, the Ottoman state sincerely attempted to reform itself by a voluntary curtailing of its traditional power and thus gained a certain modern ability and capacity. The main indicators of such attempts are seen in the mentality of governing: an idea of *rule of law* came to the fore. Although this was not a liberal state, certain developments were realized in the name of the modern quality of power; that is predictability, instead of arbitrariness, rationality, instead of capriciousness, were tried to be achieved. This was the path, Keyder explains, the Ottoman regime followed in the course of the 19th century; however, this could not be maintained.

1.3.2. Discursive Modernity and Modern Power

Other scholars bring much stronger criticisms on the state-centered assumptions. Among others, Nadir Özbek (2005) operates a double-edged criticism in targeting the Ottoman-Turkish historiography within which the Ottoman-Turkish body politic appears as a *prima facie* case for allegedly expressing cultural and historical particularities. He places his points of departure from the Eurocentric strong state assumptions as well as from the particularistic ethnocentrism, which focuses on the distinctive features of the Islamic culture. Instead, Özbek offers a more politically oriented analysis by conceiving modernity as a common global process and contingent on the historical context of power relations. In this analysis, he draws upon Harry Harootunian's "co-existing" or "co-eval" modernity understanding, which suggests that modernity is a shared historical temporality in Europe as well as in the other parts of the world (2005, 61). In this connection, he underlines the importance of the concepts like public sphere and civil society, rather than leaving them aside, as some culturalist scholars do, as the particularities of the Western modernity. And he observes how the public sphere in the late Ottoman era became a dynamic political realm for different social and political groups, pursuing their own interests as well as for the political authority in search of political legitimacy. In doing so, Özbek shows the significance of civil

initiatives and philanthropic activities that go hand in hand with the modern functions of the Ottoman political authorities, and invites us to re-consider the state-society relation through shading some lights on the hitherto neglected—or allegedly irrelevant—categories such as public sphere in the Ottoman modernization context.

In a similar vein, by focusing upon the gossip reports collected from the coffeehouses and other public places in the late Ottoman period, Kırılı (1999-2000) underlines the emergence of the public sphere and importance of the public opinion as the ground of political legitimacy in the Ottoman context. And he claims that such social control and surveillance mechanisms prove the general social and political transformation in the mentality of the Ottoman regime, which is nothing but modern governmentality.

Somel (2001) also observes the emerging modern social disciplining in the Ottoman context in his monographic study on public education. In doing this, however, he challenges certain historiographers whose works based upon what he calls as “positivistic Westernization”, which conceives the modernization as a linear imitating of the Western norms and institutions. Instead, Somel suggests the experience of modernity in the Ottoman context expressed the attempts of articulation of various conventional values with the Western ones. In dwelling upon education, he explains that “social disciplining” was a crucial part of Ottoman education. And he parallels Ottoman social disciplining with the church discipline, which was considered as the support of the absolutist states in modern Europe, where “people were expected to become obedient, pious and hard-working subjects” (2001, 5). But in his accounts, toward the end of the 19th century, a more or less traditional content of the educational sphere transformed into a more “uniforming regulatory disciplining,” and this kind of uniformity and surveillance reminds us of Bentham’s panopticon. This disciplining manifested itself in the school uniforms, class system, formal examinations and the levels of graduation within a tight system of educational promotion. Consequently, the students, including Islamist ones, who were subjected to such disciplining,

inculcated modern notion of “linear time” and were familiarized with modern notions of “evolution” and “progress” and were heading toward the norms of modern subjection (2001, 7).

All these works, unlike the works operating the conceptual tools of the modernization theory shed significant light on Ottoman modernity in a different sense. Modernity in these studies figures as a common temporality, a process within which subjects are produced. Obviously a new governmental concern targeting at population in the Ottoman-Turkish context began to appear in the 19th century.

One of the best indicators of such concern reappears in the work of Kemal Karpat (1985), namely *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, within which Ottoman population statistics were put under scrutiny. Earlier than Karpat, Shaw noticed the disinformation of foreign travelers, diplomats and various nationalist leaders, who claimed that the Ottoman government had no census of its own. However, in reality, the Ottomans developed a quite efficient system for counting their population only a quarter century after census procedures were launched in the US, Great Britain, and France (Shaw 1978, 235). The Ottoman population statistics were initiated for the fulfillment of the pressing administrative and military requirements. In the 19th century of the Ottoman government, “censuses, land surveys and, eventually, a permanent population register system” became crucial as the new administrative responsibilities required the knowledge of the Empire’s human and financial resources. In such a milieu, the censuses and the yearbooks were advanced for collecting reliable information about the size and general religious structure of the population. Karpat explains that the traditional Ottoman *tahrir* was a survey initiated for the tax purposes, instead of a “simple (modern) desire to have an accurate record of the total number of the population.” In the 19th century of the Ottoman Empire, however, new considerations of governing required new type of surveys. In this sense, the first modern census was launched in 1831. The historian Lutfi noted after the abolition of the Janizaries in 1826 that “many of the old

customs and procedures changed, and the population survey, which is the basis of the administration, was carried on in the capital, but the advent of the war [with Russia in 1828-29] prevented its generalization” (1985, 18). Obviously, this census was not yet an end in itself considering the modern way of surveying, because, as Karpat explains, the government was not interested in and did not seek to register the women, orphans, Christian below the age of puberty, the mentally and physically incapacitated. After the 1860s, the Ottoman census understanding was transformed once again toward a new humanist-functionalist-nationalist philosophy to embrace the European concept of functional government, to reassess human resources and to service the society (1985, 9-10). It is in this period that the Ottoman government begins directing a significant amount of energy for increasing the number of population, as the scarcity of Muslim population was seriously recognized by the Imperial elite when the separatist nationalist awakening of various population erected. While the health policies and hygienic regulations were built up on the one hand, the migration movements and the efforts of settling the nomadic populations, most of which were Muslims, on the other hand, dominated the 19th century and early 20th century of the Ottoman rule. Karpat argues that the population movement in the 19th century changed the character of the Ottoman Empire and indirectly prepared the ground for the emergence of a series of national states, including the Turkish modern-state (1985, 61 and 77).

1.3.3. Reified State versus Reified Society

It is my suggestion here that this new mentality of governing cannot be covered by the analyses “reifying” (Yalman 1997; Özbek 2005) the state as most of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization scholars do, because as James Scott (1998) underlines, at the hearth of the new governmentality of the modern states lies the “reification of society.” Jacques Donzolet elsewhere underscores the political importance of discovery and the policing of the “social” for the modern governmentality (1979, 6-7). In modern states, unlike the pre-modern ones, Scott detects a will-to-sedentarize and a desire to make societies legible. While the pre-modern states had little or no concern with the population, which is the concern of

modern power as Foucault suggests, in modern times legibility of nation gains an immense significance. While the pre-modern states had very little knowledge on their “subjects, their wealth, their landholdings and yields, their location, their very identity,” the modern states are marked by their desire for having a detailed map of their subjects and territory. In line with such convergence of will-to-know and will-to-govern in modern times, states begin to concern themselves with the “creation of the permanent last names, the standardization of weights and measures, the establishment of cadastral surveys and population registers, the invention of free tenure, the standardization of language and legal discourse, the design of cities, and the organization of transportation” (1998, 2). All of these detailed efforts of knowledge production provide the modern states with the legibility and simplifications of their populations. In these most obvious characteristics of the modern statecraft, Scott observes a state-initiated social engineering. These engineering efforts based upon a high-confidence about science and technical progress, cover ordering the nature as well as society: the model farms, villages and sanitary buildings are designed to the surveillance of the population. Scott uses the phrase “internal colonization” in explaining the desires of modern states to map as well as to shape their population. Beyond this civilizational zeal of the modern states toward their own populations, Scott detects the “reification” of society: society turns out to be a scientific object to be described by the state officials as well as certain, some of whom are self-proclaimed, experts especially in medicine, hygiene and pedagogy.

In opposing to the progressivist modernization theories, Khaled Fahmy, at another context, criticizes the common description of the legal transformations in the 19th century of the Ottoman Empire, as “the triumph of European ideas of liberalism, constitutionality and the rule of law” (1999, 224). Drawing upon the history of legal reform and particularly analyzing forensic medicine and criminal law in the mid-nineteenth century Egypt, he underlines how France legitimizes its domination by operating the dichotomy between the liberal, law-bound Europe, and the inconsistent, arbitrary and often corrupt “Oriental” system of justice of the Ottoman rule. Instead of applauding the right-based discourse of the Western

hegemony, in looking at the modernization process, one needs to discover the so-called less enlightened aspect of modernity, that is an aspect Khaled observes that rulers strengthen their control over their subjects and make their rule more efficient and productive (1999, 226). That is to say, the modern states in the West and outside the West begin to dominate and control people's lives from their birth by registering the newborns until their death by recording death reports. In this regard, vaccination, post-mortem examination, regular check-ups of school children and army soldiers as well as the population censuses become the material instances of the control and surveillance of the modern subjects in modern times (1999, 245)

What Khaled and Kırılı mentions as the “dark” side of the Enlightenment and modernization efforts is well theorized by Michel Foucault who invites us to “grasp subjection in its material instance as a constitution of subjects.” Such Foucauldian search of subject construction requires us to shed a light on the new form of surveillance and control of population and body. Yet Foucault himself is Euro-centric, as Prakash emphasizes, when he claimed that the political technologies directed at body and population as the signifiers of the threshold of modernity were “constituted fully within the borders of the modern West” (2000). The case is not true. In spite of some disjuncture deriving from the experiences of colonial domination, the “colonization of the body” through the operation of modern political technologies was quite evident in the mid-nineteenth century India. The climax of such assault on body could best be witnessed in the dissection of a dead body by an Indian student at the newly established Medical College. Thanks to this event, which was celebrated by a gun salute by Europeans, Indians were “finally risen superior to the prejudices of their earlier education” (2000, 189). Put it differently, Indians were finally got rid of their taboos, traditional beliefs and superstitions, came to the maturity to use their own reason according to the rules of the science, which is medicine. Here is no need to recall the relation of modern power with the Enlightenment ideals. David Scott also highlights this fact and adds: “the Enlightenment belief in progress rested on an idea of reason which was irreconcilably opposed to forms of understanding and action that depended

upon what is called superstition and prejudice” (1995, 191). Yet, another dimension of the assault on body in the Indian context, in the Prakash account, is tied to Gandhi’s decision to practice *brahmacharya*, the practice of celibacy for having a healthy body. At the intersection of two discourses, one culminates in the dissection of the body by a scientific-medical concern in 1836, and another emerges in Gandhi’s failed attempt for controlling his sexual desire in 1936, Prakash finds out that a different yet articulated desire for disciplining the body and making it the object of political concern paved the way for a Foucauldian political technology in India. In-between these two discourses, Prakash claims, the “history of the subjection of Indians to a new form of surveillance and control, their constitution as modern subjects” comes to the fore (2000, 190).

1.3.4. The Ottoman-Turkish Bodies That Matter

The history of the subjection of the Ottomans to a new form of surveillance and control and the colonization of their bodies, expressed a significant modern episode, where scientific and religious discourses clashed in the Dissection House in İstanbul. What makes this episode so interesting, I cited at the beginning, when the modern power met with the Ottoman-Turkish subjects, is the testimonial of certain European travelers who observed the dissection of a dead body in the Ottoman lands. The clash between science and prejudice, medicine and religion was not operated by the Ottomans but by European travelers. Considering all Ottoman subjects as tradition- and religion-bound, European travelers were appalled by the dissection ceremony of the medical students, who seemed to internalize the ideals of Enlightenment.

In spite of the discomfort of MacFarlane and White who saw the Dissection House in İstanbul, when we read Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's travel accounts about the dissection house in Paris, we see that he does not feel any offense in terms of Islam, nor does he criticize Parisians for neglecting the Christian convictions, considering the fact that the permission for the dissection and autopsy was not received easily in the Christian world. On the contrary, Çelebi appreciates Parisians' meticulous efforts on dissecting bodies, animal and human alike (1970,

68-69). However, White's idea of referring to Prophet Muhammed's statements was not at odds with the conventional imperial order of things. As Osman Nuri Ergin explains, people were referring to the religious sources for the medical concerns; and religious authorities were expressing their ideas and criticism when certain matters intersect and offend the religious convictions (1977, 237). Before adjusting to the modern temporality, the order of things in the Ottoman Empire was different. This difference could be clearer if we refer to what Ergin says about the physicians and the judges: "All those who received a proper education in that period, were both a man of letter of religion and law, i.e. *fkih*, both a man of letter of literature, of philosophy and a man of letter of medicine. Does not the concept *Hekim* (physician) come from the concept *Hakim* (judge)?" (1977, 143-144).

Were not the bodies cut, albeit not as meticulously and scientifically as done by the medical professionals, before? Were not the bodies assaulted before being objects of anatomical investigation in the Ottoman lands? Doubtlessly bodies were severed, but according to a different order of things; imperial power had never ignored the bodies, and thus marked and inscribed them according to different mentalities. Before the emergence of modern form of subjection, bodies were subjected to, what Foucault (1979) explains at another context, "the gloomy festival of punishment" in the Ottoman lands as well. Akçam enumerates the common assaults on body in the Ottoman lands (1992, 71-72). Yet, when the bodies were becoming the object of inquiry for the scientific intentions [read, for the betterment of the conditions of human population], simultaneously they were protected from being the object of torture according to the new criminal code. We can add to this the removing of the physical punishment from the public school according to the requirement of the modern ordering of public education. By removing the exemplary and physical punishment in the judicial and pedagogical institutions, the new order targets not liberating the bodies, but taming the soul of the subjects.

Put it briefly, the necessity of regulating the imperial things in modern ways proved urgent mostly during the Tanzimat period (1839-1876). Rather than

ceasing, this new mental transformation continued during the Hamidian era (1876-1908) and ever more supported by the Young Turks until World War I. Although I have no intention to offer a full historical account of the emerging modern power in the Ottoman Empire, it has been clear that with the Tanzimat, literally the “ordering” of Empire, the imperial order of things were begun to change in various angles.²⁰ The Ottoman population was subjected to a different political mentality in the public education as well as in the juridical institution, in the medicine as well as in the public domains. And the officials as well as experts advanced a will to know the imperial subjects, their wealth, their health, their landholdings and yields, their location, and their very identity.

Then there is no doubt that since the mid-nineteenth century, among the officials and the intellectuals, the idea of labeling the Ottoman Empire as the “sick man of Europe” was internalized and incited to bring about administrative, anthropological and social spaces to articulate an Ottoman-Turkish modernity. Makdisi clarifies the components of this modernity as follows: “a state and civilization technologically equal to and temporally coeval with the West but culturally distinct from and politically independent of it” (2002, 2). This objective of the Ottomans became more visible and yet turned out to be quite oscillatory in terms of their subjectivity when the Ottoman Empire admitted to the Concert of Europe in the mid-nineteenth century. As Göl explains, “Ottomans became the first ‘other’ by which Europeans differentiates themselves from those outside of Europe when they were defining a collective European identity.”²¹ It is interesting to note here that during the time span from the fifteenth century to the twentieth

²⁰ To supplement, I would mention Selim Deringil who argues that, “Nor would it be an exaggeration to say that the modern state as it is understood today-meaning mass schooling, a postal service, railways, lighthouses, clock towers, lifeboats, museums, censuses and birth certificates, passports, as well as parliaments, bureaucracies and armies- was only constituted in the Ottoman Empire after the Tanzimat Reforms of 1839.” (1999, 9). Please also see Özbek (2004); and Ener (2005). Ener particularly explains that although poor people had received certain relief according to religious concerns in the Ottoman Empire, the aid to the desperately poor was not on the government’s agenda until the 19th century. Thus in the 19th century the charity activities gained a modern and secular meaning. (2005, 501-505).

²¹ For a detailed discussion on the admittance of the Ottoman Empire as the first non-European and non-Christian state into European international society, which was a development following the 1856 Paris Treaty please see Ayla Göl (2003).

century, the Ottoman Empire was a European power for the sake of “controlling between one-quarter and one-third of the continent”, however, it had never been acknowledged as a Western power. Instead, in the Western accounts, it represented as “geographically marginal, culturally alien and historically hostile.” (Holbraad 1984, 34).

How to overcome this acknowledged otherness, marginality and alienation from the West? In this dissertation I investigate the pedagogical answer of the republican regime to this question. I study how people acquired the attributes of good and proper, civilized and patriotic republican citizens through social disciplining and self-disciplining techniques of the 1930s in Turkey.

1.4. Citizenship and Education Studies

In fact there are many studies on educational program of the republican period, which either implicitly or explicitly connect this program with citizenship education (Başgöz and Wilson 1968; Winter 1984; Gök 1999; Başgöz 1995; Toktaş and Cindoğlu 2006; Arat 1998). Scholars have examined formal schooling system, changing curriculum, school books and education policies of the republican regime (Salmoni 2004, 2003, 2002). The studies motivated by modernization theories applauded republican education policies, occasionally with some criticisms, for its progressivist, secular, and egalitarian mentality. There are also many studies on the citizenship-cum-nationalism understanding of the Republic. The early republican era has mostly been studied according to two basic currents in the nationalism literature, civic and ethnic nationalism. Many scholars emphasize the civic nationalism of the republican regime in the construction of citizenship; others underline the civic as well as ethnic nationalist character of the republican citizenship (Aydingün and Aydingün 2004; Baer 2004; Neyzi 2002). My analysis expresses some similarities with the scholarship conceiving of republican citizenship in terms civic as well as ethnic characteristics, which allows me to observe how the concrete persona of citizens is sedimented through the politico-moral pedagogy in the early republican era. However, a new literature began to appear on the ethnicist and even racist color of the republican regime,

which has to do with concrete persona, with the body and blood of the republican citizens (Yıldız 2001; İşyar 2005; Maksudyan 2005a and 2005b).²² One of the best examples of such literature is Nazan Maksudyan's *Türklüğü Ölçmek: Bilimkurgusal Antropoloji ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Irkçı Çehresi, 1925-1939* and her article, having a milder claim on the "racist color" of the republican regime, "The Turkish *Review of Anthropology* and the Racist Face of Turkish Nationalism." In civic nationalism citizenship rights and duties of the citizens and equal accession to them are underlined. In the ethnicist and racist nationalism, the blood and body are overemphasized. Maksudyan claims that despite the overemphasis on civic nationalism in regarding the early republican era, there was a strong racist face which has been effaced so far. She substantiates her argument with an analysis of anthropological journal composing of 16 issues from 1925 to 1939 and argues that this reflects the state mentality, because contributors of the journal were state officials. Actually, there were many other texts mainly produced by physicians, I will discuss in Chapter Four and especially Chapter Five, which were remarkable by their racism. Yet still all these materials were not enough to define the general characteristic of the republican regime as racist.²³ Instead, I argue that these literatures should be considered as a supplement to the republican care over and colonization attempts of bodies; in other words, they show republican regimes' biopolitical concerns. In this regard, Akın (2004) and Alemdaroğlu (2005) shed some light on biopolitical dimensions of the republican regime. Akın shows us how physical education and sport programs of the republican regime have similarities with the regulation of population and life by modern states. He explains how the republican elite were aware of the fact that without creating healthy, competent, industrious and docile, "new man" of the republic, they could not transform the social and economical structure (2004, 43).

²² İşyar (2005) dates back the racialized face of Republican citizenship to the final years of Ottoman Empire.

²³ As Mosse argues human body is the most potent symbol of racism and racism and nationalism would "seem to belong together." However, he underlined the necessity to separate nationalism and racism for racism constructs the "human body, its size, sinews, muscles and bones as the bearer to "witness the superiority or inferiority of a race and its culture" (1995, 163-173). In republican nationalism, the concern over body aimed at removing inferiority of Turks as opposed to Europeans.

In this regard, he argues that physical education and having strong bodies were deemed as citizenship duties. Alemdaroğlu, on the other hand, studies “eugenicist discourse” in early republic and argues that “eugenics became an element of the Turkish state’s progressive discourse in the 1930s,” and this discourse “went hand in hand with social hygiene, pro-natalist and childcare policies” of the republican regime, which were remarkable by the 1926 Penal Code which banned abortion, by the 1930 Public Hygiene Law which prohibited the sale of contraceptives, and by the 1938 Physical Education Law, which regulated games and sports for improving physical and moral capabilities of the citizens (2005, 65 and 68). Unfortunately she does not question what would be the implication of republican concern over the body and eugenicist discourse for our understanding of the state and the political in the early republican era.

Although the early republican era, as the foundational years that affect and shape Turkish identity, has been the most studied subject, studies which delineate how a concrete citizen was constructed in his/her daily life has remained relatively untouched. As exceptions, I would mention Bozdoğan’s (2001) *Modernism and Nation-Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, where she gives us the details how the republican elite planned the construction and internal design of the home domains. Similarly, Navaro-Yashin (2000) sheds some light on how housework turned out to be a rational and scientific activity.²⁴ Cantek (2003) in her monograph on Ankara, namely “*Yaban”lar ve Yerliler: Başkent Olma Sürecinde Ankara* contributes us to imagine how the people and the elite arrange their daily routines, for instance, when there was a Republican Ball in Ankara Palas.²⁵ I should also note Ahıska’s (2005) important book, *Radyonun Sihirli Kapısı: Garbiyatçılık ve Politik Öznellik*, where she examines the problems of the East/West divide, Orientalism and Occidentalism, nationalism and subjectivity problems the republican elite faced, which would be summarized in the argument: one should reject Eastern identity for being European. However, in rejecting the

²⁴ For an article dealing both architectural policies and gender construction in the early republic see Baydar (2002).

²⁵ Please also see Oya Baydar and Derya Özkan (1999).

East, one inevitably acknowledges one's Easternness, through sketching the launch and development of radio broadcasting under the control of the Turkish state, which did not allow private radio broadcasting until 1990s. She explains the ways people were hailed and educated for being a member of the imagined community and how the radio was deemed as the "voice" of people. One significant part of radio broadcasting was the music, and thus it became an opportunity to educate musical taste of people. Ahıska explains how the Westernizing elite degraded Oriental music [alaturka] for its harmful effects, resembling alcoholism and inspiring sexual desires and pain (2005, 123). It is evident that radio broadcasting was a mechanism for infiltrating into the intimate sphere of people, yet we still do not know how the intimacies and sexualities of people were attempted to be regulated in the early Republic.

Another literature nurturing my study deals with republican pedagogical concerns in a critical manner, and attempts to examine concrete persona of republican citizens, who were subjected to social and self-disciplining in early republican Turkey. One of the first examples of these studies is Büşra Behar Ersanlı's *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*. In this significant work, Ersanlı (1996) delineated the relationship between republican power and the making of a new Turkish identity through the writings of history. Her study shows that through resorting to the historical origins of Turks, the republican elite attempted to homogenize elite and the common people, the young and adult citizens with the idea that Turks are historically superior in their racial and civilizational characteristics. She claims that these efforts, rather than being scientific search for historical realities, constituted the essence of republican citizenship education by seeming as historians, yet actually politicians (1996, 117).²⁶ Although Ersanlı notes the fact that these historical theses targeted all people, her material is confined to the congress papers produced in 1932 and 1937, and the school textbooks on Turkish history. She does not show us how and by which mechanism this historically-oriented citizenship education is disseminated to the common people and the adults.

²⁶ Please also see Copeaux (1998) for an analysis on nationalism and religiosity in textbooks.

Füsun Üstel (2004) in her monographic study entitled “*Makbul Vatandaş*”ın *Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*, examines the evolution of the citizen education through citizenship textbooks from *Malumat-ı Medeniyye and Hukukiye* to *Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi* in a larger period from the late Ottoman period to the contemporary Turkey. She explains how school children were addressed and educated as a “proper citizen” by formal schooling system. What is most crucial in her study is her finding that, after the Republic, the citizenship education at schools was based upon a double mission: civility [civilité] and patriotism [civisme.] (2004, 174-175). And she enumerates various tasks committed to good Turks in these texts including how one would love his/her country and the state, why one should not spit out on the streets, the ways one would keep with his/her bodily as well as moral cleanliness. She also notes that these qualities expected from school children were based upon a more foundational understanding in the early republican era, that is “republican and secular morality” (2004, 175). Ustel’s is a very rich and detailed investigation on the pedagogical side of the republican regime through the citizenship textbooks, however one would still ask what are the other sources that educate people, especially those who constitute the majority of the national population, such as peasants and women, as proper Turkish citizens?

1.5. Material of the Study

Perhaps, with the single exception of Great Britain, there exists not in the world a more reading nation than Turkey...But the studies of Osmanlis of both sexes have, with a few exceptions, hitherto been confined to the Koran and to works of an inconsequent and useless description; the mere plaything of an idle hour, incapable of inspiring one novel idea, or of leaving upon the mind impressions calculated to exalt or to enlighten it (Pardoe quoted in Strauss 2003, 39).

Julia Pardoe wrote in her book based upon her travel in the 19th century Istanbul, entitled *The City of the Sultan: Domestic Manners of the Turks*. This observation of Pardoe was somehow supported by Başgöz and Wilson who argue that, “there were virtually no books in most Turkish homes in 1924, either for children or adults” (1968, 65). Scholars also have noted the difficulty occurred after the

replacement of Arabo-Farsic alphabet with the Latin one. Feroz Ahmad, among others, claims that “those who had been educated in the old script became illiterate overnight” (2003, 87). The already acknowledged limited habit and capability of reading of people turned out to be a more challenging question in the early republican era. A nationwide campaign was launched for increasing the number of the literate population, where there is no need to call personal efforts of Mustafa Kemal himself, who occasionally examined the man in the street in terms of his acquired skill in the new Alphabet; or Nation’s Schools (Millet Mektepleri) and the courses launched by People’s Houses for the adult. However, the matter was beyond teaching “how to read,” but it was also about “what to read” by the people. Setting aside the technical problems arising in a few years following the Alphabet reform, in the 1930s there appeared many books, pamphlets, translated volumes, transliterated volumes, periodicals and dailies for making the “reading” an easy as well as enlightening activity in line with the politico-moral framework drawn by the republican regime, which sought for creating proper citizens.

Among the emerging bulk of written texts, the materials I chose in this dissertation are known as “people’s books.” As Gürçağlar explains, the term, as used in the 1930s and 1940s, was not a strict category, covering various types of works such as folkloric books, recent productions by the famous writers as well as a series of translated volumes (2001, 306). Still being numerous, I used the ones whose pedagogical inclinations were obvious. I studied mainly advice literature, self-help books and other pedagogical texts, which were produced mostly by physicians, pedagogues and self-proclaimed experts, which directly addressed people, which popularized the expert knowledge about health, civility, sexuality, and other daily routines, and which aimed to guide people in the new republican life. Most of these materials were either based upon the talks or written in the form of talk, including the statements such as “Dear Citizens,” “Dear Fellow Peasants,” “Our Daughters,” or giving friendly advices like “let’s respect for our republic,” “let’s keep our health for the nation,” and/or posing questions such as “would a civilized man act like that?” or “would a truly Turk think like that?” Apart from the materials written in the book form, which were mostly in octavo-size and enlarged

fonts for making the reading simple and quick, I also looked into the columns or special pages in dailies and periodicals, which talked to peasants, women and the young. Although the similar advisory texts prepared for the people were disseminated in the different corners of the country and they aimed to hail to all Turkish people as if it were a single, homogenous body, it is hard to argue that they represent and define a full-fledged mentality of the republican regime, for, although they all focused on educating common people in the mundane details of life and were framed by a loosely defined politico-moral terms of the period, the contents of advisory speeches and texts were changing according to the audience, according to the gender, age, and the residence—city or village, for instance—of the audience. As I mentioned at the beginning, the authors producing these materials are various including such as a village school teacher, a physician at a public or a private clinic, a volunteer in a People’s House, a member of the Society of Fighting against Venereal Diseases in İzmir, some representatives (for instance, female representatives contributed to the Journal *Ana* to educate women about the virtue of mothering.) and university professors. Some of these materials were translations, or in fact pseudo-translation because of omissions and additions made by translators. But again the translators—some of them who translated the books were not known—inserted their own arguments which were in line with general framework of the republican pedagogy. In this regard we should acknowledge the contribution of some publishing houses such as *Köy Hocası Matbaası*, *Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi*, *Kanaat Kütüphanesi*, *Suhûlet Kütüphanesi*, *Hilmi Kitaphanesi*, *Tefeyyüz Kitap Evi*, and *Resimli Ay Matbaası*. In 1933, for instance, there were 51 private publishing houses in Istanbul (Gürçağlar 2001, 254). Provincial publishing houses of different cities such as Gaziantep, Denizli, or İzmir also contributed to the enlargement of advice literature for republican citizens. Publications of the People’s Houses provided important source. They published not only monthlies but also hundreds of small books which were remarkable by their recommendatory and informatory tone. Village Bureaus also contributed much to the recommendations for peasants about how to improve their economic, cultural as well as health conditions. A special journal targeting peasants was worth mentioning in this regard: *Yurt*. It began its life in 1933 when

the tenth anniversary of the Republic inflicted a more passionate desire to reach and educate the real owner of the Turkish homeland. *Yurt* used the same stylistic strategy: large fonts, simple sentences, speaking manner in the written form. In sum, the material I analyzed in this dissertation, targeted “people” who had habituated to deem the reading as a collective activity, which would be made in public places such as coffee houses or in the village rooms. These people had limited formal schooling and thus assumed to have difficulty in reading “complicated” texts, which would be a legal text on village tasks, a scientific article on syphilis, a Western novel reflecting modern literary aesthetics, or a philosophical text on pedagogy like Rousseau’s *Emile*.

In addition to these materials, I also scanned the People’s Houses publications such as periodicals including *Ülkü*, *Yeni Türk Mecmuası*, *Altan* and *Dıranaz*, books and conference papers, and some dailies such as *Cumhuriyet*, *Son Posta* and *Yeni Gün* and popular magazines such as *Muhit*, *Ev-İş*, *Yeni Adam* and *Ana* as well as *Türk Yurdu*, *Sihhiye Mecmuası* and *İdare*, and certain legal texts such as the Village Law and the Public Hygiene Law or the circulars of the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Interior Affair and the Ministry of Education and the speeches delivered by the governing elite such as Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü.

1.6. Organization of the Study

The seven chapters in the dissertation are organized as follows: after this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 studies the republican order of things with a special attention given to the aim of producing virtuous and strong Turkish citizens. It analyzes initially the sentimental and mental structure of the republican elite. It studies the power of the West, the malady of the East, and the poverty of people within the emotional economy of the Kemalist elite, which shaped their politico-moral discourse in the making of Turkish citizens. Republicanism, in this sense, appears not as an overnight invention, but a reflection of the resolution to create a nation according to an anticipated Western model. Through disseminating the motto “Republic is a virtue,” the Kemalist elite aimed at educating people for the sake of exalting the national honor, dignity and morality. As opposed to the

received wisdom, which studies republican regime by merely referring to a vocabulary of scientism, positivism and modernist progress and power, this chapter underlines the sentimental and moral character of the republican regime and shows the moral content of the republican scientism. After mapping the sentimental economy of the elite, this chapter reveals how this economy informed the subject-production process in the 1930s. For this reason, it traces the genealogy of the national pedagogy as the kernel of republican politico-pedagogical discourse. Analyzing the republican politics through centralizing the national pedagogy, allows us to comprehend the state power in a different way. Instead of conceiving of the republican state as a leftover of the Oriental Despot, which does not know and care about its population, this chapter exposes how the republican power from the beginning cared for the very details of life, and attempted to colonize the bodies and intimacies of people through disseminating a republican worldly morality.

Chapter 3 studies one of two major icons of the Republic, that of peasants and asks: What is the valence of Anatolian peasants within the republican politico-moral economy? Do they occupy a Rousseauan “noble-savage” position? Do they inspire identification, belonging and longing?²⁷ Do they arouse philanthropic feelings? And if so, why and how? Richard Rorty (2003) calls for a “sentimental education” in order for “learning about other people’s lives and particularly their suffering.” In the early republican period, the republican elite were sentimentally educated—as being motivated by the modernist and patriotic feeling— ‘to discover the life of the peasants, to alleviate their suffering’ yet their main agenda was to realize the sentimental education of the peasants in a similar vein to, what Eugene Weber (1976) describes in the context of France, to transform ‘peasants into Turkish men.’ In the 1930s of republican Turkey, “traveling toward villages” became the one of basic political agendas of the republican elite: the countryside turned out to be “intimate” domains, connoting simultaneously inaccessibility and proximity. Villages were deemed inaccessible and remote because they were materially and geographically remote from the centre, and yet they were also

²⁷ For the connotations of the word “belonging” please see Viki Bell (1999).

sentimentally and morally remote, because of their lack of access to the Westernist and nationalist ideals of the republican regime. On the other hand, they were deemed near and dear for being the national essence: the most precious core, the purest and unmarred soul of the nation inhabits in the villages. Such intricate intimacy of the villages attracted the modern desire and erected the patriotic sentiments of the republican elite: to know about villages and villagers, and thus to govern and educate peasants. This chapter analyses various republican attempts to intervene into and regulate the intimacy of the peasants.

Chapter 4 analyzes the gendered twist the republican regime took in the 1930s. Instead of focusing on how women were subordinated through a patriarchal regime, or which civil and political rights were devoted to the women, this chapter studies the ways the maternal affection as a private emotion is associated with the nationalist sentiment as a public emotion. It asks if the “good and proper citizen” ideal of republican Turkey would connote different meanings for women and men. Ruth H. Bloch argues that in the recent interpretation of the American republican tradition, the word “virtue” strips of its classical usage in terms of female sexual prudence, chastity and altruism, instead it gains a different meaning related to the “male public spirit,” to “the willingness of citizens to engage actively in civic life and to sacrifice individual interests for the common good” (1987, 38). In the Turkish republican tradition, however, “virtuous citizen” emerges at the intersection of the private with the public, personal with the political, intimate with the national. Yet still, I ask if the republican morality separates the female private morality from the male public morality. Yuval-Davis (1997), Chatterjee (1993) and others show how femininity is a significant factor in the nationalist discourse. Many scholars underline that women were idolized by the republican regime in Turkey (Kandiyoti 1987; Ahiska 2005). And George L. Mosse rightly argues that “if woman was idealized, she was at the same time put firmly in her place” (1985, 90). This chapter exposes the place of women as a pedagogical object, and yet a privileged subject of the Republic. By focusing on “maternity,” which is a sentimental as well as biological disposition, this chapter includes in its investigation, the biopolitical concerns of the republican rule: extending the

number of population, guaranteeing the health and longevity of the republican children, consolidating the strength of the nation require the regulation and control of the feminine bodies through a discourse revolving around maternal affection.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 consisted of two monographs, which supplement the republican politico-moral pedagogy in its intimacy-oriented policies for sexual and corporeal education of the Turkish citizens. In these chapters, I focus on a personality-oriented, hygiene- and ethics-based politics of the republican elite. I show how the national character-building efforts are tied to the individual—to use White and Hunt’s vocabulary—as a “self-conscious and self-monitoring ethical being” (2000, 106). I explore how individual development and strength, personal hygiene and health as the private concerns of the modern beings were converged with the national and public discourse of the Kemalist pedagogy. Chapter 5 studies sexual advice literature in the 1930s. Chapter 6 studies syphilis as a sexually transmitted disease in the 1930s. It exposes the power and morality axis intersecting this medical disease. In both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I explore the exclusionary operations of the nationalist pedagogy directed against the “sickly and weak” configurations. In these chapters I argue that “proper and good citizens” are not educated merely by an inclusive discourse, which hails and recognizes people as the “subject” of nation, but more importantly by an exclusionary, scientific-yet-moral discourse, which marks certain figures as “other.” In this othering, the “weak, feeble and pale” configurations are not discovered as simple physical deformities, but are rendered as the sign of moral degenerations; as the deviation from the nationalist and civilizational ideals of the republican regime. Through the excluded, abjected, and the “sick” figures, the republican rule legitimizes its intervention into intimate sphere and regulates sensual and sexual potentials of people. In this regulation, the republican politico-moral discourse articulates scientism, eugenics, and medical knowledge on health and strength to promote self-control and self-regulation of citizens according to nationalist body politics.

CHAPTER 2

THE NATIONAL PEDAGOGY

If I can demonstrate that man is, in fact, nothing more than the product of his education, I shall doubtless reveal an important truth to the nations. They will learn that they have in their hands the instruments of their greatness and their felicity, and that to be happy and powerful, it is only a matter of perfecting the science of education. (Helvétius)

Having been stripped of the shoddy vestments of tradition, people will have been reduced to the pure, pristine state of the 'man as such', exemplars of the human species. They will share just one attribute: the infinite capacity to be acted upon, shaped, perfected. Having been bared of old and shabby clothes, they will be ready to be clothed again. (Zygmunt Bauman)

2.1. Introduction

One of the most prominent thinkers of our time, Zygmunt Bauman (1987), in expressing the common political standpoint of the modern elite is very critical about the entrapment of people through the pedagogical iron cage of modern times. Bauman considers the politico-pedagogical stance of the modern elite in line with the French philosopher Michel Foucault. In Foucault's analysis, modernity itself is shaping, training, disciplining, imprisoning and thus subjecting people as docile bodies. Two centuries ago, however, philosophers, including Helvétius, considered modern pedagogy quite positively, when they disseminated the motto "Education can do all (*l'éducation peut tout*)" (Parry 1999, 25). Does not the very term Enlightenment reflect the general optimism of modern thinkers about the transformative power of knowledge and education? Geraint Parry replies affirmatively by stating that "the Age of Enlightenment was also an Age of Pedagogy." Accordingly in modern times, the political elite, especially in the making of the nation-states, resorted to the pedagogical strategies for "imprinting truth and virtue on the minds of the rising generation and extirpating prejudice at its roots" (1999, 25). The political elite centralized education for pursuing the common goals of modernity: progress, power, and prosperity.

The most momentous truth and virtue to be inculcated into people, the modern elite agonizingly noticed, were the ones associated with “nation” and “homeland.” What Eugene Weber observed in France is relevant for other contexts in the making of the modern-nation states: “patriotic feelings on the national level, far from instinctive” but “had to be learned” (1976, 114). The necessity to inculcate national truths and virtues into the mind of people, a prominent task of the nationalist elite arises as a paradox. The mobilization of people into the nationalist projects is not a direct and natural event, but rather requires a didactic performance, via which people, the very embodiment of the nations, turn out to be the object of the nationalist pedagogies. Accordingly, Homi Bhabha invites us to consider people in the double time of the nation as the performative subjects and the pedagogical objects. For people do not simply and directly become a part of the patriotic body politic; rather they become the objects of a nationalist pedagogy (1993, 297)²⁸ for, as Chatterjee explains, they are (were) not “yet fully developed to fulfill the nation’s destiny” (2005, 925).

This chapter analyzes the relation between politics, pedagogy and modernity in the early republican era. It studies Kemalism, which is known as the “late-Enlightenment will to modernity in a Muslim setting,” (İrem 2002, 87) through centralizing its politico-pedagogical and politico-moral concerns. It examines Kemalism as an overlapping discourse of the art of governing (politics) and the art of teaching (pedagogy) which “crafts” people as modern Turks.²⁹ More specifically, it elaborates on the Kemalist politico-pedagogical discourse by tracing the genealogy of the national pedagogy. And it suggests that, through operating *the national pedagogy* as a national policy the Kemalist elite aimed at building a common national character (*milli seciye*) and producing people as homogeneous unity committed to the one single national ideal, *milli mefkure*, which means exalting the nation to the level of advanced civilization of the West.

²⁸ Please also see Necmi Erdoğan (1998) and Fethi Açıkel (2002) on the national pedagogy.

²⁹ In using such a terminology in equating Kemalism as an artistic performance and Kemalist elite as craftsmen, I should add what Falih Rifki Atay spelt out about Atatürk in his Çankaya: “He was not a polisher, but a sculptor.” (1969,442)

2.2. West, Nation and the Elite

To Western Eyes the world into which I was born ... would appear to belong a chapter of the *Arabian Nights*. It was a shattered world always on the brink of chaos and crisis, where the new and the old, the exotic and the shabby, were in continual clash (Yalman 1956, 3),

wrote Ahmet Emin [Yalman], the famous journalist, owner and editor-in-chief of the daily *Vatan* (Homeland), which began its circulation in 1923, when the Turkish Republic was proclaimed. These words of Yalman, which appeared in his book *Turkey in My Time*, give us significant clue about the structure of feeling surrounding the elite mind in the early republican era. In fact, his words are not the reflection of the exaggerated sentiments of a nationalist. One of the orientalist articles in 1936 devoted to the social change in the republican era would be read as a replica of the Western image of Turkey and Turks:

...Turkey has been an attention-arresting territory with enchanting harem-life; fantastic mosques of many minarets; turbaned muezzins with shrill voices calling the 'faithful' to the prayer; donkeys and camels carrying oriental wares through the streets;...men squatted in cafes smoking-water-pipes, drinking thick mud-like coffee from small cups;...and the simple peasant in his quaint, colorful garb parading through streets with the speed of a turtle. In one word, it is a land of exotic objects and persons (Jameson 1936, 489).

Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu], the prominent novelist and intellectual of the same period detected the similar structure of feeling, a defensive positioning in front of Western eyes in the personality of Mustafa Kemal by stating "Mustafa Kemal, who is the most indulgent (rint), carefree and tolerant human being of the world, becomes one of the most anxious, uncomfortable and sensitive men in the world in a place where there is a foreigner, especially a European" (1971, 87). Another republican intellectual, Falih Rıfkı Atay, in his well-known *Çankaya* creates a dichotomy between the Arabic and the Western civilization in order for creating a Turkish identity by arguing "Westernization as emancipation from Arabization, means Turkification" (1969, 446). And he explains the nationalist aim as "creating a complete European, laic state out of a half-Asian theocratic state" (1969, 359).

The leading Turkist and educationist Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver's words on the relation between Westernization and Turkification is quite similar: "We have learnt our Turkishness after being European." ([Tanrıöver] quoted in Üstel 1997, 134-135) Ahmet Ağaoğlu as well underlined the importance of the Western effect in the idea of nation by stating: "The idea of national sovereignty comes to us solely from the West and it is totally oppositional to all civilization and traditions of the East" (1992[1923], 86). Much earlier than these elite, the founding father of the Turkish nationalism, Ziya Gökalp, explained that:

We have to accept the civilization of the West, because, if we do not we shall be enslaved by the powers of the West. To master the civilization of the West, or to be mastered by the powers of the West: between these alternatives we have to choose! Today this truth is well understood: in order to defend our freedom and independence against Europe, we have to conquer the civilization of the Europeans (1959, 266).

Given that Turkish modernizing elite draw a direct correlation between nationalization and Westernization, that they define the fundamental national ideal, namely *milli mefkure* as catching up with the Western countries, and that they attempted to erase the Ottoman/Islamic civilization from the collective national imagination, I delineate the Kemalist politico-pedagogical discourse as a cultural self-colonization.³⁰

2.2.1. Self-Colonization, Self-Orientalism

What I mean by colonization, following Mohanty (1998), is a relation of structural domination and a suppression of the heterogeneity of people in Anatolia and Thrace. However, colonization connotes various meanings: from its analytic value as a category of exploitative economic exchange in both traditional and contemporary Marxism, to its use by feminist women of color in the US to describe the appropriation of their experiences and struggles by hegemonic white women's movements, colonization has been used to characterize everything from the most evident economic and political hierarchies, to the production of a

³⁰ Hasan Bülent Kahraman underlines the necessity to look into whether Turkish modernization is a self-colonization (2004, 140).

particular cultural discourse about what is called ‘the third world’ (Mohanty 1998). Apparently, Turkey has never been a colony. In employing the concept of “self-colonization” my intent is to highlight the fact that the Turkish modernization project is based upon a strategy of the cultural survival under the conditions of the necessity for creating a new nation out of a failed empire, and the acceptance of the dominance of the West as a different and “unfortunately superior” civilization. In this connection, I criticize certain assumptions that evaluate the Turkish modernization as “voluntary”; among others, for example, Nilüfer Göle (1998) uses the term “voluntary authoritarian modernization.” It is necessary to keep in mind, however, that the Turkish modernization presents significant differences from the modernization of the colonized countries such as India. Then, my position in evaluating the Turkish modernization after the Western path is rather based upon the concept of “cultural survival” as used by Butler. For her, “miming” gender is beyond a choice, rather it is a cultural survival; it is a strategic mode of “going on” within a specific socio-cultural context, and she implies that the mimesis of the dominant norms is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid. For sure, this is a painful and melancholic existence. Similarly, “miming” the West, in the Turkish context, arises from a necessity, considering the ongoing intellectual discussions about the westernization strategies and certain reformations implemented since the 18th century. My usage of the concept “self-colonization” can be gathered from Ahmet Ağaoğlu as well. For him, there are three ways of cultural transformation or civilizational change. The first way occurs when a high culture invades the less civilized society whom is forced to accept the cultural superiority and the norms of the invader. The second way occurs in a society whose culture and civilization is high, however, for some reason, this society has to live under the domination of a barbarous culture for a while, and then, the high culture of the country re-dominates. In the third way, a society changes its own culture without being invaded by another culture. It is significant to note that, in this third way, which is the way of Russia, Japan and Turkey, the decision for change does not come from an authentic desire for change, rather, there is the element of force and manipulation differently from other ways of cultural transformation (Ağaoğlu 1936). From another angle, my term “self-colonization”

can be tied to what Dirlik calls “self-orientalism,” by which, according to Dirlik, the Orientals perceive themselves through selectively appropriated, European images of the Orient (Dirlik 1996).

It seems that in the Turkish context, what Chatterjee studies as the contradiction of the nationalist thought in the non-West context appears differently. Chatterjee (1989) argues in the making of modern India that nationalists divided culture into two spheres: material and spiritual (moral). The material sphere is a legitimate domain for adapting the Western institutions and norms. However, the moral sphere, which is more significant than the material one, where the essence of nation lies, should be kept away from the Western effect. Then the success for the non-West countries depends on combining the superior material qualities of Western cultures with the spiritual greatness of the East. Although Turkish nationalists in the early republican era, in a similar vein to the Indian nationalists, incorporated the post-Enlightenment idea that West and East are essentially different, they did not assign any superiority to the East. On the contrary, the Kemalist elite assigned great significance to transform the mental and sentimental structure because as Mustafa Kemal himself explained, that it was the Eastern mentality that caused the failure of the non-West (i.e. Islamic) countries in front of the West: “...the exact reason of all our misery is the problem of mentality...We have to admit that because of always continuing wrong mentalities in all Islamic world, the Islamic countries from the east to the west were under the siege of the enemies” (1997, 142).

The wrong mentality Mustafa Kemal detected was the main reason that deferred national awakening among the Turks. That is why, the reforms to be carried out aimed to “form Turkish society into a modern society in every aspect” (Karal 1981, 15). Among the disabling mental and moral qualifications, Mustafa Kemal mentioned the following as the reflection of the Eastern mind: “under-valuing human life, vagabondage, laziness, considering life a burden, elevating the moral quality of poverty, not being concerned about nature, being unable to assess the actual value of any concept, turning one’s back on free thought”. All these

concepts, Mustafa Kemal asserted, “make the life of a nation meaningless” (Karal 1981, 15).

What does make a national life meaningful in the first place? Is it material or moral sphere? In reflecting upon Ernest Renan’s prominent article entitled “What is a nation?” Uday Mehta explores that religion, language, race, material interests, military necessity, and even geography are disqualified as appropriate answers; instead nation emerges as a *spiritual principle*, which “involved a specific outlook toward a shared history.” However, Mehta added, that “it is not simply the fact of a common history that Renan pointed to, but rather ‘an attitude,’ ‘a feeling,’ ‘a sentiment’ that attended this history. The existence of a nation was contingent on this spiritual development” (Mehta 1999, 187). This spiritual development makes the life of a nation meaningful through awakening a national existence in history as well as creating a collective amnesia. In the Turkish context, the modernizing elite connected national awakening with the Western civilization and attempted to create a collective amnesia with the Islamic (Ottoman) civilization. Obviously, modernizing elite shared a common idea that a civilization shift is inevitable for creating a new nation.

2.2.2. Republican Reforms

Ahmet Emin Yalman summarizes the common republican implication for the Ottoman past (Islamic civilization):

Turkey was called the ‘Sick Man’ of Europe for three quarters of a century. The nickname was not out of place. The Ottoman Turkish Empire, diseased by decadence, was on its deathbed in a relatively healthy world at the turn of the twentieth century. In the first half of this century, an amazing reversal took place—Turkey became a healthy nation in a relatively sick world (1956, 3).

Here the formula of the success of new Turkey lies in the full adaptation of the Western civilization and the radical break with the Ottoman/Islamic/Arabic civilization.

As is well-known at the end of the First World War (1914-1918), the Ottoman Empire, one of the longest lived empires, collapsed, and the Anatolian part and the Thrace region of the Ottoman lands harbored a new nation-state, emulating the Western European countries. Instead of a dynastic rule, the builders of the Turkish nation-state proclaimed the Republic as the expression of a new governing mentality in 1923. The first attempt for cutting the Turkish umbilical cord ties with the Ottoman past was the abolishment of the sultanate on November 1, 1922. Lewis considered the constitutional amendment in the form ‘Ankara is the seat of government of Turkish state’ as a new breach with the past (2002, 260). In fact, for the Turkish nationalists, Ankara, for its placement at the heart of Anatolia, reflected a more “native Turkish genius” than the cosmopolitan Istanbul (Spencer 1958, 644). After the proclamation of the Republic, the office of the caliph was eliminated and all members of the Ottoman dynasty were exiled. In addition, in 1924, Turkey witnessed the abolishment of religious schools, ecclesiastical law courts, and the Ottoman Ministry of Religious Affairs. A new constitution was adopted in the same year (Tezel 2005, 126).³¹ The most significant reform in 1925 was the enactment of the hat law. This law prohibited the fez and made mandatory for men to adopt Western dress. Although women were not forced to leave their veil, they were encouraged to adopt the Western dress as well. The year 1926 witnessed the enactment of civil, criminal, and commercial laws. Berkes considers the secularization of civil law as the most constructive achievement because “the wheels of the society were thus put on a new track” (1964, 467). While the purification of Turkish language from the Arabic and Persian vocabulary began earlier as part of the Turkist ideology, in 1928 the Arabic alphabet was replaced by the Latin alphabet. It was required for all Turkish citizens under 40 to learn it. Some scholars consider the alphabet reform as the most significant achievement for establishing amnesia with the Islamic past. Furthermore, the constitutional statement “Islam is the religion of the state” was eliminated. As Spencer stated

³¹ Tezel more clearly explained that “The constitution (1924) was similar to those in parliamentary democracies and was itself open to multi-party politics...The constitution listed the liberal civic rights of all the citizens who were to be, as individuals, equal in front of the law irrespective of their gender, religion or ‘race’...It provided for an independent judiciary and prohibited interference of the Government and the Assembly in the functioning of the courts.” (2005, 126)

“Under terms of this amendment, not only is the national assembly freed from application of religious laws, but the name of God is not required in oaths. There is instead, in legal situations, the affirmation of national honor, such formulas as ‘I vow by my honor as a Turk’ being substituted by oaths” (1958, 645).

2.2.3. Maintenance of Order

Apart from these reforms for eliminating the “Ottoman decadence” and establishing Turkish identity in new Turkey, the 1920s also witnessed the attempts of creating a homogeneous nation out of a more diversified religious and ethnic population. As Çağaptay argues, as late as 1912, that Anatolia and Thrace were part of the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire and fifteen years later the ethnic homogenization, religious singularity and nationalization policies transformed these lands into a Turkish homeland (2002, 67).³² These reforms and policies were made possible by the Law of the Maintenance of Order which was enacted for suppressing the insurgents in the East region of Turkey. However, it was used for suppression all oppositional voices, especially the press. Lewis explained that it “had given Kemal the legal authority to deal not only with the insurgents in the east but also political opponents in Ankara, Istanbul, and elsewhere” (2002, 275).

On March 4, 1929, Prime Minister İsmet [İnönü] gave a speech to the Turkish parliament on the removal of the “Law of the Maintenance of Order” and said that: “In the passing four years good things, which could not be done in four centuries were done” (1946, 194). Among these significant events, İsmet [İnönü] was proud of mentioning first the “emancipation” of women from the social slavery. He said that: “...those who make good social slavery for our women will be considered as assailants who want to damage the very heart of the Republicans” (1946, 194). The other emancipation was made by the separation of religion from the state and politics so that, İsmet [İnönü] declared citizens’ clean and pure faith became free from the worldly affairs. And the last emancipation, İsmet [İnönü] mentioned, was

³² See also Çağaptay’s (2006) book where he studies Turkish nationalism through the population resettlement and minority policies.

related to the language, which connoted to the emancipation from the Arabic and Persian effect through the adoption of new Turkish alphabet.

When the Prime Minister İsmet [İnönü] declared the end of an era, which needed the Law of the Maintenance of Order, actually a new order was opening in the history of Turkey. The label Kemalism was first used by Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu] in 1929 for explaining the basic principles and values of the Turkish path to progress, power and prosperity (Akurgal 1983, 126). Yetkin explains that after the closure of Free Republican Party on November 17, 1930, a new era began in Turkish history. After that time, a single party, the Republican People's Party, dominated the country until the end of the WWII (1983, 17). In this period, Kemalism, as it was expressed in the RPP's program, became a coherent, permanent ideology (Parla 1992, 21). Kemalism was publicized at the 1931 congress of the Republican People's Party and repeated as *Kamalizm* in the 1935 congress. Kemalism, as the nation- and state-building ideology, contains six basic principles, namely nationalism, republicanism, populism, secularism, statism and revolutionism. (Ahmad 1981; Parla 1995; Çelik 2002; Zürcher 2002) These principles became part of the constitution in 1937 and since then “have guided the destinies of Turkish people” (Ahmad 1981, 145). As explained by Recep Peker, the general secretary of the RPP, basic principles of the party were not established in a short while; rather, they were the result of a careful analysis of the new life trends of world and the peculiarities of the Turkish nation ([1931] 1992, 106).

2.2.4. New Concerns and Colors of the Republic

After the consolidation of the republican regime, the single party rule³³ began to appear in a much more authoritarian color in the 1930s (Tunçay 1992). And the 1930s became an era where the bio-political, eugenicist, and racist concerns at differentiating degrees were articulated into the nationalist discourse of the republican regime (Akın 2004; Alemdaroğlu 2005; Maksudyan 2005a; 2005b). In line with these concerns, as I will reflect on in detail in the next chapter, republican

³³ For a detailed analysis on the establishment of a single party rule, please see Mete Tunçay (1992).

rule increased its care over population in number and bodies in health and strength. Various laws and regulations were arranged and some leading institutions were established in order for increasing the number of population, improving the physical and psychological health and strength of the citizens, and exalting the moral and civilizational level of people. The Village Law (1924), the Public Hygiene Law (1930), the Physical Education Law (1938) as well as certain regulations on fighting against prostitution and venereal diseases were crucial legal efforts for intrusion into and transforming the daily life and habits of people.

2.2.5. Pedagogical Institutions

The tasks given to cultural and educative institutions were of significance, because republican elite claimed that backwardness and unhealthiness of the Turkish nation derives from the lack of education. Apart from the formal school systems, which were targeting at schoolchildren, adult education expressed a particular novelty for the nationalist elite. For this reason, Millet Mektepleri (National Schools) (1928), Halk Hatipleri Teşkilatı (the Public Orators' Institution) (1931), Türk Tarih Kurumu (the Turkish Historical Society) (1931), Türk Dil Kurumu (the Turkish Language Society) (1932) and Halkevleri (People's Houses) (1932), were established (Çakan 2004; Behar 1996; Şimşek 2005). Among these institutions, the most comprehensive and widespread ones were the People's Houses. They were divided into nine different branches including language and literature, fine arts, theatre, sports, welfare, and educational courses, libraries and publications, and village development facilities. Organizing various conferences and speeches, traveling towards villages and publishing periodicals and small books were among their duties. People's Houses' publications cover approximately 70 journals and hundreds of books and pamphlets (Şimşek 2005). Among these journals, the Ankara People's House's *Ülkü* (mefkure in the old usage) and İstanbul People's House's *Yeni Türk Mecmuası* were the leading ones for educating people through the policies of *the national pedagogy*, which was the dissemination of *milli mefkure* nationwide and the inculcation of *milli seciye* into the heart and mind of people.

2.3. The National Pedagogy: A Rational or a Moral Project?

Many scholars of Kemalism shared the assumption that a positivist-humanist vocabulary, deriving from the Enlightenment principles of reason, rationality, secularism and progress dominated the republican order of things in the early republican period (Kazancıgil 1981; Ersanlı 1992; Timur 1993; Köker 1993).³⁴ Some scholars applauded such rational efforts of the republican elites, yet they acknowledged the limited character of these efforts on the ground that economic underdevelopment of the country which was caused partly by the imperialist invasion of the European powers (Timur 1993), and mostly by the old-fashioned dynastic rule or the traditional order of the Ottoman Empire (Berkes 1964). Others criticized not the rational mentality but the manner of the republican elite, who maintained a political culture of the past and dominated the society from above, curtailed the civil society and civil initiatives, and prohibited a democratic opposition apart from permitting a few fake attempts for the oppositional parties (Parla 1992). Consequently, all acknowledged the authoritarian character of the regime, as against the ideal liberal democratic model in the Western countries: while the former tolerate this authoritarian ruling as an inevitable yet a temporal occurrence,³⁵ the latter detect an inherited, long-lasting hostility toward the wisdom and folkways of the people, within which religion occupies a central role (Mardin 1973). Especially the divide between the secularist outlook of the elite and the religious orientation of people, is considered as the basic political contradiction which absorbs all other conflicts and fragmentation in the Turkish body politic. In line with this emphasis on the secularist vision of the elite, positivism emerges as another integral stance of the late Ottoman and early republican elite discourse.³⁶ Positivism is identified as a significant Young Turk

³⁴ For a challenge to the dominant idea, which accepts Kemalism as Turkish Enlightenment, Taha Parla (2002).

³⁵ Please see Timur (1993). He claims the democratic character of the Kemalist republic and argues that every revolution is democratic as soon as it eliminates a dominant and privileged class...Kemalist regime did not prohibit free thought, rather it prohibited counter-revolutionary arguments (1993, 289).

³⁶ Selçuk Akşin Somel considers the positivist cultural attitude, Enlightenment partisanship as well as the contempt for the Islamic Eastern culture among the Ottoman intellectuals as the failure of Hamidian religious indoctrination. (2001, 186-187).

legacy received by the republican elite (Timur 1993; Köker 1993). Although some differentiations exist within the positivisms, Ottoman and republican elites share some common convictions including anti-obscurantism, scientism, biological materialism, hostility towards the religious clergy and suspects about masses (Zürcher 2002, 54). Positivist understanding is deemed essential by shaping the economic, political and cultural analysis of the republican regime, which aims at catching up with the “contemporary civilization” (muasır medeniyet). As Köker underlines positive science and technology are considered as the fundamental constituent of the civilization (2002, 223). Political consequences of positivism can be witnessed both in the repression of the oppositional powers and political rivals for being religious regressivists, and in the desire for maintaining the strong state structure. Similarly, Heper notes the scientism and rationalism of the “Atatürkist polity”—to use his own terminology—and added that the people was expected to acquire the capacity to reach consensus not through multiple confrontations, but by attaining a higher level of rationality (Heper 1985).³⁷ In accordance with this ideal of high rationality, the new citizens were desired to be rational and anti-clerical, who “approach all matters intellectually, objectively” (Karpat 1959, 54). In addition, Eisenstadt identifies the ideology of Turkish nationalists as “a secular, rationalist, nationalist, anti-religious, etatist one, with relatively weak social orientations or themes” (Eisenstadt 1981).

2.3.1. Love of Country: A Fundamental Sentiment

In the studies emphasizing the scientist, positivist and rationalist kernel of Kemalism, a prominent speech of Mustafa Kemal constituted a significant position. This speech was made on September 22, 1924 in Samsun. There, Mustafa Kemal stated initially that, “For everything in the world, for civilization, for life, for success, the most important factor is science” (1997, 202). This was one of the most cited sentences of Mustafa Kemal. Every school children of Turkey would repeat it by heart, for it has embellished school walls. In the same speech, Mustafa Kemal mentioned a more significant point for the national life:

³⁷ Özer Ozankaya (1994) as well underlines scientism as the core of Atatürk’s way.

I have to explain one point for my love and respect for the life and future of the country and nation. Citizens! You would love any of your fellow-citizens as you wish. You would love someone as your sibling, your friend, your father, your off-spring, your lover. However, this love should not give you, your national existence, despite all your love for it, to any of your lover...For a nation, for the existence of a nation, for the honor and dignity of a nation, for the greatness of nation, there is no greater mistake than this (1997, 203).

Although science and reason expressed novelty in Mustafa Kemal's rhetoric, the love of country appeared as the unique sentiment exalted over all other personal attachment including paternal, maternal, fraternal and amorous love.

Recently scholars of sentiment have begun questioning the exaggerated emphasis on the Enlightenment principles, mastery of reason and rationality as the political foundation of nation-states. They have asked why sentiments and affective dispositions are treated as embellishment rather than the substance of governing projects (Stoler 2004). Ernest Renan detects a spiritual rather than a rational principle as the founding principle of the nation. Benedict Anderson (1991) considers nationalism in line with "kinship" and "religion" instead of "liberalism" and "fascism"; defines national imagination as a fraternal attachment; and resembles nation a community for which people would willingly die for. Ann Laura Stoler showed that states' "assessment of the intensity of 'feelings', 'attachments' and senses of belonging were not metaphors for something else but as 'dense transfer of points of power.'" (Stoler 2004, 7).

In the foundation of modern Turkey, the republican elite appreciated the sentimental and moral attachments as the "dense transfer points of power." When they defined the catching up with the Western civilization as the national ideal, they were well aware of that the West was not a West of simply "modern sciences and techniques." Rather, as Falih Rifkî Atay stated, "We [Turkish people] were not the victims of the material superiority of the West. We were the victims of that very moral superiority which had given material superiority to the West." (Berkes 1964, 464).

2.3.2. Secular Education

In *Modern Social Imaginaries*, Charles Taylor (2004) studies the normative genealogy of the Western modernity, which makes possible disembedding of people from the pre-modern, religiously sanctioned, structurally determined world. In his analysis, such disembedding is realized fundamentally by the secularization of the beliefs, values, attitudes and conducts. Similarly, Şerif Mardin in his “Religion and Secularism in Turkey,” argues that secularizing reforms in the republican era are aimed at the liberation of the individual from the collective constraints of the Muslim community (1981, 213).

Considering the significant role given to a secular order, the republican elite attempted to eliminate what Mardin defined as “mahalle ethos” and sought a distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, a new conduct of life, a “republican ethos,” which has to be free from the effect of religion. The leading peasantist and prominent advocator of the Kemalist pedagogy, Nusret Kemal Köymen poses the following question, which demands to clarify the republican aims in educating people: “Should we mention religious convictions in inculcating moral principles and ideals or should we build the whole morals and ideals on the secular grounds?” (Köymen 1935, 138). As a matter of fact, this is not a question. Undoubtedly, Nusret Kemal searches for a complete secular morality in shaping the mind and conduct of people; however in raising such a question his aim is to underline the urgency of creating a republican, worldly morality.

Much earlier than Köymen, Peyami Safa in 1928 in a *Cumhuriyet daily* writes an article entitled, “From Religious Morales to the Worldly Morales” illuminating what was done in France and what was not done in Turkey after Revolution, and says that: “In France during the Third Republic, religious education was extirpated from the school and left to the families and the church, in the meantime moral and civility education were put at the top of the culture and education matters. We accomplished the first part of the task by eliminating separating the religious education from the school; however we have forgotten to fill the void with a strong moral education” (Ergin 1977, 1704).

Baltacıoğlu (1935) in his article “Laik Terbiyenin Kendini İstiyoruz” in *Yeni Adam* explained the positivity of secular education at three levels. First, it eliminated religion from education. Second, by eliminating religious effects from education, morality was liberated from religious foundations. Before the secularization in training, religion was seen as the essence of moral sanctions. The good, positive and useful acts were considered religiously good deeds, namely *sevap* and all evil deeds, namely *günah*, were counted as sin on the “defter-i amel.” In a sense, to be a moral person was in amount to be a religious person. In the republican era, the equivalence of morality and religion was abolished. For Baltacıoğlu, this does not mean people lost their morals and conscience. However, now instead of old “God’s command,” one needs something else. “What would be this new power which directs us to morality, good and humanity?” asks Baltacıoğlu, and states that secular education should reply to this significant question. The answer of the question gives the third quality of secular education. Religion used to reply the basic existential question about life, about the meaning of life, about who we are and how and why we live, why we should live. After secularization, these questions are subjected to the domain of metaphysics and sociology, instead of religion.

The idea of “moral crisis,” especially among the young, has often been mentioned by different intellectuals; some are religious, most are not. According to Ergin (1977), moral crises arising from the oscillations between the religious/moral commands of the past and the Euro-oriented scientific pedagogic principles in establishing a new ethics of conduct for people in general and for the young in particular, were significant concerns of the intellectuals, like Satı Bey and Ziya Gökalp before the republican era. These concerns maintained setting the agenda during the republican era as one of the topics of the second Council of Education in 1943 led by Hasan Ali Yücel, was the moral crises among the young. Put it briefly, throughout the republican era, the education of morality and sentiments constituted the main target of the republican elite.

2.3.3. Sentimental Education

In his groundbreaking study *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (1991) underlines the importance of novels as well as newspapers in the making of the national imagination and homogeneous national existence. In the 1930s of Turkey, apart from the novels and the newspapers and the periodicals of People's Houses, the pedagogical institutions of the republican regime also played a crucial role in the dissemination of the national and republican ideals. Accordingly, in 1932 there appeared two significant novels, which hail to and construct the essential national subjects, peasants and women, by repeating the statements of the republican-nationalist discourse: Yakup Kadri's *Yaban (Stranger)*, and Mahmut Yesari's *Su Sinekleri (Water Mosquitoes)*. In the 1930s these two novels contributed much to the national imagination, as they were widely discussed by the literate public in the newspapers as well as in the journals of the People's Houses. Ankara People's House's periodical *Ülkü* favored *Yaban*, which was engaged with the "backwardness" of the Turkish villages and "ignorance" of the Anatolian people. No other novel would better picture the "sickly" configuration of the Turkish nation: almost all of the figures in the novel were bodily or mentally handicapped.³⁸ Underlining such disfiguration is the lack of "national consciousness." A national sentiment needs to be educated in the bare lands and bare minds of the Anatolian people. And İstanbul People's House's *Yeni Türk Mecmuası* privileged the other one, *Su Sinekleri*, which dealt with the moral degeneration of the young. These two novels reflect well the mentality of the Turkish elite oscillating between the evils of the "under" as well as to use Mardin's phrase "super" westernization. Both of these situations invite a nationalist, moral and sentimental regulation of the subjects to be modern.

³⁸ For a more detailed analysis on *Yaban*, please see Berna Moran (1991). Moran states: "Your could not come up with laughing people, a beautiful and noble behaviour, a pure and happy love, a sincere friendship among peasants. You could not find a human being who is not ugly, not dirty, and not smelling...[Village] is 'a nest of diseases and disabilities.' Mehmet Ali's mother is lame, Bekir Çavuş's daughter Zehra is blind, Salih Ağa's son is hunchbacked,... village has two idiots, as well as one dwarf." (1991, 159-160).

In *Yaban*, the hero Ahmet Celal exposes very well the “gap” between the Western civilization and Turkish culture, and the “gap” between the republican elite and the Turkish people. Ahmet Celal’s estrangement from the Anatolian peasants is uttered as follows: “To become like them, to dress like them, to eat and drink like them, to sit and stand like them. Let’s say I can do all these. But how can I think like them? How can I *feel* like them?” [emphasis added] (Karaömerlioğlu 2002, 132). The matter in the early republican era, however, was the other way around: How can Anatolian peasants *feel* like Ahmet Celal? Here Ahmet Celal symbolizes a Western-oriented, truly patriotic man of culture and knowledge; he marks a “Turkishness in relation to the Western world”, this is a significant element in the hegemonic imaginary as Ahıska suggests (2003, 370). Anatolian peasants, who constituted almost eighty percent of the population at the time, were expected to learn how to dress, eat and sit like the Western or Westernized people. But the republican elite were conscious of a more compelling question: How do they *feel* like Euro-Turks?

Literally seeking for a new Turk, *Yeni Türk Mecmuası* in its first issue hosted the novelist Mahmut Yesari for speaking about his new novel *Su Sinekleri*, which has certain parallels with Gustave Flaubert’s *Sentimental Education*³⁹ as the interviewer also mentioned. The novel basically examines the moral degeneration of the young women, namely Nuran, Fatma, Ayfer, Dürdane and Sabbek; and shows how the libertarian climate of the new life is misused, thus these girls are engaged in prostitution. The interviewer explains to Mahmut Yesari that he is aware of the fact that certain young women are frivolous, yet he is surprised with the density of their decadence (Burhan Ümit 1932, 25). And asks if such women are real, Mahmut Yesari replies: “I can catch several of them if I try now. These are the types we met daily in real life, in front of the theatre entrance... This shows us we go too much in the path of progress at the expense of morality (Burhan Ümit 1932, 25-26). As a solution Yesari suggests “a strong familial moral education” in a similar vein to the European familial life. He concludes by the sentence “I accept

³⁹ The novel narrates the moral degeneration among the French youth following the 1848 revolution.

the freedom of women, but this freedom has a limit”, which connotes a republican “disciplined freedom” coined by Recep Peker (1933, 178-179).

These two novels are significant for reflecting the “mentality of the republican time” in that they both underline the necessity of regulating sentiments and moralities, and that they both concentrate on two significant republican figures, peasants (Chapter 3) and women (Chapter 4) respectively. Peasants and women in the early republican era were “hailed” (Althusser 1972) as the essential national subjects. The nationalist irony arises here: peasants and women were deemed the most fundamental and pure substance of the Turkish nation, they marked the timeless national existence, and yet they were the ones who needed transformation most, who needed education most for achieving *milli mefkure*, that of exalting the Turkish nation to the level of the advanced countries of the West.

2.3.4. *Milli Vahdet*: National Unity and Homogeneity

Given that women and peasants in particular and people in general were the privileged national objects of the Kemalist politico-moral discourse, Kemalist nationalists gave great significance to the inculcation of *milli mefkure* into their minds for establishing a national unity (*milli birlik ve beraberlik*). The significance of such inculcation appears in a speech given by Mustafa Kemal by explaining the failure of world of Islam in front of the West. He stated as follows: “The Islamic world is composed of two classes. One is people (avam), consisting of the majority and the other is intellectuals (münevveran). In the nations having disordered mentality, the majority and the intellectuals have different mentality and goals...In order to save the country, one should eliminate the difference between these two mentalities” (1997, 144-146).

When Mustafa Kemal spelt out these words on March 23, 1923 in Konya Turkish Hearth, the Republic was not yet proclaimed. However, after the establishment of the republican regime, the gap between the elite and people remained unchanged despite several reforms. For this reason, at the beginning of the 1930s, Kemalist elite resorted to a new way for bringing about a national unity (*milli vahdet*): all

associations including *Türk Ocakları*, *Türk Matbuat Cemiyeti*, *Türk İhtiyat Zabıtları Cemiyeti*, *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* were closed down. For the closure of Turkish Hearths, the well-organized associations nationwide, Mustafa Kemal stated that “Powers of similar kind should be united” (Tunçay 1992, 297). In the mind of republican elite, besides to unifying similar powers, eliminating rival powers was of significance. The religious figures as the interlocutors of a different structure of feeling were seen the real obstacles against the establishment of a spiritual and mental unity nationwide, and against the connection between the republican elite and people. Mustafa Kemal stated that certain ignorant religious people “have an intention to establish an obstacle to a direct communication with people. I would like to ask such individuals: From where and from whom do they get this right and responsibility?” and continued: “As is known, representatives of people are the elected deputies and the Grand National Assembly, which consists of the elected ones and the Republican Government which has the vote of confidence of the Assembly” (1997, 225). In 1931, when Mustafa Kemal traveled to Aydın, he repeated a similar anxiety: “You [the members of *Türk Ocağı*] could not go [to villages] but a flock of bigots by putting of *çarık* and taking bags filled with anti-Revolutionary publications on the back go to the villages in the name of selling carnation oil etc” (Çelik 1999, 39).

Until 1930s, despite various republican reforms, the gap between republican elite and people could not be removed; the very conditions of the population had not been transformed to the desired level. For this reason, Necmettin Sadık [Sadak], in his article entitled *Cumhuriyet Kanunları* (Republican Laws), demanded the visibility of the republican mental change: “The new nation, the new state—albeit composed of the old people—are the products of a new mentality, new point of views and a new soul. This new soul, this new consideration should not be kept in the mouth and in the words; instead, it should change the reality. Revolution is a complete revolution of the soul, but its results should be caught by eyes.” (1992, 113). In such a milieu a more coherent program appeared among the republicans for altering the political, social and cultural conditions of the population.

2.4. Disseminating the National Pedagogy

The dissemination of *the national pedagogy* nationwide characterizes especially the 1930s of Turkey. Since the disharmony between the majority (*ekseriyet, avam*) and the elite (*ekaliyet, münevveran*) in the Islamic world was seen as the main obstacle to progress and success, Kemalist elite in this era aimed at creating a people in the same spirit, soul and mind. For them, such a national harmony was only possible with politico-moral education of people. Mustafa Kemal asked “Is not that a futile effort to speak about creating a nation of out the individuals in the same spirit and mind, without unifying education and training?” In speaking of education and training in their mind was not just the classical education of new generation and children at schools, but rather the education of all people nationwide. During this period, the Turkish political body, as it were, turns into a teaching machine that operates over the nation for fabricating republican “citizens” out of the raw material, people. Kemalist *national pedagogy* sought to produce a national unity and homogeneity (*milli birlik ve beraberlik*) through inculcating a national ideal (*milli mefkure*) into the mind of people and through building a national character (*milli seciye*) in the daily conducts, virtues and manners of people.

2.4.1. The Chief Educator and the National Pedagogy

As early as 1921 Mustafa Kemal (1990) explained his national training program as being free from the superstitions of the previous period, from the East and the West; instead, he wanted to bring a culture based upon the national character and history; then, some other time in 1924, he mentioned the possibility of various training as of religious, international, and national. And he explained that Republican Turkey would train the young generation with the national pedagogy. In 1925, he became much clearer what he meant by the national pedagogy: creating a nation composed of individuals sharing the same ideas and mentality. This last statement lies at the heart of the national pedagogy in general. It was developed in Kemalist discourse by way of covering the concepts like revolutionary training (*inkılap terbiyesi*) ([Engin] 1933a) republican training (*cumhuriyet terbiyesi*) ([Duru] 1933), modern training (*muasır terbiye*) and more

importantly people's training (*halk terbiyesi*). Although all these trainings are interrelated, overlapping and complementary, *inkılap terbiyesi* emphasizes Turkish revolution as a unique event in the history of Turks as well as in the world, it aims at giving an idea of a sharp separation from the past. *Cumhuriyet terbiyesi* rather underlines civic virtues, demands a complete devotion to the new public life while disregarding personal interests. *Muasıf terbiye* connotes civility and manners and expects a transformation of daily habits of people in line with the requirements of the Western civilization. And combinations of all these requirements give the content of *people's training*.

In this training process, Mustafa Kemal himself plays a crucial role: as the Chief Trainer, he is the one initiating the Turkish history thesis, encouraging the start of the lectures on Turkish Revolution by Peker and others, advising İnan to prepare a doctoral thesis on the racial and historical origins of Turks, teaching people Latin alphabet on the street, and even examining and giving homework to the Kemalist elite on his dining table. Apart from Mustafa Kemal, all of the Kemalist elite have this pedagogic desire and willingly become a part of the teaching machine. No detail would escape from their pedagogic desire: they let people remember who they are, make them know their origins, their historical background, their fatherlands, their culture and language, and of course teach them the value and the importance of the contemporary civilization. In fact, the contemporary civilization, i.e. the West shadows, preoccupies the whole teaching process. In most cases, teaching Turkish people history and civilization turns into a demand for recognition from the West.⁴⁰

This operation is instigated from different centers: from Mustafa Kemal's dining room where blackboard is always an important piece of the furniture, from the coffeehouses and village rooms, from university, to People's Houses, and to People's Tribunes. In this fabrication, of course, various mechanisms are used in

⁴⁰ Etienne Copeaux remarks that papers and discussion in the first history congress cites more than 300 books and articles of the European writers. This would be explained with the lack of scientific works of Turks in this field, however more importantly the West becomes the main point of reference in the congress (1998, 52).

interpellating people as faithful and strong citizens. Among others, teachers and frequently doctors become the significant interlocutors of the regime. The People's Houses, however, constitute the very unique mechanism of the teaching machine in correcting and normalizing people according to the ideals of nationalist pedagogy.

During this period, the official periodicals of the People's Houses, mainly *Ülkü* played an immense role in elaborating the project of *the national pedagogy* and developing pedagogical strategies of the regime. Besides this, the People's House of Ankara published many books and hosted several speeches and conferences, among which the Turkish History Congress is noteworthy. In addition, as the fundamental references of the nationalist pedagogy, the Turkish history thesis and the Sun-language theory, and the articles reflecting upon these theories that often constitute the point of direction at the time are remarkable. Also a two-volume book *Medeni Bilgiler*,⁴¹ for the course Civic Knowledge (Yurttaşlık Bilgisi) on the meaning and duty of being citizen—the first volume's author is Afet İnan and the second volume's Recep Peker—is another important teaching material for the school students as well as for all the people catches the eyes. Not surprisingly, the Lectures on the History of Revolution given by Recep Peker, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, Yusuf Hükmet Bayur, and Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk in 1933 at İstanbul University are notable parts of the pedagogic operation. Concomitantly, it is always possible to find various books published in the 1930s that directly deal with this matter.

2.4.2. People's Darkness and Lethargy

In the pedagogic operation of the republican elite, the main referents signifying people contain darkness and night in their heads, the lethargy and lack of vigor in

⁴¹ This text book was initiated by Atatürk who sent a letter to Prime Minister İsmet Pasha and informed him that he was personally involved in the writing process of the books that seemed to him necessary to be read by students and all people for creating 'good citizens'. When the manuscript prepared by Afetinan arrived at Peker, he contributed so much that the second volume of it had to be published in his name, and lastly, when İsmet Pasha checked the books, he added a few sentences. In fact, *Medeni Bilgiler* can be accepted as the product of a team work since apart from the contributors mentioned here, Afetinan (2000) explained that while preparing the book, she made use of the discussions around Mustafa Kemal's dining table.

their soul, and passivity and inactivity in their body. Although people are dormant, unproductive and useless when left untouched and uncultivated, the nationalist elite acknowledge their potential capabilities, intelligent capacities and strength.⁴² People as they are accepted as the loss for national wealth. In order for making them useful, the “night surrounding their heads” and the “lethargy suppressing their soul” should be removed through “injecting will.” Only after receiving “enlightened heads” and “energetic bodies,” the Turkish revolution would be safe, secure and successful. Consequently, the key of the people's awakening and progress seems to nationalist modernizers is to train people in terms of national ideals.

Kemalist teaching covers not only certain provocative theories, like the Turkish History thesis and the Sun-Language theory, but also the very simple manners in ordinary life. The ambition for blowing out a modern soul to Turkish people leads the Kemalist elite to focus widely upon the people's training as the main goal to be achieved, and to develop various strategies and techniques for achieving this goal. This goal, in a nutshell, is clarified as creating productive, useful and strong citizens who believe faithfully in and understand truly the national path. (Ülkü 1933, 89).

2.4.3. Turkish Revolution: An Illumination

The greatest step in this national path is of course the Turkish Revolution. According to Peker, this is not a simple national matter; rather it is a tremendous international event via the superior nation of Turks is transmitted from nothingness to existence (1984, 13). This is such a revolution that extracts what is backward, wrong, bad, old, unjust and harmful from the social body, instead brings what is advanced, right, good, new and useful. However, for Peker, bringing new things is not enough, the point is making them permanent in order for preventing the return of what is extracted. In this condition, making people aware and conscious of the revolution and its by-products in the everyday life, in other words, people's

⁴² This terminology is used in Ülkü's editorial page (1933), however, it is always possible to hear such words from the Kemalist elite.

training, are further steps in the national path. New generation and people should passionately be attached to the Revolution. Consequently both outside and inside, i.e. both the body and the soul of people, should be cleaned out of the past (read Ottoman and Eastern) (1984, 21).

In the mind of republican elite, as İshak Refet [Işıtman], the deputy of Diyarbakır and one of the founders of the Association for Turkish Folklore Science in Ankara, explains, Ottoman Turkey was not the land of Turks in real sense. Turkey in the Ottoman time, seemed to a “wedding house” where “Turks as the homeowners were engaged in accommodating, feeding, equipping and saving the non-Turks. All the tiresome, bothersome and cumbersome affairs were done by Turks; when Turks were in need of some rest...their places were at the edge of the door” (Işıtman 1931). That is to say, before the republican Revolution, Turks were strangers in their own lands, because their lands were invaded. And the Turkish revolution saved them from slavery.

Halil Nimetullah [Öztürk], a professor at Istanbul University, underlined the importance of the Turkish Revolution through referring to the previous period when the Turkish nation was experiencing the darkest age of its history, when the Turkish nation was deemed lifeless. Thanks to Gazi[Mustafa Kemal], the national prophet (*milli bir rasul*), the Turkish nation was resurrected and became more energetic, dynamic and stronger than ever before. The Republican era became the brightest era of the Turkish history. In his analysis, the fundamentals of the new regime were populism and republicanism. He invited the offspring of the Revolution to a national duty, which is to learn and adapt to the new life. As soon as this new life in the republican regime was heartfelt, then republican children would pay their debt (1930, 6-7 and 70). Reşat Ekrem and Ahmet Halit wrote the Turkish Historical Knowledge book for children as well as for people to disseminate the national truths all over country. Baltacıoğlu, as a member of Turkish Republic, reminded his fellow-citizens of the necessity to create a republican pedagogy for keeping the sentiments peculiar to the Republican era (1932, 60).

Hamit Zübeyr [Koşay], an ethnographer, folklorist and the general director of Antique Works and Museums of the Republic argued that if people's education was realized, the two classes, elite and people who had deemed each other as strangers, would meet each other, would learn about each other, would know how to appreciate and love each other. When the people's education was realized nationwide, people would approach the elite in terms of thought, sentiment and will power, and thus a genuine national body would be reached (1931,51).⁴³ He further claimed elsewhere that people's training means uniting people, otherwise being separate in terms of accents, religious sects and civilization within a social body and a nation, altered individual thinking, feeling and willing according to the manner of the whole nation's ideal; briefly it connotes training people's soul (1933, 153).

For Nusret Kemal [Köymen], the editor of *Ülkü*, the core of people's training is "without any embellishment, giving all truths of the world to the citizens" (1930, 29). Thanks to the republican revolution, Turkish citizens were saved from various evil habits and met with new and good conducts. He added: "Governing is new, hat is new, script is new, history is new, economic structure is new, and social life is new. These new qualities should be inculcated into each and every soul; and each and every individual should be trained accordingly." People's education should maintain until all citizens learn to cooperate with the state, and each other on sentimental and ideal unity (1930, 29).

Similarly, Saffet Engin brings the idea that Turkish Revolution does not simply mean changing many institutions. What is much more crucial is providing people with a new soul for maintaining these new institutions. This is possible only through training people and giving them a new culture, modern ideas, modern thinking, and modern attitudes. Doubtlessly, this training refers to the training of contemporary civilization. According to him, after adapting the European institutions, life styles and civilization, the most significant matter is having a

⁴³ Here Zübeyr summarizes the people's training policies in various European countries and lastly focuses upon the Turkish experience.

contemporary training. For his understanding, what is extremely disturbing is that in some institutions, old mentality and soul of the middle ages still survive. The revolutionary soul and the new generation should fight against this real enemy that is the old mentality and old soul (1938, 110). While declaring old mentality, soul and training as enemy to be hated, Saffet Engin suggests that “we have to love and appreciate the European training” (1938, 111). For him, this does not offend our national character and identity, because the European civilization is a group civilization, thus there are many other nations in this group adapting the same training, without losing their own national identity. But in our case, the significant point is that, this training is nothing but a more developed expression of the old Turkish training. That is why, it is wrong to find a way of establishing a “mixed” civilization, in fact, any effort to create a new training through combining the fatalist Eastern training with Western training is futile. Apparently, he believes in the necessity of a complete break with the East. As to him “we have drawn our path: We are Turk and European” (1938, 118). And Europeans have dynamic and active soul as opposed to the Easterners' static and numb soul.

2.4.4. The National Pedagogy as Medication

Put it roughly, what is common to all these materials, voicing the disciplinary interpellations of the regime, is that they draw a tripartite path in their analysis:

- a) Diagnose: The national body, essentially based upon the superior civilization, high manners and strength, is now suffering from a temporal national indignity, weakness and backwardness.
- b) Cause: The surreptitious, religious, unscientific tradition of the Ottoman past.
- c) Remedy: Following the contemporary civilization from head to foot, from body to soul via operating the national pedagogy.

Almost all of these materials begin with commending the impressive and higher manners and conditions (i.e. civilizations) of either Turks or of the West (some of them underline the sameness of Turkish and Western civilization at the essence); continue by blaming the previous system, which displays “typical” Eastern values, and end by underlining the necessity of *the national pedagogy*. In the meantime, the Turkish revolution is accepted as the greatest step in breaking with the

(Ottoman) past and opening a new path for remedying the suffering national body; and yet further steps are required. In this context, the national pedagogy as a network all over the national body seems as the guarantor of the Revolution as well as the provider of a complete cure. Here, in general, *the national pedagogy* operates for providing people with a national consciousness, creating faithful, healthy and strong citizens out of people, making people share the common ideal, attitude and manner and, briefly, uniting people together as a single body.

2.4.4.1. Let Them Speak

For creating a national body in the same spirit and mind, the republican elite were aware of the fact that the flow of information was not enough. Rather, inspiring enthusiasm for progress and civilization is of significance. Once such an enthusiasm and love is seated in their heart, people would willingly improve themselves. The basic mechanisms for people's education then should be various instruments, including speech, painting, written material, music, theatres, movies and radio. Hamit Zübeyr [Koşay] (1933) states that since most of our population is illiterate, speech would be the most effective instrument in the education of people. Recep Peker considers speech as the gun of the civilized man. According to Peker, Turks are one of the peoples having the highest speaking capability, however he admits: "We do speak less." "The falsity of our previous training had prevented the development of our speaking capability as it had done so to the most of our high features." (1933a, 20). For Peker, in spite of the fact that in our country for a long time, silence was accepted as the mark of high manner in training, whereas telling and speaking as the mark of danger and shame, Turkish people still keep their ability to speak. This becomes apparent in that: "Sometimes an illiterate and smart peasant's fluent speech would admire us" (1933a, 20). The importance of the speech appeared in the establishment of the Public Orators' Institution in 1931. The selected orators are responsible from disseminating the meaning and the fundamentals of the Turkish Revolution, the virtues of the Republic, and love of the country. They should also explain Turkish civilization and Turkish history to people. While certain festivals are the proper occasion of their speech activities, they should use every opportunity to talk about republican ideals. The numbers of

the orators are as follows: in the cities 5-15, in the towns 2-5, in small towns (nahiye) 1-3 and in the neighborhood and the villages 1-2. These orators are chosen among the ones who are popular and good at speaking. However, their ultimate quality is that they should be the devotees of the republican cause; in other words, orators should trust unreservedly to the Turkish Revolution, to the principles of the Republican People's Party, and to the virtues of the Republic (Çakan 2004, 68-71). During the national festivals, especially the celebration of the Republic, the People's Tribunals were established and orators used these platforms for illuminating ordinary people. However, these tribunals hosted ordinary people and schoolchildren as well. In one of these speeches made on October 31, 1933 at Ayasofya Square, Halis Beyefendi began his words as follows:

My Fellow Sisters and Brothers, I greet you in front the statute of Gazi, the great Turk, the creator of Turks and I celebrate your Republican day...I declare from here that I am a peasant and I am proud of it. In the past since peasants had no right and life I could dare to admit that I am a peasant. The Great Gazi told that peasant is the master and real owner of the homeland... In the past one of the burdens on the shoulders of the peasants was 1: Salgın, ie. tax. Anatolian Turks meant by salgın the most dreadful diseases or the plague...Now the Republican light, warming the heart of the peasant defeated that microbe from the peasant's home...Long live Turkish nation, Long live the son of the nation, Great Gazi, Long live Turkish homeland, Long live the Republic! (in Çakan 2004, 335-336)

2.4.4.2. Let's Cultivate Their Artistic Pleasures

Statues of Mustafa Kemal were seen as important vehicles cutting the umbilical cord ties of people with the past and educating aesthetical pleasure of people, and the secularization of morality. The first statue of Mustafa Kemal was unveiled in İstanbul, Sarayburnu. Mardin states that "in a country where the interdict against the reproducing the human figure had been publicly enforced, this called for considerable courage" (1981, 217). Sarayburnu was a significant location for official Turkish history because Mustafa Kemal headed toward Samsun for initiating the National Liberation War. Five years later in 1932, Heinrich Krippel, the Austrian sculptor erected another statute of Mustafa Kemal in Samsun. Several other statues were sculptured for narrating the national history, as Gür stated they

were the visualization of official history, and they were considered significant instruments of animating the national spirit among people (2001, 164).

Sarayburnu hosted another significant event during the republican era. The most memorable image of Mustafa Kemal as the Chief Educator was materialized in Sarayburnu Park in 1928, when he introduced the Latin script to people and stated that, “Our nation will show, with its script and with its mind that its place is with the civilized world” (Lewis 2002, 278).⁴⁴ After then, as Bernard Lewis also states, Mustafa Kemal and other republican intellectuals traveled around all over the country to teach and examine people “in village squares, schoolrooms, town halls, and cafes,” and “soon all Turkey was a schoolroom, with the nation’s intellectuals armed with blackboard and easel” (Lewis 2002, 278). Although Mustafa Kemal deemed it as a patriotic duty to teach the new scripts everyone including street porters, the matter was far beyond in public education. The matter in “terbiye-i avam,” (people’s education) as Baltacıoğlu explains, is not teaching to read the sentences and expressions to the “disembodied, thoughtless, emotionless, lighthearted masses of porters, street sellers, peasants.” In a country where the body and mentality was paralyzed, people’s education requires “healing the rotted livers,” “fortifying the weak legs,” “opening the blind eyes,” “operating the frozen hearts,” and “animating the drained resolution” (1950, 20). The matter in people’s education, as Mustafa Kemal stated as follows, is animating the soul of Turks through eliminating the sorrowful and static spirit of the East:

This night as a coincidence I have listened two distinguished musician groups of the East...However, this music, this simple music is no longer be influential in my Turkish sentiment, it is no longer enough to satisfy the new soul and sentiment of the Turk (1997, 273).

Improving the musical aesthetic and pleasures of the people then was another step for catching up with the Western civilization. Hamit Zübeyr finds that people’s education through the music is as significant as the speech; however, he considers

⁴⁴ Please also see Yılmaz Çolak (2004).

it unfortunate because, as opposed to the people in European countries who would chorus their national anthem altogether harmoniously, “three of us could not chorus our national anthem.” (1933, 157) For Hamit Zübeyr, since people are like children, who love colorful drawings, painting would be another instrument for public education. During the republican day celebrations, the Ankara People’s House hosted a Revolution Exhibition (İnkılab Sergisi) as a sign of republican efforts for improving the arts and cultural knowledge of people. In addition, Balıkesir, Eminönü, Edirne, Antalya, Denizli, Samsun, Kars and Üsküdar People’s Houses hosted art exhibitions once a year.⁴⁵ In the 1930s, a group of painters selected from Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir visited various Anatolian villages in order for both exalting the painting culture, and depicting the scenes from the Anatolia and the Anatolian people, the core of the Turkish nation. Their artistic works were exhibited in the People’s Houses and the state exhibition halls (Altan 2005, 547). Museums and exhibitions halls were seen as crucial training mechanisms for this reason, Mehmet Emin stated that Empire left us only İstanbul museum, however, in the republican period for the sake of keeping national works and arts, the Ankara Ethnography Museum and the Ankara Archeology Museum as well as the İstanbul Topkapı Museum, suggested novelty; in İzmir, Konya, Antalya, Bursa, Edirne, Adana, Sivas, Amasya, Tokat and Kayseri museums were opened to enlighten Turkish people (1933, 117-118).

2.4.4.3. Barracks as Schools

Conscription was another mechanism of the Kemalist pedagogical program. The first conscription law was passed in 1927 when the first census was realized in the republican time. As Altunay founded out, until the beginning of 1930s, the size of the Turkish army was not much greater than that of in 1922. There were approximately 78,000 soldiers. Toward the end of the 1930s 800,000 soldiers were mobilized, which means the republican government between 1932 and 1939, increased the number of conscripted soldiers 900 percent (Altunay 2005). Hilmi Malik, a Columbia graduate pedagogue, an activist of the Ankara People’s House,

⁴⁵ For a detailed activity reports of People’s Houses please see the brochure *103 Halkevi Geçen Yıllarda Nasıl Çalıştı?* (1932-1935, 46-47).

underlined the importance of the barracks for *the national pedagogy* by stating: “A strong engagement with the education of our soldiers would lead to an immediate establishment of our revolution all over the country. The barracks would be the most dutiful and efficient schools for the peasants and people” (1933a, 237). As one European traveler in 1936 noticed, the army was the great school of country:

you can see the conscripts, arriving a group of young men, ragged, dazed, grinning or frightened, a bundle of shapeless humanity. Within a few months they have learnt to keep themselves clean, have gained a sense of time and order...begun to read and write (Linke 1937,552).

2.5. The National Pedagogy and Social Investigations

By stating that “Statistics is both a genius mirror of life and the sole means of knowing oneself,” Ali Kemali (1932) the Erzincan Governor, underlines another dimension of the national pedagogy, that is, to learning the national truth (one’s own self, one’s national identity) through making investigation. In fact, the national pedagogy program does not conceive simply of the information flow from the elite to the people, but rather, it also underlines the flow of information from the people. Oz Frankel (1998) argues that social investigations as well as reports based upon these investigations are a significant part of modern political cultures, which prepare, publicate, disseminate and manipulate the documents about society. Likewise the republican elite, while trying to educate the people and transform their conditions, that of their “health, physical comfort and moral statures” (Frankel 1998, x), they also collect lengthy information about them. This helps them to control people and shape them in accordance with their political program.

2.5.1. Sanitary and Social Geographies

One of the most significant indications of the republican government to know about people is the project of Turkey’s Sanitary and Social Geographies. Until 1935, when a new administrative division was accepted, Turkey was divided into thirty-three *vilayets* (provinces) and independent *sanjak* (Pallis 1938,439). Turkey’s health and social geographies were prepared in accordance with the current divisions. In a circular by the Ministry of Health on April 17, 1929, it was demanded that since the documents on health and social geography of Turkey

were out of copy, the health director of all provinces were obliged to prepare new version of these documents. Since the previous documents were prepared during the difficult years of the Turkish revolution, they were in need of improvement for the current needs. For this reason, the Ministry of Health provided a standard format for preparing new versions of this information. The ministry aims at collecting a comprehensive and standard book for each province (Sıhhiye Mecmuası 1929, 469). The writing program (tahrir programı) consists of five parts and eighteen chapters, and requires a quite lengthy and detailed social investigation from the general geographical and historical knowledge about the provinces, its towns and villages to the natural resources, public and private buildings, as well as human conditions of the territory, such as gender, racial origin and religious background, health behaviors, common superstitions, charity activities, agricultural and economic conditions, other social and cultural activities. It was such a scrupulous investigation that it was asked for the investigators to find out if there are people over 100 years old.⁴⁶

2.5.2. Reports of Governors

Apart from the ministry of health, the ministry of interior affairs as well spent much time to collect information about the general conditions of the people and the nation. In *İdare* (later *Türk İdare Dergisi*), which began its publication in 1927, the governors of provinces published their activity reports including detailed information about the provinces and sub-provinces. Among others, Faiz, the governor of Antalya reported that in 1928, 9581 babies were born-4990 of whom were male and 4591 of whom were female and 3354 people (1664 of whom were male and 1690 of whom were female) were deceased. Faiz further reported that, in

⁴⁶ *Sıhhiye Mecmuası* (1929, 469-480). In the National Library, there are only two books prepared by the health superintendents, one of which is about Sivas. Hasan Tahsin Avni offered a detailed information about the health and social conditions of Sivas, its towns and villages in 348 pages. This was published by Hilal Matbaası, İstanbul. Another book written by Raif about Çankırı. This book later transcribed into Turkish by Bahattin Ayhan in 1992 and published by Irmak Matbaacılık. It is rather a concise book, consisting of 31 pages. In *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, there are three books in Ottoman-Turkish about Niğde, Çatalca and Urfa. The book entitled *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimai Coğrafyası: Çatalca Vilayeti* which was written by Dr. Mehmet Ali, later transcribed into Turkish by M. Sabri Koz in 1991 by the initiation of Çatalca Municipality and published by Erguvan Yayıncılık. In an internet resource about Isparta we see that Dr. Besim Zühdü wrote a similar book about Isparta. www.isparta.gov.tr Apart from them for more information, please see Osman Gümüşçü (1999).

1928, there were 103 surgical operations; the rate of death during the surgeries was 2 percent (İdare Ahvali Umumiye Raporları July 1929, 941-948).

In the same manner, Ekrem Bey, the Isparta Governor, began his report by stating that there was no significant event violating the public order. The sentimental state of people toward (their attachment to) the Republican regime was quite good: “The relation between people and the government is very sincere and serious.” (İdare Ahvali Umumiye Raporları July 1929, 950-951) and added that people were very enthusiastic about learning the new Turkish alphabet, especially the ladies’ attendance to the National schools deserved a laudable pride. However, the economic condition in the city was bad in accordance with the general crisis. Except for four or five people, others have a common economic condition: they were neither rich nor poor. In the towns, especially in the central Isparta, there was much a tendency toward prostitution. It was also observed that the number of population was increasing, because the number of birth was much higher than that of death. Vulgar superstitions were maintained by the older women; however, these superstitions were passing away with their beholders. In the last four months in central Isparta, there were three scarlet fever cases and fifteen measles cases (İdare Ahvali Umumiye Raporları July 1929, 949-963).

Vehbi Bey, the Adana Governor, in his report underlined people’s loyalty to the Republican regime. While they were lethargic due to the effect of ignorant Hodjas, said Vehbi, now people began to see the wide sphere opened for them by the Revolution, which tore the veil of ignorance (İdare Ahvali Umumiye Raporları March 1930, 467). Generally speaking, Vehbi stated that people suffered from the malaria, the tuberculosis and the syphilis in Adana, and added that the exact rate of literacy was not known, but 30 percent of the population seemed to be literate (İdare Ahvali Umumiye Raporları March 1930, 470).

In 1932, the Minister of Interior Affairs, Şükrü Kaya, at a speech delivered in the Grand National Assembly underlined their efforts for social investigation:

The number of Turkish villages is 40,223. In the last publication of the Ministry of Interior we have reported the name and regions of villages. We have made further investigation. We will publish another book. In that we will declare shortly the rate of population, the number of households, and the economic conditions of the villages. This, perhaps, would be the most detailed book among the books written about villages including Europe (Kaya 1932, 648).

2.5.3. People's Houses as Investigators

The attempts of knowledge production were not confined to the officials in the Ministry of Health and Interior Affairs, the People's Houses, and their periodicals were significant for the governmental acts of knowledge production. In the fifth number of *Ülkü*, the readers, namely all intellectuals of the country, were invited to prepare public surveys about villages. The aim was "the growth of villages." It is explained that "if you are a teacher or a student you have a three-month-holiday; if you are an official or if you are self-employed you have time to rest." For holidays, the best locations were defined as villages because of cheap prices, fresh fruits and vegetables and the purity of people. During the time span one spent in villages, she/he would know the essence of the country: "In order to make this knowledge useful, please write to *Ülkü*'s survey page about what you have seen and what you think about what you have seen" (*Ülkü* June 1933, 363). Many intellectuals, teachers, city dwellers, students took this invitation heart and produced an immense amount of knowledge about "people" who reside in different, at times the remotest corners of the country (Chapter 3).

Apart from the written materials, in preparing health and social geographies as well as village surveys, photographs to be taken seemed significant, especially for visualizing the "truths" about the country and people. The need for visualizing and educating people through visualized images arrived at its peak in 1933, on the tenth anniversary of the Republic. Governmental offices, state institutions, municipalities, various periodicals and dailies compared the situation before and after the republic and published their activities as the success of the Republic. As one example among various others, on October 29, 1933, the phenomenal volume of *Sihhiye Mecmuası* devoted its pages to the activities of the Ministry of Health for the ten-year period. Among these activities, fighting against the malaria was

central. It was argued that thanks to their activities “Many of our patients who are thin, weak, fat-bellied, earth-colored...became robust, strong and cheerful after our proper quinine healing and now they are engaged in their daily affairs” (Tok 1933, 1297-1298). As an example, Mahmut’s son, Ramazan, was pictured in 1925, with his nude and deformed body in front of the marsh. At that time, Ramazan was 23 years old and married for three years with no children. After three years, Ramazan was again pictured with his two years old son in front of the drained marshland. Both the land and Ramazan was bettered. Doctor Tok claimed that, “In the first picture, the citizen resembled the sufferer from the malaria, and in other pictures, he is a healthy and happy peasant” (Tok 1933, 1298).

2.5.4. A Racist Investigation

The republican government in the 1930s had produced enormous knowledge about people. This social investigation was crowned with an anthropological survey of Afet İnan (1947), Mustafa Kemal’s adopted daughter deepened the knowledge production by “discovering” racial characteristics of Turkish people. After surveying on 200 people, she realized that she needed a governmental support for a more extensive research. Her survey was organized by the ministry of health, in addition, the general directorate of statistical institution, Celal Aybar and Anthropologist Aziz Kansu, helped out İnan in the preparation of a questionnaire. For accomplishing the survey properly, Turkey was divided into ten regions: including respectively, Thrace, the first region, Bursa-Bilecik, the second region, Çanakkale-Balıkesir-Manisa, the third region, Aegean region, Eskişehir-Kütahya-Afyon-Isparta-Burdur-Antalya, the fifth region, Middle Anatolia, the sixth region, West Anatolia, the seventh region, South Anatolia, the eighth region, Turhal-Sivas-Malatya-Diyarbakır-Siirt, the ninth region, and Ordu-Giresun-Erzurum-Kars, the tenth region. In these regions totally 64,000 people were subjected to various anthropometric measurements including the size of their skulls with the help of a group of professionals such as physicians, statisticians and the physical education teachers. As the result of the survey, it was founded out that the average height of Turkish men was 1.652, and that of women was 1.522, while the finding on Turkish women was overemphasized for which, until that date, almost nothing

was known about the height of Turkish women (İnan 1947, 179). Another and much significant finding was that: “Turks were rarely dark-skinned...Witnesses have observed that Turks are generally hazel- or blue-eyed...*Most of the Turks belong to European’s great white race.*” [emphasis added] (1947, 180).

2.6. Conclusion

In line with the modern desire defined by Scott (1998), the republican regime made a great effort to make the Turkish nation legible and intelligible. While the Ottoman Empire had little knowledge and concern on the lands and people constituting Anatolia and Thrace, now the residence of the new Turkey, the republican elite had a detailed map of people and the territory. In the 1930s, the modern social investigation about population was converged with the elite will-to-educate people and the nation. As they learned about people, they were committed to the idea that the ignorance of people was extensive: it was not just schoolchildren that needed well-substantiated knowledge on the homeland, nation and nationality, but all people especially peasants and women. Coming to the 1930s, it had been clear in the republican mind that all the rebellious and oppositional events and arguments were led by the insufficient attachments to the national and republican ideals, and the inadequate enlightenment and education. All the rebellious events in the country reported as significant for threatening the republican order notably including *Tarikat-ı Salahiye Cemiyeti* in 1924, the Sheik Sait Rebellion, the communist formations in 1925, the protests against the hat reform in Erzurum, Rize and Maraş, the assassination against Mustafa Kemal in 1926, and the incidence in Menemen in 1930 were seen as the occurrences arising from the ignorance of people (İdare October 1933, 31-33). People were deemed as children who would easily be deceived by either outer enemies or the inner enemies. In this sense, the inner frontiers of the nation, to use Fichte’s vocabulary, seemed as significant as the outer boundaries. For Fichte, “interior frontier raised two problematics: that the purity of the community was prone to penetration on its interior and exterior borders, and that the essence of the community was an intangible moral attitude, a multiplicity of invisible ties” (in Stoler 1995, 130). In the 1930s, when the problem of the outer frontiers was settled, in establishing and

materializing the inner frontiers, and with invigorating the invisible moral ties, the nationalist sentiments through the national pedagogy proved to be of utmost importance. The Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya's words on Kurdish rebellions clarified the common republican mind: "If those who created these activities were explained that they are Turks, these painful incidents could not have happened" (Kaya 1932, 663).

Apparently, within the politico-moral and politico-pedagogical republican discourse, the most significant virtue to be gained by people was Turkishness. The building of national character through the elite national education process emphasized public duties and obligations of the citizens to the Turkish revolution and the republican regime, and required obedience and heart-felt attachments to the republican and national ideals. This was a more virtue-based, character-oriented, publicly-defined politics of the Kemalist pedagogy. In the next chapter, I explore how investigatory efforts of the republican elite extended to the countryside, and ask how peasants were imagined, romanticized and observed by republican travelers/interlocutors who were motivated with republican peasantism arising in the 1930s.

CHAPTER 3

BODY OF THE TURK, BODY OF THE PEASANT: THE NATIONAL PEDAGOGY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Genuine power in the country should be an adorable value; the weak and incapacitated should be hated. This is only possible by daring to undertake operations that would create life opportunities, and that would destroy the microbes, which lead to the paralysis of the national body. ‘Revolutionism’ means making continuous and fearless operations until the [national] body would turn into a normal shape and achieve the power, which would defeat the predestined and nature (Tonguç 1939, 24).

3.1. Introduction

Tonguç explained in calling for a remedy for animating villages and advancing civilization in the country. What is in his mind is creating civilized, secular and genuine intellectual citizens out of the village source.⁴⁷ Only this source, he believes, would successfully follow the contemporary civilization, would nurture and make robust the Republic, thus would turn the country into a happy nest. As is well-known, Tonguç is not a physician; however, the republican intellectuals frequently act and speak as “social physicians” (Çelik 2002) to eradicate the diseases weakening the national body, partly because some of them are actual physicians but mostly because they all deeply suffer from the sickly image of the nation in the Western eyes. In fact, the first peasantist society after the WWI, namely *Köycüler Cemiyeti* (Peasantist Society) was launched by fifteen nationalist physicians, who attempted to educate as well as medicate Turkish peasants

⁴⁷ Tonguç is zealous in criticizing what he names as “pseudo-intellectuals,” whose vision is obscured by filling their lives with books-instead of realities- and by the effect of the past.” (1939, 117)

(Karaömerlioğlu 1999, 73).⁴⁸ It is not surprising, then, to come up with certain medical tropes in the words of Tonguç, the prolific republican pedagogue, whose pedagogic attitudes originated in his academic career, though this pedagogy is definitely painted by the republican color of his time. Apparently, Tonguç's nationalist concerns lead him to diagnose and fight against abnormalities and viruses making the national body paralyzed.

In the same manner, the most passionate peasantist of the Republic, Nusret Kemal [Köymen],⁴⁹ resorted to the medical tropes for underlining the importance of bringing out a clear cartography of the countryside by launching extensive village surveys: "It is not possible to diagnose and cure a disease without knowing the patient's body and the symptoms and reasons of the disease" (Köymen 1934b, 1). What is more crucial for my concern in this study is that the medical tropes embellishing republican vocabulary of the time were frequently stripped of their tropologic meaning and uttered quite literally.⁵⁰ This chapter studies the search of

⁴⁸ Füsün Üstel argues that a group of intellectuals including Halide Edip Adivar and Reşit Galip within Turkish Hearths led to the idea of going people and established Köycüler Cemiyeti. The constituting aim of Köycüler Cemiyeti was "working among peasants with humanitarian feelings and help to the peasants about sanitary and pedagogical matters" (1997, 11).

⁴⁹ For a detailed analysis of Köymen's peasantism please see Jongerden (2004).

⁵⁰ The law regulating the Village Institutes obliges that the students chosen to the institutes are apart from being peasants and graduated from the primary village schools have to be healthy and proper. Legally it is required that students have to be peasants' children. In addition, students' parents have their own soils, the cattle, vineyard, and the like. Prospective students are to be healthy, robust and strong. Their bodily handicaps or imperfection is not tolerated, if these handicaps are considered as hindrance to their jobs. Bodily perfection of students is considered as a requirement for their success at Village Institute and later for the accomplishment of heavy and continuous tasks in village life. Those who are weak, undersized and abnormal could not bear and resist to exhausting work conditions of village life. Prospective students are to be smart, energetic and diligent; in addition, they are to be better ones in undertaking village works and having superior knowledge than their peers. The students' psychic order is also detected because performing village work requires a stable and healthy personal psychology. For this detection, the Ministry of Education prepared a form, Student Selection Form to be filled by investigators and schoolmasters, who personally see and select the students in villages. In spite of scrupulous efforts of the Ministry of Education, certain obstacles arose due to a tendency, since Village Institutes are supposed to be a nest mostly for the poor and desolate children, many handicapped, bodily and mentally imperfect students are registered "normal" and mostly the children of the poor and landless families are selected for institutes. Because of these faulty attitudes, those who lack a few fingers, and those who are lame from birth are accepted for the Institutes. Seeing these handicaps and the handicapped, the Ministry of Education deepens its investigations to select physically and psychologically "better" students for the institutes (Gedikoğlu 1971, 58-59). My analyses in this dissertation focus on the adults, rather than school students.

a corporeally, psychologically and morally-healthy citizens in villages in the early republican era. It investigates the manner to which the peasants are put under scrutiny in terms of their bodily strength and health, moral dispositions and sentimental structure by republican elite. It shows the ways peasants are included into the national pedagogy in the 1930s.

The first legal attempt of the republican government for the surveillance of the countryside was the 1924 Village Law. This law attributed various duties to peasants as well as to the officials including village reporters, schoolteachers and headmen. However, a more fervent concern over the countryside became widespread in the 1930s when the republican government accomplished its basic reformation efforts, perpetuated its single party rule, and observed that revolution had to be extended to Turkish peasants. In this period one of the most significant institutions created by the republican regime to eliminate the gap between the republican elite and people was the People's Houses, whose political aim was, as Karpat argues, "to persuade as many people as possible in the countryside that Turkish nationalism was their new religion, Republicanism their modern political identity" (Karpat 1974, 69). While the members of Turkish Hearths, which were replaced by People's Houses and especially of the Peasantism Branch of the People's Houses, were motivated with the idea of "going to villages" to survey, to know and to govern peasants. A peasantist fever was not confined to the members of these institutions. Many volunteers among city dwellers, students and intellectuals emerged and various travels and courses were launched for both learning about the countryside, and for educating peasants about the new republican life. Thanks to the efforts of these official and voluntary interlocutors, an immense amount of literature emerged on villages and the village folk. Yet still, in the 1930s the countryside still did not seem eligible to the republican regime. For this reason, there appeared various attempts to process the data and categorize the knowledge produced about peasants and villages. Drawing upon the travel accounts, investigation notes, reports, advice literature as well as the prepared schemas and framework for the fieldwork in the villages, this chapter explores

republican “will to know,” “will to educate,” and “will to govern” peasants in order for having a corporeally and morally better Turkish nation.

3.2. Early Nationalists and Peasants

The Ottoman-Turkish intellectuals’ interest in peasants goes back to the period following the 1908 Revolution when a group of intellectuals brought about societies, namely Turkish Hearths and Turkish National Training and Education Association, and disseminated their arguments in the periodicals like Turkish Homeland and Toward People under the influence of the Russian Narodniks (Toprak 1984). In Toprak’s terminology, these Ottoman narodniks substituted the words “nation” and “people” by claiming that the nation could not be reduced to the elite who have nationalist conscience. The matter rather was to educate Turkishness among people such as landless farmers and daily laborers. While the idea of Turkishness was unknown by the people, early nationalists troubled with their own abstract and theoretical assumptions about the people (Türk Yurdu December 1911, 39). For this reason, they collected knowledge about Anatolian peasants. This was also the launching of folkloric investigations, thanks to the contributions of Ziya Gökalp, Rıfa Tevfik, Selim Sırrı [Tarcan] and Yusuf Akçura (Öztürkmen 1998, 27). As the Empire was in continuous wars, the physical qualities of the Turks attracted their attention. Traveling around İzmir, Gasprinski complained about the laziness and aimlessness of strong bodily Turks (1912, 18). Abdalbaki Feyzi similarly noted how Turks were killing their time in unhealthy coffeehouses; how others spend their time in misery and lethargy, and how some others suffered from various diseases; how in general Turkish bodies in İzmit were weak and anemic (1912, 60). In hoping for finding Turks in better conditions in the “bolder” Turkish lands like Kayseri, İzzet Ulvi observed the Turkish peasants as scorched, weak, sometimes as boring chatters, and in most cases as dishonest, ignorant and otherworldly, and could not stop himself asking:

Today we are face to face with Occidentals. How could our mud-bricked houses collide with Occidental houses which are made of iron and stone? How could our unlearned and dreamy heads battle with the enlightened and thoughtful occidental heads? While they were running toward the path of

progress with electricity and steam, how could we catch up with them in these muddy roads? (İzzet Ulvi 1912, 183)

In stepping toward people, Ottoman Turkish narodniks attempted to link the homeland's head (Istanbul) with the body (Anatolia) and observed how the body of the nation (Anatolian peasants in this regard) was sick and weak, "because of the epidemics, continuous wars, harmful traditions and certain heartless and parasitic elements exasperating people and eventually because of old and bad administrations" (İzzet Ulvi 1912, 59). This explanation suggested that the weak and sick body of Anatolian peasants were not essential characteristics of the Turks. Rather, their nationalist inclination led them to believe that, "There exists a huge gulf between our ancestors' robust bodies, strong arms, ruddy-cheeked faces and today's Turks who are short, whose bodies are weak, arms are thin and faces are pale" (Doctor Kamil 1912, 119). They assigned it as the most crucial duty to remove the gap between the past and the previous image of Turks, and improve health of the new generation who is weak, handicapped and sick. What also worried them was that many unhealthy people were consulted by "folk healers," instead of physicians who are the expert of all diseases. This again reflected the gap between the occidentals, who manage their life in accordance with scientific truths, and the orientals, who are entrapped into the superstition, traditions and fatalism. If the Turks would like to gain their strength, to protect their generation, to increase their number, "they should" early nationalists suggested, "listen to the advices of physicians," "maintain a good and proper life," and prepare better life conditions for the new generations (Doctor Kamil 1912, 119). This was the way for early nationalists to gain a national strength in the new world where imperial order of things would no longer be commanding: the new Turkish homeland should be ordered in line with new requirements of governing, which cares bodies and concerns over the health and strength of the population.⁵¹

⁵¹ For a detailed discussion on the construction of Anatolia as the core of Turkish homeland and Turkification policies between 1908 to 1918 period, please see Erol Ülker (2005).

3.3. Countryside and Peasant in Republican Times: The Village Law

Early nationalists' travels toward villages were limited in number, however the knowledge they produced about the countryside and the peasants had an imprint on the new republican elite. For this reason, only after a year of the promulgation of the Republic, the republican elite brought about a crucial law to transform villages. Although its application was difficult in the very early years of the Republic and even scholars find it quite unrealistic and utopist (Mardin 1992, 63), the 1924 Village Law perfectly reflected biopolitical concern of the new regime for aiming to bring hygienic, sanitary and civilized order in the countryside. In speaking to the peasants about the application of the Village Law, Doctor İhsan, from the İzmir Village Bureau explained that, once upon a time, there was an expression appalling the world: "Strong as a Turk," and he suggested that: "Put this motto in practice in all your soul and existence all the time and everywhere. Previous administrations did not allow you to do that" (Doctor İhsan 1936, 2). With this law, the republican government seemed to give a right to be strong as Turk to Turkish peasants and attributed many compulsory as well as voluntary tasks to the village folk. It was the peasants' duty to create a clean environment inside as well as outside of their home. They had to bring a clean drinking water, they had to dry the marshes, as the malaria threatening Turkish population, they had to plant trees to green their villages, and to make the air fresh and healthy, which was a requirement for raising healthy children, and they had to build hygienic cemeteries to bury the death people. The Village Law also forced peasants to separate the residence of human beings from that of animals, to white-washed their houses as well as their stables, and to build hygienic toilets.

What is noticeable concisely in the Village Law was an attempt to bring orderliness through eliminating observable disorder in villages. The problem of frontiers of the villages seemed as the fundamental disorderly factor; thus, the first part of the law was devoted to geographical frontiers of villages. During the Ottoman regime, Turkish villages were generally small in terms of their population and unsuitable in terms of their location (Sencer 1971, 26). The republican regime attempted to unite small villages and forced peasants to make their environment

more a suitable habitat by imitating model village projects. While drawing new frontiers and finding new (Turkish) names to the villages, internal frontiers were also to be drawn for separating what is pure and impure; refined and contaminated; clean and dirty; sick and healthy inside Turkish villages. Put simply, looking from the eyes of the codifiers of the Village Law, villages were uninhabitable domains where dust, filth, excrement of humans and animals, food and water, home and stable were all chaotically and disgustingly merged. A truly Turk could not live and could not be raised in that chaos. Despite its staunch secularism, the republican elite occasionally used religiosity in hailing peasants. In this regard, a religious clerk exposed this chaos by arguing that in certain Turkish villages excrements were flowing out to the village streets, some peasants were leaving toilet wells open, and not only geese, ducks or chicken, even children were falling inside (Öğüt 1936, 50). What would happen if a foreign traveler came up with all that? The religious clerk answered:

...then all of us will be ashamed. They (foreigners) have never met such incidents in their countries, they would be disgusted with us and would consider us incapable and uncivilized. Our nation has an exalted soul and inconsummate capability, though...Of course, the whole nation could not be responsible from the guilt of some ignorant, sick, aged and children. But how would you explain this? Our enemies blame all of us for these faults and blots. The remedy is to awaken the ignorant and children (Öğüt 1936, 58)

3.3.1. Penetrating into the Countryside

The chaotic condition of the Turkish villages was supposed to be put into orderliness up to a point by juridical regularities,⁵² though the operation of the Village Law in villages was not as easy as it would seem. For this reason, not only in the 1920s but also in the 1930s, the republican elite worried about how to transform the countryside and to inculcate peasants into the republican and nationalist ideals. Beyond the juridical efforts, the total orderliness of villages

⁵² Şerif Mardin underlines the futility of governing society and bringing about a social cohesion through top-down legislation and argues that Kemalists took this tactic from the Ottoman regime (1992, 63). However, I argue that Kemalist elite were aware of impossibility of transforming villages through simply the Village Law. That is why Peasantism Branches of People' s Houses were the most efficient branches in the 1930s.

necessitated much regular, closer surveillance and training strategies. Mehmet Saffet reflected republican mentality by arguing: “Turkish peasant is waiting in front of us with the scene in need of help and concern. Saving and exalting him is the greatest ideal of today” (1933b, 422). For putting this ideal in practice, Tonguç underlined a crucial point: “In order to teach something to peasants, initially we should learn something from them” (1938, ix). This was the method Tonguç offered for penetrating into the countryside. He then defined the proper qualities of a truly peasantist: “Without crying and laughing together with peasants, one could not penetrate into inner life of the village” (1938, ix).

In the 1930s, impenetrable intimacy of peasants bothered the republican elite and that is why Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’s novel *Yaban* had an immense effect on the elite mind. Among others, one of the leading nationalists and pedagogues of the early Republic, Kazım Nami [Duru] posed the following question for underlining the discrepancy between the elite and peasants:

A Turkish peasant does not consider a ‘Frenk’ who comes from who knows which part of Europe or America and somehow stops by his village while traveling around as ‘Stranger.’ He even greatly respects slanting-eyed Arab coming from the sandy deserts of Hedjaz because he is the descent of the Prophet. If this is so, why does he disregard a Turkish ‘intellectual’ by naming him as ‘stranger,’ hesitates and fears him; why does not he tell about his inner self to the intellectual speaking his own language? (1933a, 235).

Duru also exposed fairly well what Homi Bhabha (1990) reminded us about the nationalist question: people do not simply and directly become part of the patriotic body politic, but rather they become an object of nationalist pedagogy.⁵³ Apparently, peasants’ inculcation into the nationalist causes is based upon a pedagogical effort for creating a homogeneous nation, embracing both nationalist intellectuals and peasants who are to be developed into nationness. Kemalist pedagogy in targeting peasants revolved around two basic themes: *physical*

⁵³ Bhabha emphasizes the necessity to consider the people in a double time of the nation-space as being pedagogic objects and performative subjects (1990, 297). Also Erdoğan (1998) focuses both performative and pedagogic construction of the Turkish people and the double time of the Turkish nation.

education, including hygienic and civility rules so that peasants would have a proper body, and second, a *sentimental education* for eradicating the gap between the republican elite and peasants, so that the peasants would passionately attach themselves to Turkishness, and thus a homogeneous nation would be achieved. In fact, the Kemalist pedagogy's constitutive binaryisms, such as West and East, modernity and tradition, civility and primitiveness, progress and backwardness, secularism and religiosity, scientism and superstition, healthiness and sickness, strength and weakness becomes more visible as soon as peasants are concerned. Despite the Kemalist intellectuals, especially the ones passionately attach to the peasantism considered peasant as the genuine source of the nation for embracing unmarred racial qualities of the Turks, since the Eurocentric and secularist assumption of the republican regime disqualified traditions, religiosity, superstitions, and sickness for a good and virtuous Turk, the unhealthy, poor and the weak conditions of Anatolian peasants created great difficulty in their approach to the countryside.⁵⁴ That is why, the Kemalist elites were ambiguous in front of peasants: their nationalist feeling romantically imagined genuine Turks in the countryside, and yet their Westernism obliged them to be unhappy with what they see while traveling among peasants. In this condition, the Ottoman-Islamic past became the scapegoat for the discrepancy between the imagined and real Anatolian peasants, the Turks. Burhan Belge reflected the common republican understanding towards the Ottomans as follows:

What then was the connection between the Turk and the Ottoman? Who was the Turk? They had never allowed him to say. For six centuries he had been dying on the advancing frontiers or in the defeats of the Empire...he had even made his language subservient to the language of theocracy or to the involved and solemn language of the Court, and he was never at any time allowed to call himself by his own name. For the existence of the Empire was based from the very outset on its own repudiation (1939, 749).

In a similar vein, republican interlocutors argued that, although peasants were left weak and backward because of the Ottomans, their soul was still unmarred: one

⁵⁴ Please see how conservative nationalists criticized Kemalist peasantism by deeming it as "insincere" in their approach to the peasants, Tanil Bora and Necmi Erdoğan (2003).

would observe this through studying the glorious history of Turkish peasants, who established perfect civilizations because of their glorious race (Üçok 1937, 91-93). Setting aside the Ottoman bias, which even prohibited spelling the name of Turk, the Anatolian peasants as the bearer of Turkish race were deemed the real source of civility, culture, strength and Turkishness.

3.3.2. Racial Qualities of the Nation and Peasant

“We do not look like any other nation in terms of our racial qualities,” Mahmud Sadi [Irmak], a physician and member of organization committee of People’s Houses stated in 1934, only ten years after his travel to Berlin for having education in medicine and biology (1934, 78). His stay in Germany increased his knowledge and interest about racial and moral characteristics of various races and nations. He also learned about how to improve these qualities for getting a better breed and a strong nation. Despite his extensive knowledge on pedagogical order and population and health politics of other countries, especially that of Germany and European countries, the strength of his nationalist sentiments led him not to imitate other nations for pedagogical or social causes. “We could not take up any Western country’s social and pedagogical order,” he insisted, because every national body should establish its own pedagogical and social order in accordance with its own racial qualities. If one needs to discover unique national [moral, physical and the like] qualities, one should look for “people” because “Racial qualities of nations appear” only “in people.”

In a similar vein to Irmak, Muhittin Celal Duru underlined that, “In the countries whose populations mostly reside in the village, the most typical characteristics of the social body would be seen and investigated only in villages” (1941, 7). For Duru, city dwellers are hybrid in terms of their racial and national qualities. About social events and especially in biological matters, the realities of urban folk cannot be extended to the whole nation. He further added that “It is compulsory to choose peasants as material for anthropological and ethnological surveys... Peasant is the genuine owner and the producer of the homeland. Also he is the peasant who purely has been keeping the nobility and beauty of our race” (1941, 8).

According to Irmak's psychologically informed, biologically oriented scientism, it is possible to extend the methods which explore the psychological and physical qualities of a person to the folkloric investigation of a nation, so that one could explore genuine racial qualities of a nation. As knowing a person deeply requires investigating his inner side, his essence and heart, knowing a nation requires penetrating into its essence, its intimate core, which is only possible by intensive folkloric investigation mostly, but not exclusively, of the peasants. Although early nationalists, especially Ziya Gökalp, dealt with folklore and first folkloric investigations in the republican time began in 1927, Sadi Irmak still argued that: "We have ignored folklore," and added: "all of us have different ideas about our nation." As a matter of fact, in the age of the making of a new Turkey, "Who is a Turk?" in terms of his/her physical qualities was a significant question to be answered by the republican elite. "[O]ther countries have scientifically investigated not only the general type of their nation but also types of different classes and masses composing of their nation," explained Irmak and assured: "Social orders can only be established on this science" (Irmak 1934, 78-79).

Republican interest in folkloric investigation went hand-in-hand with pedagogical concerns of the regime, which both aimed to explore the peculiarities of the Turkish people and to tame, civilize and modernize them.⁵⁵ Science men, romantic peasantists, devoted partisans of the Republican People's Party as well as the members of popular press were acted harmoniously for inventing and educating the Turkish nation. Concomitantly then, it was not surprising to read the following words in a popular sport magazine, *Türkspor*, of the period:

It is so strange that we know by hearth in which region of our country there is delicious grape, fig, opium, wool and so on, but we do not know in which corner the robust, strong and spectacular bodies of Turkey are raised. It is claimed that Turkish race in Anatolia are not that much spectacular, tall and shapely people. We have read and heard that

⁵⁵ Erdoğan (1998) underlines how republican regime in 1937 attempted to modernize the popular books to educate and modernize people.

especially malaria and similar corrosive diseases make the bodies weak. Is it true? (Türkspor 1934, 5)⁵⁶

3.3.3. Call to Investigation in the Countryside

In line with these arguments, in June 1933, *Ülkü* announced that it opened its page for surveys to be accomplished in various corners of the country. The concern of the survey was the “development of our villages.” Although theoretical perspectives on animating villages were also discussed, an empirical investigation of villages was mandatory for the development of the Turkish villages. For this reason, *Ülkü* invited teachers, state officials, students and others to go toward villages and take note of their travels. As an encouragement, prospective peasantists were assured that they could not find any better place for the summer holiday than villages, because villages are totally different from the city in terms of their natural resources and human quality. Life is cheap in villages, foods are fresh, and human beings are pure and guileless. In addition, it was guaranteed that even a few week-long stay would show the “genuine side” of Turkish homeland to passionate peasantists (*Ülkü* June 1933, 363).

In fact, before the abolishment of Turkish Hearths, Hamdullah Suphi [Tannöver], the leader of Turkish Hearths, gave a complete support for maintaining the missionary activities in the Turkish villages they initiated in the early years of the Republic. When talking about the Ankara Turkish Hearth’s activities in Ankara villages, Tannöver objected the ones who suggest staying away from villages and narrated how it is so crucial for dealing with peasants: “One of our pitiful peasants who have never been looked for before said to the doctor Şükrü Yusuf Bey that ‘Thank God there are people in Ankara who are concern about us.’ Do you want those neighborhood peasants who have benefited from our institute’s compassion

⁵⁶ It was also suggested in this periodical that: “For example in the next summer we should begin to move from the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions and visit various parts of our country to scientifically investigate the physical qualities of our youth...The unmarred and completely pure Turkish clans should be seen and the robust Turkish youth grown there should be pictured and their physical development should be registered” (1934, 5).

and concern, to think in the future that ‘this friendship was also temporary and a lie’ (1929, 12). He further demanded that:

As a response to the missionaries of the Western world who deliver faith, civilization, compassion and medical care to the farthest colonies, savage continents, to certain people of different religion and race, our missionary should return back and grow up, instead of ceasing, it commands the unbounded development of this compassion to the extent of embracing the whole country (1929, 13).

As it becomes clear from Tanrıöver’s explanation, not all intellectuals of the republican regime were willing to step toward villages. Another matter was that not all peasants were happy with intellectuals’ interest in villages: “Even the peasant does not welcome the peasantists with sufficient care” said Köymen, by noting that peasantism is a very new science and phenomenon, and that the peasant was unwilling to make for changes. For this reason, “the peasantist should find out the most proper ones to inculcate them for making the desire for progress and make them believe into their capacities” (1934b, 19). This was a hard task, resembling the work of Christian missionaries:

The era of combating the cannibals in African jungles in order to spread Christianity is over. Nor would one any longer consider it bravery to force the gates of Vienna with swords. The missionary work of today is listening to the problems of the people whose blood, feelings, and sweat we share in our bodies and spirit, and to search for solutions to these problems. The bravery of today is to force the walls of illiteracy, conservatism, laziness, and despair, which are more formidable than the most formidable fortifications (Bozdoğan 2001, 99).

The burden of being a truly peasantist was heavy mostly because of “insincerity” of those who would visit villages. In *Yeni Adam*’s pages, an insincere peasantist was caricatured as follows:

Although he has no relation with peasants, thanks to the books he has read and the talks in coffee-houses he has attended he has become an amazingly good peasantist. For this reason, he decided to go to the village, which is seen from the windows of his office, on Sunday. He considered, he could both pour out his grievances and eat yogurt (Aytekin 1937, 3).

Unfortunately, reality did not match with his imagination. Peasants were very busy in their fields: and nobody welcomed him. “He got angry at peasants: ‘What thankless people are those peasants...nobody greeted me.’ And he left the village by damning the idea, which encourages ‘the travel toward villages’”(1937, 3). Despite criticism on insincere travels, many intellectuals, including Yeni Adam’s owner, Baltacıoğlu, supported to the idea of going to villages, by maintaining that peasants were tired of degenerate intellectuals; that is why they did not expose their inner selves, sincere peasantists, however, would be very successful in catching the heart of peasants (Baltacıoğlu 1950, 99).

3.3.3.1. Mobilizing the Countryside

The most eloquent literature on peasantism was brought about by Nusret Kemal [Köymen] (1903-1964). He authored many articles and several books on peasantism.⁵⁷ He also played a leading role in *Ülkü* and disseminated a detailed manifesto on peasant education and village development. In his “Toward a Village Mobilization”, he first underlined the importance of exalting economic well-being of the peasants. He also added that a truly republican regime should inform each peasant about his individual role in the national economy. Apart from economic matters, he worried about socio-cultural conditions in villages by noting the urgency of exalting peasant’s social level in terms of moral values, public life, political ideals, solidarity, entertainments, as well as inculcating the pleasure of work and proper habits in the peasant’s mind. Accordingly, citizenship education was compulsory for peasants, because they were in great need of understanding their duties toward the republican regime. However, since the republican regime was not confined to duties, peasants were to be raised as free citizens who are emancipated from superstitions, are scientific, open-minded and mature. In eliminating old belief and superstition, the republican regime should educate

⁵⁷ *Köycülük Esasları(Principles of Peasantism)* (1934), *Köycülük Rehberi (The Guide of Peasantism)* (1934), *Köycülük Programına Giriş(An Introduction to the Program of Peasantism)* (1935), *Türk Köyünü Yükseltme Çareleri(Remedies for Exalting Turkish Village)* (1939), *Harpte Köycülük (Peasantism in War)* (1939) *Cemiyet Teşkilatlanmasında Köy ve Şehir Yahut Devletçiliğin Esasları (Village and City in Social Organization: Principles of Statism)* (1939), *Köy Kalkınması: Yunanistan’dan Bir Misal(Village Development: A Case in Greece)* (1952), *Köy Kalkınması II: Köycü Gençler (Village Development II: Peasantist Youth)* (1952), *Köycülük Bilimi (The Science of Peasantism)* (1964).

peasants as Turks who have moral qualities of the Turkish race and are loyal to the Turkish tradition. In addition to the moral elevation of peasants for fitting to the Turkish race, peasants should also fit into the physical qualities of the Turkish race. Since truly Turks are strong, peasants are to be improved in terms of their physical and psychic qualities by enforcing marital selection and physical education (1933a, 357).

In raising peasants, republicans considered the limited resources, and resorted to devote limited energy and money for some deserving villages. Köymen clearly explained:

among villages there are the ones where people live in the hollow of the rocks. There are villages in the mountains, resembling eagle nests and there are also villages in the middle of the steppes reminding me of molehills. Some are destined to obey all natural cruelties; others are far away from civilization. The cracked lips of these barren villages need the water of light. But if we sprinkle our limited drops to these barren villages, we would not help removing their thirst. Hopefully, there are villages which would turn into a paradise by shedding a few drops. We should make a selection (1933a, 358).

Accordingly, Köymen counseled passionate peasantists for finding a beautiful village, which would easily develop and devoting all their labor and enthusiasm for improving these villages. He resembled villages as the laboratories of a living scientist, who would develop his scientific works through experiments (1934b, 20).

The scientific peasantism contained four dimensions including the Science of Peasantism; The Village Survey; How to Know Villages and Village Missionary. The main assumption of Köymen in analyzing village domain is that village is totally different from the city: its cultural, social, economic and political foundation is unique. Accordingly, legacies, customs, habits, concerns, psychology, and even the physiology of peasants are completely different from that of city dwellers (1934b, 1). “A peasant and a city dweller could only be equal in law books” he said, but “a complete equality between a villager and a city dweller; the equality of village and the city...is not a fact, rather an ideal and perhaps it is an ideal that would never be achieved entirely” (1934b, 1-2). Given

that the discrepancy between villagers and city dwellers is multi-dimensional, village development requires not a one-dimensional expert, but rather a knowledgeable and competent peasantist, who knows different facets of the village question (1934b, 2).

3.3.3.2. Schematizing Village Surveys

Village surveys reflect the same governmental strategy with Sanitary and Social Investigations developed in 1926. These investigations already collected knowledge on villages, however, they were not confined to the villages; instead, they aimed to map the whole national territory in a detailed manner.

Rising peasantist efforts in the 1930s enforced the idea that countryside should be more eligible to the republican elite. In this regard, various republicans prepared detailed schemas for investigating villages. The best examples of them were Tosya District Governor Baha's (1929) *Teftiş Rehberi*; Salahattin Kandemir's (1934) "Village in terms of Geography"; Tevfik Kılıçarslan's (1939) *Köy Kütüğü* and Nusret Kemal Köymen's (1934b) *Köycülüük Rehberi*. Here, I focus on Köymen's schema for it was the most eloquent one. Köymen argues that if a village is not known in terms of its geographical and other particular characteristics, even the best peasantist project would fail inevitably. For this reason, a devoted peasantist should resort either to the investigations fulfilled by others or he should realize a complete and detailed village survey. A meticulous knowledge collection, actually a knowledge production would help one's entrance into the "soul" or "climate" of the village (Köymen 1934b,4). Yet the task of penetrating into village domain was quite complicated. Since Republicans used every opportunity to separate their own regime with that of the Ottomans, they repeatedly underlined that the knowledge collection through village surveys is not the same with Ottoman *salname* (yearbook) information. "The survey launched for knowing the village is not the yearbook knowledge which was quickly noted down while passing through a village" stated Köymen, by insisting on the importance of longevity of the time spent in village domain: "To accomplish a complete survey to know a village, one

and even a few peasantists should stay in a village for a long time and penetrate into the soul of all conditions and circumstances of the village” (1934b, 5).

Köymen aimed at bringing a standard for nationwide village investigations operated by various passionate republicans. In his project namely “How to Know a Village?,” he offered a schema, retaining six parts. In Part A, a general information about village in question was registered: the official and local name of village, and the meaning and origin of this name should be mentioned. A brief history of the village, the founders and the significant events in it should be noted. Some general information should be given on population, the rate of marriage, and the ethnic and religious origin of peasants should be noted. In addition, the geographical location of village, its climate and natural resources should be noted, and a map of village to be drawn. In Part B, the cultural condition of the village should be studied. The first notice should be given to the school and the schoolteacher. The number of students, the number literate and illiterate should be noted. If there is an *imam* in the village, his activities apart from performing *namaz* such as sermonizing, writing letters and petition or helping out teaching the school children and reading newspapers to the village folk should be noted. In addition, if he is indulged in folk healing and leading villagers to superstitions will be mentioned. The availability of the books and their kinds will be written in village surveys. The peasants’ cultural activities such as seeing movies and theatres or their visits to the city centers should be mentioned (1934b, 9-10). Coffeehouses should also be monitored, especially the topic of talks and the name of constant frequenters should be noted. Those who accomplished the military service should be mentioned in terms of their activities, if any, in village development. Part C focuses on sanitary condition of the villages. After noting the general health condition of the peasants, the peasantists should record the rate of death and birth in the village. The bodies of the peasants should be put under scrutiny for noting the details about the structure of their skeletons, the health of their teeth, their height and weight. Peasantists are advised to resort to elderly people in the villages for getting historical information about the village population, such as if the average height of peasants is changing, if the symmetry of the bodies is changing, and if psychological diseases,

stammering and theft, which would lead to degeneration is increasing in the villages (1934b, 11). The surveyors will note common diseases and how they are treated. They also note if the current bodily imperfection and psychic disorders are hereditary. The conditions of houses, hygiene knowledge among village folk, the sports and exercises made by peasants should be observed. In Part D, the social condition of village should be studied. To what extent the village law is implemented in the village and if the village folk are happy or unhappy about the government, their political ideas and their fragmentation should be recorded. In mapping social life in villages, surveyors will note average marital age, the number of polygamous unions, the number of bachelors and widows. If there is any prostitution or sexual perversion, this also should be written in the document. Surveyors also note the general moral disposition of peasants and define the role of religion in moral norms. In Part E peasantists should deal with economic conditions of the villages. If there is a forest, rivers, fishery, mining, hunting and the like it to be written. Both agriculture and crafting should be investigated. Lastly Part F should summarize the basic information about village and offers some suggestion to the village development plan.

Whenever a peasantist finishes a detailed survey, he should prepare a written document. First of all a proper republican peasantist should keep a personal file as the expression of his long-lasting labor. Second, a “secret” report should be submitted to official channels: this report should especially retain problems and difficulties in village life. Third, one should give a report to the People’s House in his region. When the peasantist gives his report, if he does not want its publication, he would add an “unpublishable” note over the document. Lastly, one should prepare a publishing report within which one should try not to mention personal names, should hesitate using a quarrelsome language, one may criticize the life in village, but he should not humiliate the village folk.

For the replica of the reports on villages, Nuri, the schoolteacher from Kütahya’s Alayund village, is worth analyzing. Nuri divides his reports into five basic parts, specifies these parts alphabetically, and then in each part, he enumerates the

condition of the village and peasants. It seems that each detail is considered and reported. He presents immense information including: the number of houses (96) and population (485), the coordinates and the altitude above sea level (935) of village, the position of the rivers and railways around, the linguistic and historical background of the village's name, the ethnic origin of the peasants, details on leisure time activities, peasants' attitudes toward their children, their lack of knowledge on child-care, their basic surreptitious beliefs, their moral attitudes like adultery, lying, gambling; their economic conditions (rather their poverty and debts), the architectural structure of the village houses (he adds his article his drawing of the plan of the house and mentions who stay where in the house), the furniture and staff of the houses (4 beds, 2 towels, 6 used sacks, a clock ..), the number of students and graduates of the village school, the number of animals, the climate of the village, the jobs of the peasants, the number of peasants' cloths (each peasant has only one cloths, which is full of patches), the food they eat (they do not drink anything except water. They do not drink milk, rarely eat eggs because they prefer selling them in towns, and only in Kurban festives, they can eat meat); the common diseases; their sportive activities (no activity); the speech acts of the peasants (he adds that he could not count the number of words, but the vocabulary of them is limited. Their speeches contain bad words but they do not hesitate to use them in public and in front of women.); about their health attitudes (It is better to be asked if the peasants have any habits related to health. Their teeth are unhealthy and they do not keep up them). He noted that one would recognize a heavy smell mixed with moisture. Peasants wash their clothes and linens in 20-30 days, and in winter in two months. (Some of them go to Kütahya bathhouse once a year) And lastly, he reports "there is no mad or idiot in the village" (Nuri 1933, 151-158).

3.4.3. Republican Interlocutors in the Countryside

In the 1930s there were various interlocutors, who disseminate the republican ideals to the people. In what follows, I focus on the primary figures that aimed at transforming the peasants in line with the larger mentality of the republican regime.

3.4.3.1. Village Bureaus and Village Reporters

While the republican government was concerned with increasing the knowledge on the countryside, village reporters and village bureaus seemed crucial for producing and disseminating the republican mission to the remotest corners. The civility mission of the government, the scientific perspectives on village development, and pedagogical performances are all organized through the publication of the village bureaus and the works of the village reporters. Village Bureaus are very important in producing peasantist literature in different regions. The publications of village bureaus deal with various topics including Lütü Oğultürk (1937), *Kökain, Heroin*, İzzet Arkan (1937) *Köylüler İçin Sıtma Hakkında Kısa Bilgiler*(A Brief Knowledge to Peasants on Malaria); Raşit Demirtaş (1937) *Aile Ocağı*(Family); Asaf Koryak (1935) *İçki ve Tütünün Zararları*(Harms of Alcohol and Tobacco), *Bulaşık Hastalıklar: Köylü İçin* (Contagious Diseases: For Peasants); Selahattin Kandemir (1936), *Köylüye Türkiye Coğrafyası Bilgileri*(Knowledge for Peasant on the Geography of Turkey); Selahattin Kandemir(1936), *Köylüye Cumhuriyet Tarihi* (Republican History for Peasant); Cavit Aker(1936) *İnkılabımız Hakkında Köylüye Öğütler* (*Advice for Peasant on Our Revolution*); Ridvan Kipurall (1940), *Köy Büro ve Katiplerine Kurslar* (Courses for the Officials of Village Bureau and Village Reporters) and so on. All these activities derived from the 1924 Village Law.

Stating the Village Law was not successfully performed nationwide. In 1934, roughly after ten years from the promulgation of it, the governor of Gaziantep, Akif Bey, initiated a 15-day course on *Köy Katipliği* covering various lectures such as Citizenship, the Village Law, Manners, Hygiene, the Education Law, Roads and Sketching, and so on. This was a concise program like a “European instant soup, you put a little powder and some water into a pot, then you have a pot-full soup,” the governor said in delivering his speech in his smart suit completed with a hat. Claiming that villages have been *terra incognita* for 600 years, and that there were no laws and efforts for providing the hygienic, economic, scientific and social conditions for the peasants, Akif Bey applauded the republican regime for designating the peasants as the master of nation, and dealing

with various village problems, and enlightening all Turkish villages via codifying the Village Law. It was unfortunate, he stated, this law was not performed in all villages because of lack of willful and strong people for executing the law. The matter was not merely illiteracy in the villages, as there were some literate people, even the literacy of the village headman was not consequential. The matter rather was finding someone literate and impartial, someone cultivated and lawful. It was expected briefly that:

Village reporters should fill the village file books regularly, they register their reports into these books, they inspect peasants day by day; they take note of birth, death and emerging diseases, especially contagious diseases and notify these events to official authority in the region. They get constructed village roads, fountain and school. And more importantly, they should be a good role model for peasants in their proper cloths, morals and power (in Mektupçu Hilmi 1934, 4).⁵⁸

In launching a course for Köy Katipliği, the aim was bringing the orderliness of the Turkish nation, which was ruled by the republican regime and the light of the European civilization to Gaziantep villages. This was not to suggest Gaziantep villages were less developed than other Anatolian villages, rather, as stated by the governor, that their villages were developed at least in terms of having windows, frames, glasses and separate rooms in their houses (1934, 2). Yet peasants still needed to learn the rule of hygiene, the power of education, and the law. Gaziantep peasants, similar to all Anatolian peasants, had virtues like honesty, hardworking and goodness thanks to the noble blood in their blood vessels, but their faults could not be denied: they were short-sighted, inefficient and unproductive.

Today they [peasants] marry by religious ceremony as opposed to the Civil Law, they even couple without any ceremony, because they suggest their daily interests require this. If we consider that in all villages marital records are disorganized-for the moment they are as such- then after 20 or 25 years, siblings would not know each other, mothers and their offspring would not find each other. Inheritors would fight. Blood feud would arise not only because of land register, but also because of the improper inheritance register (1934, 3).

⁵⁸ Please also see İstanbul Vilayeti Köy Bürosu (1939) and Lütü Kırdar (1938).

Given the chaotic condition of Gaziantep villages, Akif Bey considered the village headmen as the main responsible for disorderliness. The village headmen could not act autonomously because they acted in terms of their particular interests, instead of obeying neutrality in managing village tasks. The village headmen were short-sighted as other peasants: for this reason they could not see the long-term interests of the village. This was the main reason that Akif Bey resorted to Köy Katipliği. Village reporters would act impartially, because they had no organic relation with the peasants. Seemingly, for the Gaziantep governor, peasantism, which was one of the most crucial national tasks, could only be performed by outsiders. Yet the outsiders should act very carefully, because “it is not good to hurt the feeling of peasants, and in the same way, the faults of the peasants should not be tolerated (1934, 6).

Lecturing on three separate topics of citizenship, manners and the Village Law, Mektupçu Hilmi Bey clarified the point of the institution of *Köy Katipliği* as advancing the hygienic, scientific, economic and social conditions of the villages, and raising the peasants as truly republicans. According to him, this was only possible with the application of the Village Law; however, among 40,242 villages, only half of them, 21,305 villages, applied and executed it (1934, 8). Thanks to the Village Law, he believed the population would increase: when the hygienic conditions were realized, and the pleasure of social life was tasted by the peasants, doubtlessly the population would be doubled (1934, 9). In a similar vein, the lecturer of the hygiene, Sanitary Director Faik Bey, stated that the hygiene means the happiness of the country and the flourishing of the offspring, with designated cleanliness as the first task of the Köy Katipleri. This task covers cleaning everything and everywhere in the village from the street to the houses and stables, from the dunghills to the water supply, and even the body of the peasants. Realization of the requirement of the hygiene in the village makes other tasks of the Köy Katipleri much easier, as the sickness ceases working: a sick man cannot work, cannot harvest, cannot be rich, cannot pay his debt to the government (1934, 166-167).

3.4.3.2. Village Headmen

Despite the village reporters as being considered as important interlocutors of the republican regime and some provincial governors criticized misgoverning of the village headmen, there were also courses given to the village headmen because the Village Law assigned a significant role to the headmen in the accomplishment of the village tasks. For this reason, several courses were organized by the republican regime for exalting the knowledge of the headmen for bringing a better administration in the village domain.

One of these courses was organized in Kırklareli and the Kırklareli Cultural Director C. Atay (1937), was one of the organizers. His focus in educating headmen was on cultural (educational) tasks; however, he also talked about the general mission of the republican government. He published his course note as a book entitled *Köy Muhtarlarının Kültürel Ödevleri (Cultural Tasks of the Village Headmen)*.⁵⁹

According to Atay, “making revolution in the village” was the main task of the headmen. For disseminating revolutionary ideals in the village domain, headmen should “inspire love and respect for revolution” among peasants in the first place (1937, 26). Given that the republican government was populist, and that the basic revolutionary principle was peasantism, “Now all our cause is the village cause: to advance our villages, to elevate and to enlighten our villages.” Yet, unfortunately, he stated: “Our nation has remained in the lack of good care for centuries.” (1937, 5). The reason of neglect was simple in Atay’s account: The Sultanate had never desired the enlightenment and development of the peasants on the ground that all sultanate regimes in the world had cared for nobles, “beys, ağas, sheiks and mollas.” The Republic, on the other hand, cared for peasants and people. The main mission of the Republic was spelt out in the following arguments: “12 million of the Turkish Nation lives in villages. Thus the genuine national body is in the villages...In order to claim that ‘we have advanced our nation,’ ‘we have brought

⁵⁹ For the course on the juridical tasks of headmen please see Hayrettin Ayışık (1938) and Gafur Soylu (1939); for agricultural knowledge for villageheadmen, Fevzi Ülgen (1937).

light and health to our country,' we initially should bring light and health to our peasants" (1937, 7). Following this clear argument of the republican regime, Atay assured to the headmen that "we will not give up our path, without each village becomes prosperous and each peasant receives the prosperity of a civilized man" (1937, 7). The mission of the headmen then, as Atay explained, was much more important and heavier than that of provincial governors and the district governors. Yet, Atay added that these governors also devoted half of their energy for exalting villages.

One of these provincial governors who devoted much energy for elevating the villages was Kırşehir Governor Mithat İzzet Saylam. In fact, Kırşehir Governor Saylam wrote a book for showing how provincial governors as well work for peasants. At the very beginning of the book entitled *Among Peasants*, Saylam suggested overtly, that:

Peasants in the Republic have received blessings he has never imagined. However, all of them are related to the elimination of his sufferings he had to live with before. The future generation shall read these sufferings as history. Now we should attach new generation to the Republic with new ties (1937a, 1).⁶⁰

Drawing upon his observations in various villages of his province, Saylam came to the conclusion that this new attachment and new ties of the Republic cannot be established by the current village headmen in the village domain. He clearly argued that "Headman and his friends work for the harms of the peasants, they are always unsuccessful people" (1937a, 4). Peasants seemed to recognize the truth very well: "they want to be emancipated from headmen evil...Peasants demand an outsider as a leader for governing the village," Saylam observed (1937a, 5). While headmen and the members of the village council were one side of the bigotry, the other side was the imam. In Saylam's account, village headmen were inadequate, partial and unwilling for transforming the village domain into a proper republican environment. In addition, Saylam's observation about peasants was not good either. He wrote that:

⁶⁰ Please also see, Mithat İzzet Saylam (1937b), and (1936).

I tried to get some information from peasants. Their words did not match each other. One peasant decreased the amount I want to learn, the other increased. Later they admitted that the number they informed was not correct. Whenever you investigate something the result was that. What makes the peasants like that is us. Those who tell the truth were dismissed from nine villages; we dismissed them from ninety villages. We should look for a remedy for this malady, which comes from the past (1937a, 12).

Kırklareli Cultural Director Atay was also worried about the disinformation officials meet while investigating villages. However, Atay considered the task of the headmen would be very useful for eliminating misinformation: “If the headman informs a conflict in the village fairly to the government, then the task is easily done and accomplished: the right and the wrong parties are easily distinguished. If the headman misinforms the government, then the task goes wrongly and it takes much time to correct wrongly going task” (Atay 1937, 4).

It is obvious that despite Saylam’s search for an outsider for ordering the countryside and receiving better information about peasants, Atay appreciated the role of village headmen as the insider. As an insider, village headmen would fight against bigotry and superstition. Atay observed that many innocent peasants believe in and afraid of djins, fairies, ghosts, saints and so on. In accordance with the common republican pedagogical conviction, Atay found out that there is only one thing to be afraid of in a village: *ignorance*. In villages one should be afraid of dirt, which brings all evils to the countryside. Given that peasants spent most of their life outside of their homes, those places should be kept clean, toilets should be constructed properly, and peasants should not be infested with lice by frequently washing their bodies. If all these hygienic recommendations were followed, “neither djin would stroke peasants, nor fairies would catch them, nor ghosts or saints would appear; nothing would happen. They would live healthy and strong ever after” (1937, 28).

It is clear that village headmen would guarantee a habitual transformation of the village folk. It was expected from village headmen to monitor decency, good morality and physical strength in villages. Atay stated that “our peasants are

famous all over the world in their high moral standards.” However, he added that “We owe this fame to our ancestors” (1937, 34). The other well-known feature of the Turkish peasants was their physical strength. It was the task in the republican era to animate the famous characteristics of Turkish peasants. In this regard, developing sportive activities would help animating physical strength and morality in countryside. Headmen should also liven up another characteristic, that is cheerfulness. Atay told headmen that “Do you know that as a nation we have overlooked having fun?” He explained that in the past, Turks were the most cheerful and happiest people. They had found pleasure and fun even in the hardest time. However, later, because of bad administration [of the Ottoman regime], their grievances and problems had increased, and they stopped laughing. Apart from bad administrations, many ignorant religious men prohibited laughing by deeming everything as sin (1937, 33). According to Atay, societies which know having fun were well-mannered and knowledgeable societies. It was a fact that the republican regime created an advanced and civilized society, demanded hard work. Yet simultaneously, it demanded that people should live long and happy. Entertainment increases longevity, people want to live more and more, and as they live, they want to work. As a result, the whole country arrives at prosperity and enlightenment (1937, 38).

Village headmen were also expected to advance the habit of “reading,” which was another feature of the developed countries. For Atay, reading was a lifelong occupation, it was a special taste. Atay narrated that:

A peasant uncle needs a relaxing and entertaining place after having worked and getting tired in his field. He comes to the reading room, he orders a coffee and smokes and in the meantime he embraces newspapers, journals and books to learn about world matters. This reading occupation throws away exhaustion in the field. The bodily fatigue is better be removed by reading, rather than sleeping. If you try this you would see the result. Reading rooms are actually resting places. Dailies should be brought to reading rooms. We should learn what is going on in the world, in our homeland (1937, 22).

Apart from dailies and journals, some useful books, which guide peasants in practical life were recommended for the peasants. Peasants also love reading

stories, epic narratives and folksong as Atay informed. For this reason, the village headmen should be concerned about the books in the village reading room; they should watch over which kinds of books are favored by peasants, and they buy popular books for the peasants. In addition, the books, newspapers and journals should not be wasted. The headmen should enumerate them, and compensate the prices from those who lost or damaged them. The village headmen should guarantee that the items in the reading room are circulated among women, and those who could not come to the reading room. If possible, the headmen should provide girls with a proper place and time for using the reading room (1937, 24). Given that the canon of our revolution was the great *Speech* of Atatürk, Atay suggested that in every village, one or a few copies of the *Speech* should be available. Headmen were responsible for reading each and every line of the *Speech* to anyone in village, including the elderly, the young, women and men and children. “As you read the *Speech*, you need to read it again and again and would learn about how and why the Turkish revolution happened” Atay stated confidently. The course ended with, “Long Live Atatürk! Long Live His Ideal and Peasantism!” (1937, 35).

3.4.3.3. Village schoolteacher

According to the Village Law, the village schoolteacher is the natural member of the village council. The heroic role given to the village teacher by the republican regime for civilizing and converting the ordinary village children—and hopefully all peasants—into the republican citizens cannot be dismissed in this regard: interestingly and perhaps expectably, teaching the Village Law is compulsory in the village school curriculum.

Gökmen wrote in his “Kamalizm Karşısında Öğretmenler,” that “During the centuries we had spent in the Ottoman age we were a mixed nation like *aşure* soup, consisting of various national communities...In the past, there was bigotry everywhere; there was slavery for all souls...Our nation was pitiful in this job [education] too. In Gökmen’s account, the problem in education that infiltrated pity for people was that, people were deceived, people were inculcated with the

idea that their otherworldly life, their life under earth, was more pleasurable and satisfying than their life in this world. What makes Gökmen angry and sad was that people were inclined to the idea that other-worldliness was better than sovereignty. Fortunately, Gökmen would take a relief in the republican regime for the “Revolution terminated those dark and cold nights.”...and the schools and the schoolteachers, of course, “will raise the nation as a Western world” (1935, 2).

Creating a single, homogeneous national body is also linked to The Law of Unification of Education, which is mostly discussed in terms of its secularist connotations; however, this law attempted to cease the differentiating curriculums of the schools in cities and villages—albeit this was a failed attempt. In 1933, in the memory of the days before the Unification of Education, İbrahim Hilmi (1933/1934) wrote and published a book for the Village Children: *Köy Çocuğunun İlk Okuma Kitabı*. The book aimed at training children according to scientific, ethical and civilizational knowledge; melting them with the love of village, homeland and the republic, inculcating them with the ideals of Great Turkish Revolution.

The figure of Village Teacher at the outset signified the general heroic features given to him during the early republican era. This “cultivated” and “mannerly” teacher's first act was ordering and cleaning the classroom, putting a white tablecloth and a vase full of flowers on the table. Then he asked the village children whether they want to be orderly and clean, while detecting their unwashed hands and faces, uncut nails and untidy hairs—in fact, beyond the bodies of the children, everywhere and everything in the village seem dirty to him. Hailing the children as flowers, the new teacher wanted them to be gardeners as well to change the life and shape of the village completely. Seeing all population as the raw material, he wanted to establish a new life in the village through crafting and training; thus, he willed to turn the village into a paradise (1933/1934, 6-14). As a matter of fact, in simple terms, that is the scene of the Turkish villages and the peasants as the pedagogic object in the eyes of the Turkish body politic. That turning the villages into paradise, signified somehow a prophetic and sacred role.

As a result, one of the hardest republican tasks was given to the young teachers in the early republican era.

Underlining the problem of the inadequate number of schools—which is the problem much more urgent than the economic ones as opposed to the world economic crisis at the time he claims—in the Turkish villages, Hilmi Malik [Evrenol] stated that, in the past all villages used to have a blind, deaf, or lame person; dumb or not, “sarıklı hodgas” who disappear after the revolution, however filling their places with the new republican teachers, is urgent because the training, improving and raising of the village children determines development and safety of the whole nation (1933, 25-26). In this regard again, the responsibility of the village teacher is tremendous. As well as the children, educating all peasants is considered as crucial in order for saving the peasants from darkness and solitude.

Claiming the essence of the nation resides not in cities but villages. Driving the peasants, advancing them in all spheres of life and improving and rebuilding the villages were compelling tasks for the patriotic republican elite, among which the role of the village teacher was demanding again. According to Halil Fikret Kanat, the unique element inspiring the consciousness of progress and a belief for a better life in the future is, of course, the village teacher. The idealism nurturing from the nationalism enlightens ceaselessly the soul of the young teacher; makes him love the village and everything belonging to peasants; otherwise, Kanat states, it is very hard to inspire the movement of progress in barren lands and souls as the villages and the peasants (1942, 159-160). Criticizing those teachers who consider the appointment to villages in İzmir, İstanbul and Samsun as the lottery and to the far away villages as the spiritual proletarianization, Kanat claims that these intellectuals do not love the Turkish peasants, and the Turkish villages; hence, they cannot spread the revolutionary principles (1942, 165).

The difficulty of the task given to the village teacher was evident to the teachers themselves; but their attitudes differed. One of the village teachers, the Bursa Gündoğdu Village Schoolteacher Kırımlioğlu Rıfat, in expressing his general ideas

and suggestion for the villages and admitting his fear of failure in awakening the peasants, argued that:

Given that the one of the most significant factors mobilizing humanity is changing life style and the instruments of civilization, it is unquestioned that a village, which is very far away from these instruments, which is static and has been living in the same manner for months and years and has been working without change and excitement as a ticking clock, will be numbed as time passes. We should excuse peasant for that (1933, 345).

However, he could not stand the village teacher with whom he met in front of a coffeehouse chitchatting among the peasants; but there was nothing differentiating him from the “uncultivated and unmannerly peasants.” The suggestion of having the role of enlightening the people, Rifat stated, this village teacher did not unleash any vividness in the village; he even could not implant the idea of using a simple filter to the peasants who have to drink the water from a flowing nearby river, which contained all filth and dirt” (1933, 345). That schoolteacher was considered by Rifat as a failure in the name of the sacred job of village teacher.

All of the village schoolteachers were not unfaithful, of course. “Except for five years I spent as a student of Teacher Education School, all my life was spent in the simple domain, namely the village and among peasants.” M. Tarhan Toker explained in his *Village Schoolteacher of the Republic (İnkılabın Köy Muallimi)* that during this lengthy time, he had investigated Turkish peasants and came to the conclusion that peasants need to be nurtured in many aspects. If peasants are crafted positively, they would be an asset for the nation (1935, 3).⁶¹ For crafting peasants “peasantism should be a matter of ideal,” he wrote.

Personally schoolteacher Tarhan decided to be a good peasantist. For him a good peasantism requires “collecting information to be given to peasants” and then “to work continuously among peasants.” On the ground of his decision, he attended a peasantism course in İzmir (1935, 3). When he felt that he had enough knowledge

⁶¹ Toker also wrote about Kars where he was a teacher in the 1930s, M. Tarhan Toker (1938).

on peasantism and peasants, he left his position in town to head toward the villages, only after this, he stated, “I am a man walking in the paths of my own ideal” (1935, 4). In a short while, thanks to his very appropriate arguments and efficient works, he contributed much to the material and moral life in the village domain. His book was the indicator of his successful experience in his peasantism.

The book started with the following romantic statement: “Genuine beauty is seen even in the roads of Anatolian villages.” And he continued:

In the day I hit the village road running toward the village, for approaching a peasant and for telling him clearly about the principles of the Revolution with the concepts of truth and humanity, for being molded with the sons of the nature, who are the miracle of virtue and altruism, for working as a human by forgetting about myself for the nearby peasant, for dissipating black clouds of the past in front of peasant, for making known peasant about his asset, his right and debt, for enlightening him to save him from the grip of despot and usurer; for overwhelming ignorance and backwardness of the village under the roof of village school, for shining the sun of the revolution in the village, and eventually for molding children with the desired ferment, I saw shining high ideals and felt a sacred fire burning in my heart (1935, 5).

Village roads were not that frightening despite the assumptions of many, because peasants were quite friendly, sincere and simple. However, given that cemetery is larger than the village, life is frightening for peasant folk: “who knows which epidemic buried those pitiful peasants,” their gravestones were complaining about the difficulty of life in the village domain (1935, 6).

Toker also recognized that peasants have different considerations about outsiders, because outsiders mark difference within the inert environment of the village. “Perhaps” he stated, “they are still under the effect of the past,” (1935, 6) and he had a strong self-esteem to dissolve the effects of the past. While spending the first night in a small room made of soil, smelling the weather of farmer, Toker felt the comfort and pleasure of a palace, this was of course a spiritual rather than a material pleasure. He also stated that: “The sooty and dark room whispered to me that: You shall show me the light, give me the sun and fresh weather” (1935, 7). In fact, the whole village folk needed the light, sun and strength. Toker more clearly noted that it is the truth for everywhere and every time: the task of Progress and

elevation is accomplished only by those who are mentally and physically strong. For this reason, one should have a strong and healthy body in the first place. This concern was common to all nations in the world: “all countries in the world today, before everything else, try to strengthen bodies...In the 20th century civilization, care for the body is primary”(1935, 30). Thus for elevating and enlightening Turkish peasants, the main concern should be their mental and physical health, because basic principle of the republican regime is “to create a joyful life in the whole homeland” (1935, 31).

3.4.3.4. A Fortnightly for Illuminating the Nights in the Village: *Yurt* (Homeland)

A fortnightly, pedagogical newspaper of the Republican People's Party targeting specifically to peasants, began to be circulated on the tenth anniversary of the Republic and devoted peculiarly to the civilization and enlightenment of peasants.⁶² *Yurt* (Homeland), considering the limited literacy level of Turkish peasants, used large fonts, illustrations and photographic images for attracting the attention. It narrates about the success of the republican regime and the failure of the Ottoman, despotic rule, which was pictured as totally careless toward Anatolian people. Raising Turkish identity among peasants and disseminating the knowledge on Turkish history, the summation of the Turkish History thesis was crucial to these narrations. It praises the republican reforms for providing peasants with the citizenship status and for bringing about useful legal regulations in line with its populist ideology. Scientific advices on agriculture and husbandry were of significance. In addition, increasing the hygienic conditions in the villages is another subject of counseling: how to build healthy houses, why peasants should separate their living domains from that of animals, the harms of the disorderly toilets as well as the importance of vaccination were explained through some illustrative stories. A particular attention was given to the implementation of the civil law. Given the prevalence of religious marriage among peasants, *Yurd* underlines the benefits of official marriage for the personal and national life. One of the basic reasons of peasants to avoid from official ceremony was “Marital

⁶² Please see for an introducing short essay on *Yurd*, Hakkı Uyar and Türkan Çetin (1994).

Consultation.” Although medical inspection of men and women was not the same, officials observed that it was deemed as a great accomplishment and prestige, if one saved his daughter from the check of state physician. *Yurt*, for eliminating such misconduct, explains why medical inspection is compulsory: for producing healthy generations, for eliminating the infant mortality, for preventing miscarriage, for saving peasants from the sexually-transmitted diseases, from the tuberculosis as well as from the mental diseases marital examination was mandatory. At times, peasant women were directly hailed in *Yurt* pages; however, the real targets were men. This fact becomes apparent in the following advice was given in the article entitled, “Sağlığı Koruyalım”: “Refrain from whores. Do not sleep with harlots. Do not sacrifice your life and your offspring for a few minute-long pleasures...Republican peasants shall raise robust children” (*Yurt* 1934 No:7).

Given that even among the men the literacy was rare, the words quoted above were asked to be read by the headmen or by the village schoolteacher loudly in the village room, and to be hanged on the village-square. On the other hand, the aim of illuminating the nights of the Turkish peasants contained a sexual education of peasants. Although chastity of Anatolian women as the mothers of nations was never questioned, disseminating a proper sexual knowledge among the peasant folk was considered sacred for improving the Turkish population. According to the republican elite, the most threatening factor in village life was that, for living, working and sleeping, in fact for everything, there was only one room. Although the hygienic problem of this condition was repeatedly expressed, sexual dimension was rarely implied. Targeting basically the children in villages, Nebahat Hamit stated that, “It is commonplace to assume that a child in the village keeps his sexual innocence longer than that of a child in the city” (1933, 6). She agreed with this statement to a certain extent by arguing that an intense physical work, simple and natural ways of living, and inert intelligence of village children make their thought and acts innocent (1933, 6-7). However, despite early awakening of the children in cities, village life offers a great opportunity for children to practice timeless sexualities, because animals expose all details of copulation, peasants do

not watch over each others, the tongue in village is crude and obscene. In sum, in her words: “If the city allows shamelessness of thought and words, village allows shamelessness of the acts” (1933, 81).

Official commands on reading certain books and rules to allegedly “ignorant” peasants are not extraordinary; on the contrary, they are quite common official requirements: for instance, one of the texts to be read to peasants is Mustafa Kemal's *Speech*. In the 5th issue of *Yurt*, the news appeared under the title “The Last Command of the Ministry of Education,” which stated that:

Most of the peasants in the winter make their living with the foods they stocked in the summer. Especially in the winter nights, they have no job to do. In these spare times village schoolteachers will make the peasants get together and tell them about the *Speech* of the Great Gazi (Yurt 1934, 2).⁶³

This news is compelling on several counts. It defines, prescribes and commands homogeneously the village life from a distance, from the center; it repeats the common pejorative judgment on “lazy peasants” who waste their time and energy within the lethargic climate of villages. However the comment on the news is not less compelling:

The Ministry of Education does well by circulating such a command. In the long winter nights, in the village room or at village school you will hear the voice of the Great Gazi, the founder of the Republic, will learn something and you will be exalted.⁶⁴

As the dimensions of the peasants' ignorance were quite extensive, the republican elite feel obliged to teach them even the very basic habits that require the status of enjoying humanity. Doctor Aziz Nihat (1934, 1), the president of Mardin Halkevi, wrote in *Yurt*, the article “How Should a Peasant Live?” This article began with

⁶³ Mustafa Kemal gave his famous *Speech* in 1927. In the 1973 Republican Exhibition by the Turkish History Society cites a news from the 1960s. The news informs that a village head explained that they began reading *Speech*, forty pages a day, in the evenings in their coffeehouses.

⁶⁴ We might assume that *Speech* was read by certain schoolteachers, but we should equally assume that certain popular books, some of which are of Korok's were also read in coffeehouses and village rooms loudly and were delighted by peasants. At least Mahmut Makal read popular books, as he writes in *Bizim Köy* that he repetitively read some popular books that are demanded by the peasants in village room.

marking the centrality of the home domain as a place where human beings spend most of their lifetime, and clarifies: Of course we want that our houses should be beautiful, orderly and cleanly as a human being deserves. However, without beguiling ourselves, very few consider about the conditions of the houses in the villages and in some towns. It was further reminded that a farmer, a farm-laborer, a shepherd all are human and human beings should live up to what a human being deserves. He then declared how a human being lives:

A human being wakes up from his clean bed in a room, which is very fresh and sunny; he washes his body with cold or warm water. He has his breakfast or drinks his soup from clean dishes and goes to his work. Toward the evening when he comes back to his home, he washes his body again. If it is the summer, he plays with his children in the clean, flowery, jardinière and well-wooded yard. If it is the winter, he sits with his children in a well-heated room; he reads something in a relatively well-lighted room and goes to sleep...In the bedroom, let alone an animal, even a flower would be harmful. Because they exhaust the weather we would breath. Animals for having no reason are no connection with cleanliness. That is to say, if a peasant wants to live as a human he lives in a room, having wide windows and a clean bed. He eats his food with clean kitchen utensils, which are kept clean in a clean cupboard. He washes his body day and night in the compartment near the bedroom...His house has no direction or indirect connection with stables...There would be no dried cow dung or droppings in the yard, which is the place of flowers and trees (1934, 1).

Aziz Nihat finishes his article with the following words: “If a peasant follows my suggestions, he keeps his health, he becomes robust. He works and gains and thus becomes a resemble peasant, a nation demands (1934, 1).

3.5. The Countryside in the Republican Travelogues

People’s Houses organized countless travels to villages with the idea in mind to educate those who have “no responsibility for being ignorant” (Kansu, 1936). Peasantism branches traveled toward villages for working with the “mind” and “heart”, with “health” and “belief” structures of peasants. It was deemed necessary to learn and exalt the Turkish nation from its genuine and noble source (Çağlar, 1936, 112). He also added:

The source was there; we were going to mold, penetrate and develop it. The welfare of the nation was the welfare of peasant, development of the country was the development of the village. The health of nation was the health of village and fertility of the homeland was the fertility of the village (1936, 113).

Given the importance of the peasants for the nation, Çağlar suggested to the peasantists that the manner should have been not like a reformist coming from the sky, but like an egalitarian and friendly Turk, who wants to empower the sanitary, social and aesthetical sides of the countryside (Çağlar 1936, 115). It was necessary to “give” the peasants who have been giving for the nation for years: to give knowledge, to give health, to give culture, to give civility, to give and give (1936, 116). The People’s Houses should not go to the villages as careless travelers, but as responsible citizens, who should deliver both hope and quinine; both faith and seed (1936, 117).

As an exemplary travel, I give Kayseri’s People’s House activities. Under the leadership of the City Governor, Adli Bayman, the peasantism, sport and social charity branches of Kayseri’s People’s House organized an investigation program for advancing villages around. On Sundays, a group of intellectuals walked to the villages—to the nearest ones to begin with—while investigating in the villages, doctors consulted and medicated the sick peasants, the poor received free medicine, free quinines were distributed to all suffering from malaria, school materials like books and notebooks were given to the needy children, and all children were given candies. The village governor listened to the wishes and requests of the peasants. Dealing with the cleanliness of the village, the maintenance of the village road, the drying of the marshes and providing the drinking water to some villages and increasing the tree plantation were significant concerns for the traveling group (Özdoğan 1937, 3). A specific visit to Tavlusun Village happened on October 25, 1936. Seven female and eleven male members of the group slowly began walking toward Tavlusun. When they arrived at the entrance of the village, they met the happy and sincere village people waiting for them. This moment was described as such:

Here is the united mass, having no special privileges and class, within a deep attachment effervescing from all souls, the greatness of the Republic is emanating and our spirit started to go high... 'Long live Republic, Long live Atatürk, long live our great people' words were rising, and the village was echoing cheers...As if it was a festival or wedding day in the village (Özdoğan 1937, 5).

Another trip happened on November 15, 1936, with forty members including a body of musicians who sang the national marches, cheered up the group. Again, the peasants from Mimar Sinan Village met them with a "sincere happiness and respect"; all of them from the youngest to the oldest were cheerful, it is stated. Adli Bayman, the governor, gave the following speech:

The members of People's House as the culture source and knowledge nest of Kayseri came to your village to serve and help you. Now you should express yourselves clearly about the works to be done and your wishes. Those who feed the intellectuals and who provide the nation with wealth are you, the peasants. That is why, we have to think about you much, have concern with you and support you. We accept as our debt to accomplish our mandatory task (Özdoğan 1937, 23).

In investigating Mimar Sinan village, it was stated as the most important point that peasants' bodies were strong and robust. Asking the sick ones for consulting and medicating, it was told to Doctor Behçet Bey that there is only one sick person. Later, it was understood by the doctor that he is paralyzed, not sick. Thus it was noted by the republican doctor that: "On the faces of the village folk there is a color like bronze, their muscles are elastic. There is no weak and thin among peasants" (Özdoğan 1937, 25).

In Sinop, the activists of the People's Houses as well published their travelogues in the journal of *Diranaz*. Feridun Dikmen notes that Sinop villages sounded quite romantic: "There we became the guest of a middle-class farmer, who maintains a clean and peaceful life. He hosted us happily, offered us meals, we sit together and ate together. We met with peasants and talked about village affairs... They said: 'Well, we are ignorant. We do not understand these affairs. You tell the truth.'" (Dikmen 1937, 8). Thanks to these visits, travelers felt that their love for the

homeland was increasing, because Merdođlu and Kılıçlı villages appeared to him as a “slowly undressing woman,” and thus attracted his genuine love (1937, 9).

Sami Kubilay’s visit to Sinop villages was also noteworthy. In case he would get bored and because his love for reading he took Ahmet Haşim’s books. However, the peasants would never leave him alone. This was the reflection of their hospitality and love. Kubilay wrote this observation as follows: “From the oldest to the youngest, all of them keep a deep and steady love and attachment toward their guests. This is a love peculiar to the Turk” (Kubilay 1937, 7). As he concluded, he notes:

I am returning back by taking faith and joy from my peasant uncles who have emulated the revolution and the regime, who have made it life, excitement and blood for themselves, who are happy and in a word happy in their soul, and who are full of hope. Oh God, I am so happy and cheerful.” (1937, 9).

Beyond the romantic love felt for peasants, many travelers tried to educate Turkishness to the peasants: Ömer Kemal Ađar, teacher of Civics and History in his travel in Maden İli, wrote that Maden was establish first as a village and then as a town where there were a mountain Turkish known as Kurdish, though there was no nation as Kurds, and no language as Kurdish. There was also the Zaza language, which was slightly different from Turkish. Ađar argued that, “when I was sitting near to the District Governor, a woman came to complain about her husband, she was speaking with a pure mountain Turkish” (Çađlar 1938, 9-10). Doctor M. Şükrü also noted how the republican regime brought many developments in the villages, and he observed that “peasants see clearly that the republican era is completely a new era” (M. Şükrü 1934, 11).

3.5.1. University Students on the Village Road

The members of *Milli Türk Talebe Birliđi* traveled through some cities and villages in 1935. Their first resort was Çanakkale. On this, they stated:

With this name [Çanakkale] the West once again learnt about the East; and this was a genuine learning. At that time, Turk was on the East and the enemy of the Turk was in the West. Easterners were believers,

Westerners were stronger...Turk, who believes that the lands for which Turkish blood was shed are sacred, should go to these lands (Çanakkale) and knows to sing the national anthem for the martyr who had died for national honor (Milli Türk Talebe Birliği 1935, 6-7).

While observing the İzmir villages, they first notice the schools, because before everything else, it was the school that would elevate the country in the republican era. They noted that: “Those illuminated nests, which are seen in many villages, look like a rose coming out in the deadening fields,” by explaining in the footnote that, “in the past, village schools were established on cemeteries.” However, in the republican era, schools no more connoted as death; rather they were the center of life and vividness. Given that in İzmir there were 660 villages, 420 of which have schools, İzmir is called as a region where “revolution flows as light” (1935, 15). When their train went on the İzmir-Selçuk railway, they met a lake, The Hangman Lake (Cellat Gölü). “Water becomes grass and grass becomes poison here” they wrote, by clarifying: “Every year hundreds and thousands children, valuable Turkish peasants, are burnt by malaria because of this lake” (1935, 18). In the republican era, as many things were changing, the name of this lake given by peasants as the Hangman was also changed as Health Valley (1935, 18).

In Gökçen Village, “our souls were embraced by the charm of welcoming peasants,” they stated happily. “The heads elevated with culture [student] bended with respect in front of the people of emotion [peasants]. We and peasants are together. We think the same, we feel the same, and we are attached to each other” (1935, 16). Nevertheless, they acknowledged the difficulty of the first meeting:

To tell the truth, the first meeting with peasants is painful. After a few hours however, after speaking with them, after spending a day with them, things change. The feeling of being an outsider has gone. Since then, the separation has become painful for both sides. This is Turkish peasant. It is enough if he believes the sincerity of the outsider. He is ready to serve the stranger with utter faithfulness. If he believes, everything is possible (1935, 20).

In İzmir, students had met with the real image of their ideals: “We have seen villages which are connected with the farthest away corner of the civilized world. We felt so happy what we had seen” (1935, 16). They further added that,

“Whatever the dark hearted foreigners and the dark hearted insider would speak about the opposite, there is a revolution in progress. If one wants to see its speed, one should go to the village” (1935, 21).

According to the accounts of the students, peasants mostly prefer the journal *Ülkü* and dailies *Ulus* and *Anadolu*. Peasants also read small books published by the İzmir Village Bureau. In the footnote it was explained that İzmir village Bureau published 18 small books, whose price changed from 1 *kuruş* to 10 *kuruş*. Two of these books were the speech of the republican elite. The rest were related to the advice on the health and economic life in village domain. All of these books were written by experts. The language of these books was clear and easy to the extent that village folk could easily understand them (1935, 27).

In the İzmir villages, travelers learned from peasants that “until quite recently, the village youth had come together in a village room and sing folk songs together, play village games. In most villages, coffeehouses which were named as *Lazy Hearths*, were not known. Today the son and the father sit together in these coffeehouses. Although the coffeehouses in villages are not as important as that of in cities, they would cause family quarrel, they threaten the health. It is not possible to consider that these lazy hearths would be converted into schools. However, in the İzmir villages, we witnessed certain attempts: hundreds of the lazy hearths were closed, clean casinos were opened, gambling prohibited, the newspapers, journals and books on agriculture and economy were brought, bad pictures embellishing the walls were removed; instead of them, the pictures of our big people and the words of Atatürk and İnönü were placed (1935, 32).

At the end of their travelogue, they noted that “we have seen that there is a totally different place in Anatolia now, as opposed to the semi-colonized Anatolia of the semi-colonized Empire. Anatolia is no more called as *taşra*, its children are no longer insulted for being unsophisticated (*taşralı*)” (1935, 48).

3.5.2. Sanitary Travels to Anatolia

In “A Travel in Anatolia” Julius Hirsch observes that the most striking feature of the Turkish villages that would be unacceptable in most countries is that:

for living, sleeping and even working, there is only one room. Since this room is over-crowded and the isolation is not possible, contagious diseases such as infant diseases, tuberculosis and venereal diseases can be easily transmit. Peasants mostly live with their animals, especially with small animals and hens in this room, where contamination with filth and insects cannot be overcome. Ethically speaking, on the other hand, bedrooms of the young should be separate from that of the mature (Hirsch 1937, 94).

Simply underlining the basic offense of the hygienic and ethical rules in Turkish villages does not make Julius Hirsch an ordinary European traveler, whose eyes catch the eccentric, inferior and backward conditions of the Orient. Rather, as an invited European, İstanbul University professor Hirsch travels for a scientific reason. Claiming that the establishment of a new hygiene institute at university requires not only acquiring modern equipment, models and a library of the foreign literatures but obtaining realities of the authentic living conditions, hygienic manners and health organization, Prof. Hirsch goes on a scientific travel in Ankara, Kayseri, Sivas, Samsun and Zonguldak, collects demographic and statistical data on health concerns, takes pictures and visits hospitals, sanatoriums, schools and workplaces. Only through this investigating travel, he believes the hygiene courses, by getting rid of their imaginary and theoretical status make a practical sense to the Turkish students.

While Prof. Julius Hirsch traveled to the Turkish villages, Doctor Zeki Nasır [Barker] went to Europe; not surprisingly indeed, both of whom came to the same conclusion: there is a gap between the ideal hygienic conditions and the real conditions of the Anatolian villages. In the article, “Health Affairs of Our Villages” (Barker 1933, 42) Zeki Nasır, as a citizen who has seen the world, writes his ideals for Anatolian villages and peasants. After mentioning the pitiful conditions of the Anatolian villages that look beautiful from a distance, he enumerates his wishes and advises: Whether on the alley, on the beach or at the skirt of a mountain, a village should be clean and away from the marsh. During the

summer as well as the winter, a village should have a water supply. Its toilets should be built according to the projects of the Ministry of Health. Animals should definitely be separate places from the peasants. The furniture of the village houses should be cheap, simple, smooth and light. Beds should be placed at a higher place over the ground (on the table). And people should not be allowed to sleep much. For the cleanliness of peasants, there should be a public bathhouse. Whether this bathhouse would be *ala turca* or European depends on will and habits. Foods of the peasants are different from that of the city dwellers; however, peasants should learn eating at regular times. Foods should contain all nutritional elements and should be enough in quantity for the development and operation of the body. *Sofra* should not be on the ground, but on table for keeping foods away from dust and other contaminating things. Peasants should not permit the entrance of the things like alcohol and hashish into their village. The village's room or the coffeehouse of the village should be booked two days a week for lectures on the health concerns (Barker 1933, 43-44).

3.5.3. For a Clean Village as a Turkish Heart

The existential source of the homeland is village. In fact, a fertile and contented village is the real source. Since the only field which is free from weeds would give plenty and a strong harvest, a well-cared village would raise strong and healthy children. The Turkish village should be as clean as the Turkish heart (İsmail Hakkı 1937, 1)

Doctor İsmail Hakkı said at the beginning of his book on hygiene in the village (1937, 1). Given the popularity of travelogues, he found an interesting way to write his sanitary counsels to peasants. The basic problem he detected in the countryside was dirtiness. In his account, all diseases and all microbes appear because of filthiness. Epidemics invade a neglected village, dirtiness kills the peasants, destroy them, those who survive become powerless and paralyzed; children would not be useful in the future (1937, 1). For picturing the countryside clearly for those who have no chance to see a village, he invites his readers as “Let us travel through a disorderly and neglected village.” In this imaginary travel, readers are shown the bare hillside and smokes appearing while approaching an Anatolian village. There was no tree, no whitewashed home, no red-clayed roof.

Instead, Doctor İsmail Hakkı shows “the white, misshapen gravestones” to emphasize the deadly climate of the countryside. He further complains about the terrible road of the village: “Our car was stuck into mud; our horses had difficulty to go ahead” and asks “Why did peasants neglect this road?” And the smell of course, a terrible smell spreads all over places, because of the reedy river, which is mixed with sewer. Later imaginary travelers get off the car; they have to travel on foot, however, roads are full of mud and there is no sidewalk. Muddy, dirty and marshy places and the children play around (1937, 2). Doctor İsmail Hakkı noted that: “Those children, with big tummy and weak, are the victim of this village. Who would pay for these innocent children who suffer from malaria?” (1937, 3).

The responsibility is given to the peasants because they do not dry the marshes; do not close the sewers. If the peasants would have worked hard, children would have been robust, healthy, and joyful (1937, 3). Coming to the village square, the scene becomes bleaker:

Coffeehouse turns its back to the sun; the aged peasant who smokes is speaking with his neighbor who coughs and expectorates his mucus. Next to them is a young peasant who is distressed with incessant cough. His face is pale, his cheeks are slightly red, his lips are cracked because of fever...he is very thin. If you ask, you would learn that he spits blood. Who knows how many of his friends are discarded as useless in military investigation” (1937, 5).

And he informs the reader as an expert “The tuberculosis spreads all over places through mucus inside spits. The tuberculosis microbe would live for weeks and months in the sunless, humid places...Any kitchen utensils contaminated with the tuberculosis microbe should be boiled for half an hour for getting rid of the tuberculosis” (1937, 5).

“We have many bad habits.” he complained by explaining: “We spit all over places while walking on the road, sitting in the coffeehouse, and working on our backyard. In addition, we set our feet on our spit and contaminate our environment. This bad habit poisons our children and youth, it makes them cough, it makes them spit blood and eventually it kills them” (1937, 6). He is surprised

with this bad habit: “Does a human being spit on his homeland?,” and added, “As you travel around, what you have seen bleeds your soul, crumbles you inside” (1937, 8).

Another bleak picture was drawn by Daniş Remzi Korok (1943) in his *Towards Village and Peasantism in the Republic: National and Social Investigations (Cumhuriyette Köye ve Köycülüğe Doğru: Milli ve İçtimai Tetkikler)*. Based upon the observations during his travels in the countryside, Korok sees the contemporary pedagogical principles applied to the children are best for the peasants. Given that establishing primary schools in each village and that not only the children's but all of the peasants' education, and that the capacity, need and understanding of peasants Korok underlines the importance of a radio program, *Çocuk Saati* (Children Hour) for peasants' education. He further explains:

Children Hour, on the radio, is very valuable for our innocent peasants who are naturally and psychologically inclined to remain as child and retain the purity of childhood...Those clear expressions sounding childish and hailing to the children are completely fit to the language and mind of the peasants. They easily and quickly understand them; they both get pleasure and draws lessons, and they also are happy with learning something (1943, 52-53).

If peasants are not recognized by their limited mental capacity, simplicity and immaturity, they are easily perceived by their “pale faces” and “thin bodies.” As Korok claims, based upon his observations that due to malaria, tuberculosis and the syphilis, “more than half of the population in almost all villages are like a human caricature or freak” (1943, 28). It is hard to read any romantic feeling toward peasants in Korok's words: the immaturity and childishness are peasants' nature, and the bodily deformities and faded colors are tied to their recalcitrant ignorance. At the center of this ignorance lies the lack of cleanliness; not knowing the rules of cleanliness and hygiene makes the peasants unshaped and sick; poverty cannot be a convincing explanation for their dirt. Peasants are responsible from their own conditions, yet philanthropic “intellectuals” cannot help but suffer for them:

On the corner of each house, in fact, each stable, there is fresh defecation, while the situation is as such, there is no doubt that any intellectual who saw the young men and women, and small children staying there and playing here will feel a deep pain and mercy. It is not possible to suggest that this situation is the result of poverty. The reason is ignorance; not knowing, not learning (1943, 25-26).

3.6. Conclusion

Given the pedagogical concern of the republican regime, peasants seemed the most ignorant and needy part of the nation. Their ignorance was so extensive that they even do not know how to cultivate their own soils: for this reason, the republican regime provided many recommendatory books on farming, animal husbandry, and planting such as Ülgen's (1937) *Husbandry Knowledge for Village Headman*, Giray's (1937) *Animal Husbandry Knowledge For Peasant*, Akdoğan's (1938) *Colt Raising*, Özer's (1938) *Mule Raising*, Karaesmen's (1937) *Milk-production* and Turgay's (1937) *Farm Husbandry*. The matter, however, was to cultivate the body and educate the sentiments of peasants, for they constituted the significant proportion of the national population. In line with Sanitary and Social Investigation arranged by the Ministry of Health during the formation years of the Republic, investigations in the countryside in the 1930s aimed to prove the Turkishness of the territory, and to remind peasants about their very identity as the Turkish citizens of the new nation. The basic indicator of Turkishness seemed as the physical strength, thus, the peasants' education required basically a new hygienic and civility manner to prove genuine Turkishness. The republican elite in their travelogues were struck by unhealthy and inhuman conditions of the countryside. They recommended peasants on how to live as a civilized human being and thus as a truly Turk.

Thinking the construction of the modern nation-states, it is evident that "people" do not simply and directly become a part of the patriotic body politic; rather they become the objects of a nationalist pedagogy. In the Turkish context, the pedagogical strategies employed by the republican elite in order for recovering the foundational splits of the Turkish body politic—arising from the gap between the West and the new Turkey as well as the gap between the republican elite and the

people—and creating the Turkish nation as a coherent unity, a homogeneous single body, as I stated before, can best be analyzed through tracing the concept national pedagogy. In tracing the national pedagogy in the countryside, it became clearer that the national pedagogy signified peasants both as the active, creative and participating subjects of the Turkish nation, and as the objects of the the republican politico-moral pedagogy.

The unifying and homogenizing discourse of national pedagogy as a political project directed at people—and peasants in this regard—is, at the outset troubled by the very concept “people” which invokes a split, rather than a unity if we recall the modern political terminology. It is true that “people” connotes “the constitutive political subject” in modern politics, however simultaneously, it denotes “the excluded from politics” (Agamben 1998,176). The ambiguity surrounding the concept directs us to consider in Agamben's terms that:

.... ‘people’ is (were) in reality not a unitary subject but a dialectical oscillation between two opposite poles: on the one hand, the set of People as a whole political body, and on the other, the subset of people as a fragmentary multiplicity of needy and excluded bodies; or again, on the one hand, an inclusion that claims to be total, and on the other, an exclusion that is clearly hopeless; at one extreme, the total state of integrated and sovereign citizens, and at the other, the preserve...of the wretched, the oppressed and the defeated (1998:178).

Manifestly then, the very concept “people” retains a fundamental split within itself: the People which is included within the national political body and the people which is excluded, thus must be expelled as an abject from the political body. In this context, it is possible to discern that while modern state politics operates for producing a single homogeneous people and overcoming the splits, it aims at eliminating the people that are excluded. “Elimination of the excluded” connotes multiple meanings within modern political terminology; however, I understand it as “transformation of the excluded people” through certain training strategies so as to expel them from the observer eyes. Here the observer eyes symbolize the surveillance of the differences, multiplicities and subversions. Expelling from the observer eyes refers to the conclusion of a process in which

people become “invisible”, or rather “anonymously visible.”⁶⁵ Despite many efforts, recommendations and the lessons directed to the countryside, peasants did not become anonymously visible; as Hıfzı Oğuz Bekata (1936) observed in the 1930s, the countryside remained as a theoretical reality rather than an empirical one as soon as the expected transformations were concerned. In the next chapter, I will deal with how women were articulated into the republican politico-moral pedagogy to observe whether the republican elite assumed different sentiments and corporeal responsibilities as far as the feminine body is concerned.

⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, here the concept “observer eyes” connotes a double meaning: it at once signifies the haunting Western Eyes- symbolic and real, and the eyes of the republican travelers who survey and monitor the peasants.

CHAPTER 4

FEMININE BODY IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC: ENTANGLED IN NATIONALIST SENTIMENT, MATERNAL AFFECTION, AND REPUBLICAN VIRTUES

“We believe that feelings are immutable, but every sentiment, particularly the noblest and most disinterested, has a history.”

Michel Foucault

“The love of country is a hundred times more ardent and delightful than that of a mistress.”

Jean Jack Rousseau

4.1. Introduction

“Emine, this is a typical Turkish girl. Like Ahmet Celal, I also fall in love with Emine”: this is a nationalist pedagogue commented at the beginning of the 1930s in the newly circulating pages of *Ülkü* for a novel character, a novel which was deemed as the first national novel (1933a, 235). He quickly left the world of novels though, through connecting the condition of Emine, a common female name in Anatolia, to the general conditions of all Anatolian women by stating: “In Anatolia there are thousands, no, millions of heavenly beautiful and yet unlucky Turkish girls.” These conditions of Anatolian women inevitably inflicted a deep grief in the heart of this staunch nationalist man: “Pitiful Emine! In the deepest point of our hearts we have infinite love and mercy for them. They would raise for us a unique generation!” The last words of Kazım Nami Duru are quite telling about gender dimension of Turkish nationalism in the early republican era. Who are these privileged that “we” expect unique generations from “them”? Many feminist scholars have already underlined the privileged position of men in the

construction of national communities (Nagel 1998.)⁶⁶ Among others, Afsaneh Najmabadi clearly observes “the centrality of male bonding in the production of nationalist sentiment” on the ground that a national community, any national community is, before everything else, is a fraternal unity (1997, 442). And women’s articulation into this primarily male construction differentiates according to unique conditions of each country.

In this chapter, I study how women are articulated into the national community in the 1930s. As it becomes clear with Kazım Nami Duru’s statement, “They would raise for us a unique generation!,” the main feminine capacity the republican regime invested was maternity for the procreation of future generation as the guarantor of the infinity of the Turkish race. Beyond the corporeal ramifications of maternity, I also focus on how maternal affection, an intimate emotion attached to the so-called private sphere is articulated into the nationalist sentiment as a public (and predominantly male) emotion through the production of a new republican worldly morality. This new morality signifies a peculiar modern femininity and maternity, combines the rational and sentimental, urges women to act in accordance with the bewildering creeds of science, civility and patriotism; and thus seeks to “domesticate” the soul and mould the body of the women, namely republican girls and republican mothers of new Turkey.

4.2. New Morality, New Sentiment, New Women

It was on December 1920 when the very new Turkish National Assembly was discussing the draft law, the Law for Eliminating the Spread of Syphilis. The Article 5, which is read as, “It is mandatory for all men and the widow women with the company of one of their relatives to marry to be consulted in the location where a physician is available. Maidens are not subjected to consultation. Their marital report would be given by any physician.” This law caused a heated debate among the member of Grand National Assembly: “We agree to find a remedy howsoever against this dreadful disease [maraz-ı müthiş, syphilis] to save the race

⁶⁶ In her article Nagel (1998), shows historical and modern connection between manhood and nationhood. Please see also Cynthia Enloe (1990).

of Islam [ırk-ı İslam]...However, we should not be infected with a more terrible disease, we should not suffer from a moral syphilis.” (Zabit Ceridesi Vol 1, 66) This was stated by an Erzincan deputy, one of those *sarıklı* in his own terminology, Osman Fevzi Efendi in arguing against the Bursa deputy Emin Bey, the operator.

The “moral syphilis,” Osman Fevzi mentioned, is not one of the forms of the syphilis invented and advanced by the medical science; rather, it is a metaphor deriving its power partly from the very connotations of this disease in Turkish. *Frenji*, apart from meaning the syphilis, reminds one of anything belongs to and coming from France in particular and Europe in general. Curiously enough, the inception of the syphilis as a material disease in the Ottoman lands dates back to the Tanzimat Period, when the Western effect in the Ottoman Empire arrived at its peak (Chapter Five). Then, Osman Fevzi’s anxieties are not paltry, because the syphilis as a corporeal as well as a “moral” disease, in Osman Fevzi’s own analogy, appeared simultaneously.

In fervently challenging the idea of consultation of women by the male physicians, Osman Fevzi does not object to the scientific treatment of material effects of syphilis; on the contrary, he calls for a complete cure, including the moral effects of *frenji* by saying “We should embrace and cling to morality together with materiality” (Zabit Ceridesi Vol 1, 66). For him, obtaining power requires caressing the sentiment of ‘our own people’ as well. What makes the things disputable is not intervening modern medicine into marital issue which had been regulated by the religious rules and traditions so far. Even the consultation of all Muslim men to marry, who were deemed sexually promiscuous to some extent through the enforcement of a medical inspection for a sexually transmitted disease, was not found threatening and humiliating. Only the feminine body, especially the virgin as the marker of moral purity and symbolic bearer of the cultural essence was seen knotty.

Health was significant however, the health of the coming generation was ever more so. Knowing this fact, Osman Fevzi demanded to educate female physicians, which needs years.⁶⁷ In the meantime, he suggested consulting women, only widows of course, by a method he witnessed years ago. He narrated that the Chairperson of Haseki Hospital Hacı Kamil Bey and Tevfik Bey had consulted two women, one of whom was diagnosed and treated as a syphilitic, with the help of a Christian midwife. Hacı Kamil Bey and Tevfik Bey had been in one room, the midwife and two patients in the other. This was the method Osman Fevzi offered for not offending the feelings of people.

As a rejoinder, Operator Emin Bey cursed on the physicians who had indirectly consulted the female patients, because this was nothing but betrayal to the medical science. He continued:

In medicine there is no such indirect consultation. They are against medicine, they both *hacıs* and *hocas* betray the medicine. Friends I would like to remind you something...When the census was launched many objections were made; there appeared some protests in different places by claiming that “Our women’s features and appearances would be written” and that whatsoever...As a result, the census matter had halted. If now we start putting this method (marital inspection) into effect, initially perhaps we might meet some difficulty. However, our people would understand our point and appreciate it and thus the problem would be solved. Gentlemen, if we act otherwise, I assure you that, you leave our women and girls, whom you do not want to consult the Medicine (Etibba) to the hands of enemy [*agyar*] (Zabıt Ceridesi, Vol.1, 67).

The last words of Emin Bey caused an outburst of anger in the Assembly. How is it possible to consider leaving women (*yar*, the object of love) to the enemy (*agyar*)? The symbolic meaning of feminine body is obvious; however, men’s uses and control of this symbol differentiate.⁶⁸ For the operator Emin, if the Western rationality—here it is represented by the Etibba, modern medicine—is not

⁶⁷ Orhan Özkan argues with a Kemalist stand that such a conservative reaction had a useful result: it helped launch the medical education for Turkish women. In September 1922, 7 Turkish women began medical school and the first Turkish women physicians graduated in 1927 (1982, 196).

⁶⁸ McClintock’s accurate expression “men’s position within the nationalist thought is metonymic and women’s is metaphoric and symbolic” reiterated in the Turkish context (McClintock 1995, 354-355).

appreciated unconditionally, then the loss of country, i.e. the loss of control over feminine body of women, is inevitable; however, the cause is the same for both men: to save the homeland from the enemies. What separates them is the contested boundary dividing rational and moral, technical and cultural, material and sentimental. While Emin Bey sees the way of achieving power through applying the scientific method only, Osman Fevzi Efendi sees it in gaining the heart of the people, in caressing their sentiments of people. This is not to suggest, however, the people's affection is out of question for Emin Bey. These two men inhabit different structure of feeling, yet the feminine body and country as the object of love to “posses” and to “protect” are the same in their emotional economy.

As the result of their debate, the draft law had passed as the Code 90 in 1921, widows and men were required to be consulted before a wedding. Under the inadequate medical conditions of an occupied country, scientific inspection was not properly realized. It seems both of these men had a say on the matter, albeit *de jure* and *de facto*. However, the effects of the words of *Sarıklı* Osman Fevzi Efendi will be diminishing as time passes, whereas the mentality of the Operator Emin Bey will remain stronger and longer. The best indication of this would be seen in the 1930 Public Hygiene Law.

4.2.1. The Public Hygiene Law

After a decade of the heated debate in the first National Assembly, a more forceful and cogent law, namely the Public Hygiene Law, had passed on April 24, 1930. The Public Hygiene Law, apart from revising the previous impotent code about the marital consultation and urging unconditionally all marrying parties, men and women, virgins and widows alike for the medical check in (Umumi Hifzıssıhha Kanunu 1933) had much broader ramifications in the making of modern subjects. It is a perfect framework for what Stoler calls as “the education of desire” by the modern state, which seeks to regulate bodies, intimacies and sentiments (Stoler 1995). This law retains all potential inspection mechanisms for the enforcement of a new corporeal morality articulating the national sentiment to the maternal affection and the feminine body.

Consisting of 309 articles, this law classifies broader aims of the health affairs of the emerging modern state and assigns significant responsibilities to various institutions about hygiene, public health and future generation. The first article promptly reflects the importance of coming generation within the emerging mentality of the state. “Ensuring the healthy growth of the prospective generation” is deemed as the most crucial task of the state. The state’s policies concern to have a healthy population require a portrayal of a health map nationwide. In fact in 1926, the Ministry of Health commanded its local staff to provide the statistics of health conditions and health conducts of the population in their own regions, including the remotest villages;⁶⁹ however, after the Public Hygiene law, the Ministry of Health became responsible to prepare a more detailed statistics including the knowledge on the number of birth, marriage, death and the reasons of deaths, the health measures taken for the main roads, maritime lines and airways, the number of the patients, the weak and the hospitalized in state hospitals as well as other sanitary institutions, the nature and number of the contagious diseases and occupational diseases and a more general information on the health geography of the cities, towns and villages.

Apart from mapping the health of the nation, the responsibilities of the Ministry of Health are basically to increase the number of birth and decrease infant mortality, to watch the health of pregnant women and control and support them after delivery, to terminate the contagious diseases and epidemic invasion, and to focus on the hygiene and of the youth and children. All these statistical efforts prove republican government’s aim to control and regulate the medical sphere and bringing a standard and make the medical treatment as a planned and routine check by professionals. Not only superstitions were banned and criticized, but the

⁶⁹ Before the Public Hygiene Law, the Sanitary and Social Geography of certain cities were mapped by local physicians of the Ministry of Health and this law, since these reports were written in Ottoman-Turkish, the Ministry of Health decided to transcription of them into Latin alphabet. One of this report belong to Sivas was written by Doctor Hasan Tahsin (1932), the Provincial Director of Health and Social Welfare. Section 1 contains the information on geographic, historical, geological, administrative system. It gives the latitude and longitude of the city, and the population 174.838 female and 154.903 male. It is noted that all the population was composed of white race and most of them were Turk and very few were Kurdish, Circassian and Armenian.

physicians' quality and competence attempted to be policed (*Sihhiye Mecmuası* January 1929).⁷⁰

For bringing a scientific standard to mothering, the curriculum of the schools was changed. The Article 169 of the Public Hygiene Law required the insertion of a scientific child-care course, an hour for a week at least to the curriculum of the girls' high school and intermediary schools. Mothers having six and more healthy children were promised to be rewarded either monetarily or with a medallion.⁷¹ Underlining all these pro-natal policies and discourse over the importance of having healthy generations of the Public Hygiene Law, there exist a will to regulate the sexual conducts of people, especially of women. In this regard, the feminine body securing the maternal potential turned into a target for the medical as well as ethical concerns of the republican government.

The section including the commands on the so-called common women clearly paves the way for regulating the moral conducts of republican women. Although it is announced that a detailed circular would be delivered later, the initial commands repeat the health concerns of the nation and attempt to control the sexually-transmitted diseases. It is stated in article 129, that the women who perform prostitution as an art and for making a living will be checked, and those suffering from the sexually transmitted diseases will be treated free and when necessary,

⁷⁰ In a circular appeared in *Sihhiye Mecmuası* January 1929 state officials were warned against a certain man namely Şevket who used to be a cleaner at Aydın Railway Company's medical unit, later began to act as a physician probably in İzmir.

⁷¹ Claire Duchen states that in 1920 because of demographic problems in France, the Médaille de la Famille française (Medal of the French Family) had been introduced. This medal was given to those women who had: "made a constant effort, by their enlightened concern, their hard work and their devotion, and in the best possible conditions of physical and moral hygiene, to inspire their children with the love of hard work and seriousness, awareness of their social and patriotic duties." In 1920s France bronze medals were given to women with five legitimate living children, silver to women with eight, and gold, to women with ten. (1994, 102-103). The Republican government in Turkey awarded women with six and more than six living children. In addition, a father with five and more children is free from the road tax (*Sihhat Almanacı* 1933, 41).

force and isolation will be executed. The municipalities are responsible for fighting against the diseases arising from prostitution, and they are entitled to collect taxes from the brothels and the prostitutes for this purpose. (Umumi Kadınlar Hakkında Ahkam 1933, 28)

After a short time, for securing the chastity of the young girls and making them devoted mothers, a circular based upon the framework, drawn by the Public Hygiene Law, was delivered to the provincial governorships on April 12, 1930 to fight against prostitution. In this regulation of defining a woman as prostitute requires two conditions. First, a woman should professionally devote her body to the sexual pleasures of others. Whether woman is engaged in prostitution because of material gain or from habit makes no difference. The second point is that a woman should repeatedly have sexual intercourse with different men.⁷² It was the Commission Fighting against Prostitution that would have a final conclusion for registering a woman as a prostitute. While doing this, the commission should observe clearly that woman accepts the prostitution as a profession and she has no opportunity to give up this profession. In addition, the commission should check out the age and the nationality of the woman. Registration requires a woman to be over 18, and a Turkish citizen (Cemalettin Fazıl 1934, 337). Despite certain qualifications obliged by the regulation, registering a woman as a prostitute was eventually left to the subjective judgment of the commission. Because of this subjectivity perhaps, four years later another circular (No.523) on January 7, 1934 was disseminated by the Ministry of Health, stating basically that it was not new in the country to issue formal decrees to diminish the harms arising from prostitution, to regulate prostitution for preventing sanitary and security problems caused by it, and to register, police and medically inspect the prostitutes. In fact, it is noted, the first attempt for regulating prostitution went back forty years, however these rules were not written. Another attempt was the statutory of 1915 on prostitution, which was not sufficient for current needs. While, in most cases, the republican officials resort to applaud the newness of the republican regulations and harms and

⁷² For an evaluation on prostitution in the early republic, see Zafer Toprak (1994) and Beksun (1946).

impotency of the old regime, then why does the Ministry of Health remind us that regulating prostitution is not an idea of the Republic?

The matter once again came to the “feeling of people” attached to the feminine body. The Ministry of Health warned its staff to express an utmost care in registering a woman as prostitute: people’s feeling and public conscience should not be injured. The new circular obliged the members of the commissions that they should not make any quick judgment about a woman who prostitutes; instead, they should keep their monitoring activity until being certain about the woman’s repeated engagement in prostitution. Even the professional prostitutes should not be registered quickly, because the main point of the Commissions was not registering as many women as possible but rather, it was eliminating prostitution itself. Officials should search for the factors which lead to women to an indecent life. Officials should collaborate with benevolent societies when they come through the idea that bad women would emancipate from their indecent life style with the help and care of their fellow citizens (Sihhiye Mecmuası February 1934, 3-4).

Another point to be underlined in evaluating the warnings of the Ministry of Health is that despite the fact that the republican government aimed at controlling and regulating sexualities and the private life of people, it also aimed at increasing the feminine visibility in the public. A strong and excessive surveillance over the relation between women and men would halt the accession of women to the public life. As feminist scholars properly observe, in the early republic, women were the symbolic bearers of the regime seeking for a modern and civilized life, resembling the life in Western countries. This republican ambition, as Yunus Nadi stated in *Cumhuriyet* daily on November 10, 1930, was applauded by Venizelos, who was visiting Turkey at the time: “Of course, the legal freedom granted and provided for women in Turkey, represents the most splendid one and the climax of the miracles embodied in this country.”

From another angle, the republican elite considered the opening of public spaces to women is another way of increasing the number of Turkish population, which was another priority of the early Republic. In promoting the beauty contest organized by *Cumhuriyet* daily, Yunus Nadi explained on November 10, 1930 that:

The most beautiful side of the Beauty Contest we are proud for launching in our country is that it is the dazzling manifestation of Turkish women's entrance into life thanks to the Republic...In this way a point marking a great pettiness of the East in front of Europe is eliminating...In this way, while Turkish population is literally, actually and suddenly doubled, its honor and dignity is also elevated ten, or hundred times.

Another contest of *Cumhuriyet* daily to make possible the public appearance of Turkish women, is the Voice Contest. On December 1, 1930 it is announced that Hududat Şakir Hanım achieved the honor of being the "Miss Turkey of Voice," and she would go to Paris for meeting other contestants of the world. Yunus Nadi interprets this news as follows:

Bravo to Turkish femininity on this matter as well. Turkish womanhood, which had been emancipated from the centuries-long darkness of a black curtain, is becoming distinguished by her aptitude and capability to dare to compete with her Western sisters, who have been ahead of us for centuries. Long live Turkish womanhood, and march ahead, march unceasingly!

Arising paradox is that Turkish women must appear in public life. And yet, the feminine exposure should not harm feminine chastity. This requires, of course, a proper education for the initiation of the women, especially the young into the public sphere. Given that every educated person was a volunteer of the pedagogic republican army, Mahmut Yesari, the famous novelist of the time, defined the limit of feminine freedom:

In Europe there are proper periods for young women's entry into society and participation for balls. And there is a limit between the life in the family and the life outside of it, the life in bars, cinemas and so on... I respect for the freedom of women. However, my respect has a limit... It is necessary to establish quarantine remedies against cinema in a similar vein to sanitary cordon at the frontiers (in Burhan Ümit 1932, 26)

Yet quarantining through legal instructions are not enough for balancing the conducts of the young girls in their new life. Among others Nebahat Hamit, an educator from the Istanbul Teacher's Training School for Girls in a public speech explained the impotency of legal regulations for securing feminine chastity:

Genuine decency cannot be protected by laws and by increasing the number of police. The matter rather is developing personal responsibilities and feelings of women and teaching them the dangers of sexuality. We make laws to enable the police intervention for protecting children [young women]. However, the law and police would only intervene when it is too late. We should teach children their own rules, and we should give them the mechanisms that would keep their character unmarred (Nebahat Hamit 1933, 13-14).

This would explain the plethora of the advice books written by different pundits, including especially the physicians and pedagogues for providing the young girls a safe and secure (moral) way of public visibility. In women's accession to public life and in their moral education, the most operative role was played by the figure of a fallen woman.

4.2.2. The Fallen Woman and Moral Education

“Do not insult a fallen woman, never; ask her the burden that is depressing her.” These poetic lines seemingly express tender and compassion towards fallen women; however, one should be cautious, if they were quoted at the very beginning of a scientific advice book to girls called *To Our Daughters* (Akalm 1935b). Why does an obstetrician and pediatrician cite the above lines in the preface to his translation of a scientific book for the young girls? An answer comes from the original author, Doctor Alfred Fournier, a famous French physician who contributed much to create a worldwide concern over syphilis and the necessity of sexual education (Pedersen 1998, 137)⁷³: “Moralists and physicians are... so tightly close to each other that even if a physician does not want to be so, he cannot help but being a moralist to some extent” (in Akalm 1935b, 28-29).

⁷³ Pederson (1998) discusses in detail how cultural anxieties were expressed in sexual terms in the fin-de-siècle France.

In the 1930s of the republican period, the physicians were quite willing to be moralists. Among others, Doctor Besim Ömer [Akalin] (1862-1940) was unique in spending his life for promoting marriage, and encouraging healthy and robust babies to increase the number of population (Ünver 1932). Thus, he had written several books, including *Sihhatnümayı İzdivaç* (A Guide for Sanitary Marriage), *Sihhatnümayı Aile* (A guide for Family Health), *Tenasül* (Procreation), *Sihhatnümayı Tenasül* (A Guide for Sanitary Procreation), *Fen ve İzdivaç* (Science and Marriage), *Kadın Hastalıkları ve Onlardan Korunma Yolları* (Gynecological Diseases and Methods of Protection), to “illuminate the darkness of my citizens” (Akalin 1935a). It is quite dubious whether the advices of this recalcitrant bachelor would truly convince the addressee, but he never hesitated to explain his ideas about the quality of a perfect marriage. Once in *Akşam* daily in 1934, Besim Ömer complains about the emerging meaning of marriage among the young. For him, marriage is neither a contract as the traders do, nor is it the fulfillment of a mutual desire as in the animal-like coupling: “Marriage is a noble and estimable institution; a ground upon which the whole nation and country based.” (1935a, 34-35). Even if he is not an exemplar republican in his private life, his zeal in realizing professional and public responsibility cannot be denied.

During his long-term career, he witnessed in his own words “various moaning and pains of women,” and he came to the conclusion that many “evils” and diseases emerge due to lack of sexual education. Because of this ignorance, women and young girls could get a disease inadvertently. He knows as a physician that many healthy, strong and beautiful young girls are taken ill instead of a present from the bridegroom. Some attentive girls state that: “They expect and demand our virginity and purity. Their virginity and purity may be worthless. Lets us skip this disequilibrium. If only their pre-marital affairs would not contaminate us” (1935a, 6). The arguments stated by attentive Turkish girls resembled that of the “purity crusade” of social hygienists in America⁷⁴ as well as other Western countries.

⁷⁴ Luker notes that Progressive Era in America dates 1880 to 1920 and represents a turning point in the state control of sexuality. Numerous social movements including eugenics, anti-vice commissions and social hygienists sought to shape the moral boundaries of the new order (1998, 606).

Advocating the “single standard of sex behavior,” one of the Western women reflected a common proclivity of social reformists, social hygienists and some feminists: “The double standard tacitly permits men to indulge freely and unchecked in sexual irregularity without consequent loss of social standing, but it doomed the women, who are necessarily involved in these irregularities, to social ostracism and even to complete degradation” (Luker 1998, 607).

Besim Ömer finds fair the arguments of these attentive women because “if there are advices for one party (women), then they are for others (men)” (1935a, 6). Besim Ömer seemed to agree with the “single standard of sex behavior.” In underlining this necessity, Besim Ömer lets the young know that protecting oneself from the sexual diseases, or “Venus diseases” in his words, the most estimable way is “expressing purity and virtuousness by absolute abstaining and self control.” However, “very few could accomplish this moral task,” he admits (1935a, 6). He instantly reminds the educators of the young girls that “they should tell young women that even a minimum lack of consideration and deception would remove virginity and leave an ineffaceable stigma” (1935a, 7). The urgency of the education of the girls partly comes from the changing conditions of Turkey: since young girls and women begin to work together with men, “I have witnessed the rise of sexual diseases among them.” That is why, he reaches a conclusion: “It is quite proper to open protection societies, which are spanning in Europe, and especially to protect the health and morality of the young women and girls, and save the fallen by the female members of the benevolent societies in our country” (1935a, 33).

Apart from Besim Ömer’s scientific advice books, reflections on the figure of the fallen woman can be frequently met in the novels, dailies, books and other popular magazines of the 1930s. A young schoolteacher, namely Ahmet Nihat, defined the fallen woman as someone who utterly lost her moral values and norms. In his account, social conditions and common beliefs do not give a life chance for those who are engaged in prostitution. For this reason, one could not find any prostitute who does not suffer greatly. For him prostitutes are the porters of life...(1930, 70-

71). Considering the main reason of prostitution is lack of proper sexual education, Ahmet Nihat demanded from the government to initiate sexual education for the young generation. He further added that:

Prostitution kills the economic life. Debauchery always results in poverty. In an age when we are being exhausted through spelling out national wealth, (prostitution) weakens the population and future generation. It also damages future morality. It always leads to the rise of thousands of corporeal diseases (1930, 73).

Apart from these obvious harms of prostitution, there were also harms which were more subtle, such as psychological effects. If one carefully investigates, he/she easily finds out that many social ills such as homicide, suicide and theft were done by the hidden hands of prostitution (1930, 73).

Although the importance of sexual education is accepted by many intellectuals, some of them still have caution if the knowledge on sexuality would trigger timeless sexual activities. But the matter is that the young generation would learn about sexuality in any way. Instead of leaving our children to the education of coincidences, we should give them a proper scientific education. In the same spirit, Sabiha Sertel translated a series of chapbooks, one of which aimed to give a full package of knowledge about girlhood and womanhood. In that book, it is explained that the aim of the scientists searching the reason of moral poverty is to find the effects leading to immorality and especially to decrease prostitution. The only common point of various thinkers is that, “The strongest effect leading young women to an indecent life is the lack of knowledge about sexual activity” (Larkum 1939, 3). Put it simply, although ignorance and lack of knowledge in any matter is harmful for everyone, the naivety of the young women would be very dangerous.

For an average yet emblematic danger, I resort to the headline of *Yenigün daily* on June 3, 1931. The name of the fallen woman was Melahat. As she explained to the judge, her story is as follows: “I was fourteen or fifteen or so. I was living with my mother in Fatih. One day on the tram, I met Münevver Hanım’s servant, Pakize. She said: Come with me, I will find you a job at a tailor’s. And I believed in her.

She got me to Münevver's house. One night they made me a dead drunk. When I woke up in the morning, everything was done and finished. I woke up cursing on my fate; my life was ruined." The misfortune of an innocent yet deceived young girl like Melahat constitutes one of the basic texts of the moral pedagogy for the young girls.

4.3. Morality of the Turkish Youth

Moral duties and recommendations do not merely address the young girls for sure. The young in general as the depositary of the republican ideals were incessantly hailed from various stages and points. Among others, Falih Rıfkı Atay's analysis appeared on July 7, 1931 in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on morality of the young is noteworthy:

There is a big class which leaves aside morality in politics, literature and in all thoughts. It is sad seeing many young in this class...We do not suffer from an economic, political, financial crisis; we actually suffer from a spiritual, a moral and consciousness crisis. This crisis affects all institutions and gives its viruses to all young souls... Likewise the pain of a rotten tooth, suspicion attack of the rotten morality deprives Turkish Society from the help of many merits and talents. Youth requires a re-organization.

In a similar vein, Hıfzı Oğuz [Bekata] elsewhere explained that, "For a long time in our country, there has been a monopoly over the youth, science, thought and art; on the other hand, they have been left to an unknown market place. For this reason, there is no organized young, no genuine science, thought or art is seen...The trust of a young to himself and to his nation; his devotion to the homeland and culture must be the basic principle of national pedagogy (Bekata 1935, 1-2). As it is noted in October 1932 in the very first issue of *Yeni Türk Mecmuası*, it was clear for all the republican elite that "a new moral order has to be established out of the ruined social institutions," although this was a complicated task, it was quite achievable in a devoted national community, because "national life" is the source of "greatest strength for the human being" (1932, 1).

4.3.1. Rules for the Good Turk

In addition to the journal articles, official publications, school materials and the conferences organized by the People's Houses,⁷⁵ various anonymous chapbooks were delivered to places all over concerning the moral education of the young. One of these chapbooks, called *Moral Rules for Young Generation: Nine Rules of a Good Turk* (1934), is quite interesting in that it merges the national, universal and personal in the name of a public morality—albeit the nationalist sentiment is the strongest link—and invites the young to a self-devotion.

In this guide, the first rule of being a good Turk is *self-control*. The main importance of having such a virtue as self-control comes from its utility for the homeland and national interest. This virtue requires a triple control, including the control of the tongue, which means abstaining from the use of bad, rude and coarse words, the control of self, in the sense that not getting furious when other people and things are unpleasant, and the control of desire and emotions, which means that one's passions and emotions should not forestall his/her elevated concerns and goals (1934, 1).

The second rule is *self-confidence*. It is stated that a good Turk has self-reliance. It is a madness to be full of one's own self, but self-confidence is compulsory for power and duty. For having this quality, two things are important: first, "in spite of the fact that I am willing to listen to the counsel of the elderly and knowledgeable people, I will make my own choices and I will carry my own burden," and second, "I will not be afraid of being mocked in doing the right, even if I remain alone, I will do the proper" (1934, 4).

The third rule is *self-improvement*. A good Turk does his/her best for improving him/herself. Whoever tries to improve oneself most, he/she would contribute to the homeland most. For activating this rule, one should not addict anything that harms one's body. Instead, one should devote oneself to the useful and good habits, so that one's body and mind become clean and his/her personality becomes holly. A

⁷⁵ For an emblematic one, please see Hasan Cemil Bey's "Türk Gençliği Nasıl Yetiştirilmelidir?", a speech given in the conference room of Ankara People's House (1932).

good Turk should have a perfect health by nurturing his/her body with sufficient food, sleep and exercise. Also he/she should nurture his/her hunger in terms of knowledge by learning from those who already have developed themselves, who have contributed most to the homeland (1934, 5).

The fourth rule is the law of trustworthiness. A good Turk should be trustable for sure because if a man cannot be trustable, he is harmful to his fellow citizens, to his homeland and the welfare of his own country. The fifth rule is the law of *sportsmanship*. A good Turk carries a sportsman soul. And the sixth law is the law of *duty*. Given that lazy are parasitic people who live at the expense of other's benefit, and that they are harmful for the country, then a good Turk should learn his duty well, and work hard to accomplish his duty well. This duty should not be considered so lofty. As the seventh rule suggests a good Turk must be a good hand whatever his duty is. He should do his job fairly, because even a wheel or a nail which is produced in negligence, would lead to big disasters (1934, 8-9).

The eighth rule for being a good Turk is *cooperation*. And lastly, a good Turk must be compassionate. It is explained that "different people live together in Turkey." And it is compassion which would help establishing a common life with different people. "Regardless of their nationality, color, positions and their attitudes toward me, I will show an unchanging kind regard to all," was stated in the pamphlet, lastly. All in all, for being a good Turk, as the popular book clarifies, one needs to be loyal at each and every level of life, including the family, school, national and humanity (1934, 12-13).

In fact, the initiation of such pamphlets and guidebooks directed to the moral education of the young went back to the late Ottoman period. Benjamin Fortna underlines the anxieties of the state elite over the moral disposition of the empire's youth, because of the increasing Western influence, and in his account, the most trustable vehicles for restoring morality were written texts (2000, 379). In the early republican era, such written materials were proliferated—however in different content. In the late Ottoman period, "a primary reason for educational expansion,"

Fortna explains, “was to improve the moral qualities of the empire’s youth by reasserting indigenous values—namely, Islamic morality.” In the early republican era, however, written materials were quickly stripped of their religious connotations in the name of a worldly republican morality and nationalist sentiments; even the religious textbooks for school children underlined the importance of Turkishness for being a good Muslim:

All small children are innocent, chaste, and clean-hearted. If these children’s parents are Muslim, then they are very privileged...If this child is Turk, then he (she) is the most privileged, because Turkishness is greatness. If a child is both Turk and Muslim, then he (she) becomes the strongest, the most decent and the most honest human being in the world (İbrahim Hilmi 1930, 20-21).

Comparing the primary reading material for learning to read in the late Ottoman and early republican era, Fortna observes that, “over time a clear trend of movement from a religious to a national ethos surrounding learning to read” (2001, 35) appeared. What Fortna does not emphasize while comparing the reading material of Zeki, a male Ottoman student in late Ottoman Empire and that of Gültekin in the early republic is that in the early republic, the republican regime used women in separating their administration from that of Ottomans, and thus schoolbooks targeted female student as well. The reading material produced for Gültekin, was also available for Ülkü—a favored Turkish name for girls as Mustafa Kemal named his adopted daughter as Ülkü, ideal. In fact, although the reading book was both for girls and boys [Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kiraat Kitabı], it preferred addressing girls by launching such topics as, “My Ülkü’s Reading Book.” This reading piece retained a picture at the beginning, where Ülkü and her mother, a modern, literate woman with a book at hand sitting in a modern living room furnished with a modern couch and drawings, indicated the life style of the republican regime that was encouraged for its people (Pakize-Nazım 1934, 3). This was of course a special encouragement for women to learn to read. But it is also important to consider the tensions, Fortna rightly underlined, of the context of reading: “between reading as religious endeavor and reading as...national duty; between reading as public activity and reading as a private affair; between reading

for personal improvement and for the betterment of a society as a whole” (2001, 35).

4.3.2. Rules for Good Girls

In the early republican era, women were under great tension of learning to read both as a public and private duty for their nation. In fact, many other tensions were awaiting young women in the early republic. Nationalist priorities led women to overestimate maternity. Almost in all pamphlets, books and journals addressing women in the republican era, the focus was made on maternity, which was repetitively emphasized as opposed to the fact the role of fatherhood was very limited, if not absent in the literature. For a resembling one, Baltacıoğlu’s (1943) small book, *Genç Kız* is quite telling. As most of the republican elite know well, young girls are inexperienced and do not know the meaning of life. For this reason, Baltacıoğlu thought his advice would be a good guide for the new life. In explaining the five ways to be followed in life, Baltacıoğlu warns the girls about not relying upon their beauty, since he believes physical beauty would disappear easily as time passes; however, the success in life requires lasting beauties. A girl, first of all, needs a body which is strong, which would easily fight against weariness, grief and diseases. After having such a strong and healthy body, a girl’s temperament is important. A girl should love goodness, hate the wickedness and act honestly to the people. Her third quality is being diligent. A girl should learn how to be useful at work; especially she should know raising children, being a good wife and a life-friend to her husband. Frugality is another asset. Her last quality is her love of country; she should love her homeland and nation, and she should never substitute this love with anything else in life (Baltacıoğlu 1943, 4). His last recommendation was as follows:

You were born, grown up and have become a young woman. So much labor was given to your growth...What will you do now? How will you pay for your debt to your country? ...Demand to be a respectful wife to a respectful man. Demand giving birth children. Demand to be a mother, demand to be proud of having robust and good children. Do not be one of those degenerated women who feel disgust at birth-giving! The Turkish mother is the most fertile woman. Be a fertile and good mother (1943, 14).

In the same spirit, Reşit Galip considered it as a national duty for a young mother to devote all her energy for producing children, instead of filling her life with meaningless competition over beauty and looks. He counseled the young mother on ornamental refinement by stating, “Pitiful are those who boast with their silky cloths and shiny diamonds! For Turkish woman the most beautiful ornament, the shiniest diamond is her child. Turkish woman would only be proud of the number of her children and their strength and longevity” (Reşit Galip 1929, 3).

For him, any woman who is not naturally infertile does not deserve respect without having babies. Turkish girls and young men who want to enliven, improve and empower their country should take an oath for “having at least four children” during their wedding day. One of those babies would replace the mother, other the father, the third one would fill the place of Turkish martyrs, and the last one would increase the number of the Turkish nation (1929, 51).

Similar themes are discussed in details by Azmi Ömer (1933) as well in his book *To Our Young Women: Before and After Their Marriage*. From the very beginning parents are assured that this is a proper material to be read and guide the young girls: “Those who could not find the proper path in life those who act in a confused manner in the midst of liberties and transformations of today or those who have lost their way for some reasons” (1933, 5).

Azmi Ömer begins with difficulty of picturing Turkish girls as a homogeneous group, given that we have immense variation in the manners of upbringing, in the attire, in meeting conditions, in ways of life, and home settings. Thanks to the Republican regime, all differences are almost drawn to a close. We have regions where baby-girls are celebrated as happy incidence, where girls are found worthless; and yet in the big cities girls are entitled to enjoy the new life fully. Between these two extremes, girls are evaluated and controlled differently. It is necessary to understand this fact: “A girl and a woman like a man—a thinking human being. There is no difference between them apart from some peculiar conditions” (1933, 7). For Azmi Ömer, these peculiarities are quite visible: “man’s

wide shoulders” are for the “heavy burden of life,” they are expected to shoulder in earning money, and “woman’s wide hips” are “the maintenance of future generation” (1933, 41).

In the early republican era when the new nation was under construction, Azmi Ömer repeatedly underlined the importance of the role of woman in increasing the number of the Turkish population. He frequently complained about the discrepancy between the rate of birth and death in the country. He also complained about the lack of statistical knowledge on the number of young men and women. If these numbers were known, one could say:

Such and such numbers of the robust young men would have constructed such and such number of streets and would have built such and such number of houses in each sides of these streets from the east frontier of our country to the west (from Edirne to Hakkari) or from south to the north (Mersin to Sinop) in such and such period of time. The young women, on the other hand, because of their gender characteristics could not construct streets and houses; however, they would have made these houses real hearths, homeland and family nests (1933, 10).

Despite the fact that these numbers were not known, the worth of the young women were clear. “During the Liberation War, when the homeland was under threat, our heroine women and brave mothers carried ammunition on their back and at the same time they fed their babies,” he stated in the footnote. However, all over the world, defending and dying for the homeland is a worthy task according to Azmi Ömer. He added further, that “The tasks of women are not only material, but more significantly emotional: raising children for love of country” (1933, 10).

On this ground, while Azmi Ömer appreciated the desire for marriage among the young women, he painfully observed that, most of the young girls are appealed by the ceremony of the marriage without recognizing the great responsibility and duty of the marriage as an institution. The obvious mission of marriage for young women must be “maternity.” Complaining about shallow modern education given to young women, Azmi stated that, “Young girls are not trained enough for

maternal duty. They are taught some sewing, playing piano and cooking... These information are necessary, how about child-rearing?" He asked and hailed to the young women: "When young girls know 5 words from a foreign language this is assumed as a big talent. How about child rearing, nurturing and home management?" (1933, 87).

Another noteworthy point of marriage a young woman should learn is that the morality and the health of her prospective husband is very significant: "Parents do not pass their wealth and properties to their offspring; they also pass their body, wisdom, health and moral values. Child resembles his parents materially, corporeally, spiritually and morally" (1933, 91). Obviously then, young women must be very careful in choosing their life partners; they should take into account the racial and national qualities of the Turkish nation and the Turkish population. Elsewhere Besim Ömer Akalın reminded young women that the republican government urged everyone to increase the number of children and to keep up the health of the future generation. Children of the future, the republic's children, cannot be "crooked legged, dislocated nosed, paled colored, and blockheaded" (Akalın 1939, 9-11).

In his account, a good maternal education would guarantee the health and strength of the Turkish children, and added: "Motherhood is a vocation to be learnt and one should learn motherhood before being a mother" (1939, 25). The similar theme was repeated by Besim Ömer [Akalın] who first criticized how the newborn were treated in the past by saying: "In the past, a newborn was tied to a *tekke* and left to the breath of a *sarıklı*; from his breath and charms people expected a miracle to save the life of a newborn. Now, the newborn should be under the control of a physician," and, of course, the newborn should be in the embrace of an educated mother (Akalın 1930, 10).

The importance of a knowledgeable as well as patriotic mother was repeatedly underlined by Doctor Cemal Zeki, who claimed that, "It is not just tuberculosis, malaria and syphilis that erode our generation! There is a much more compelling

disaster, a social tragedy: abortion” (1929, 275). In his account, aborting is terrible in a country which aimed at increase its population. He reminded his friends Mustafa Kemal’s demand: “We should be 25 million in 25 years.” and added: “When a child—child is a light—is aborted, the country loses out an organ, perhaps it loses out a huge generation. When a child is aborted, a woman would die or become sick. Thus a fountain creating generations is dried out.” Doctor Cemal Zeki added another republican duty to already dutiful republican physicians in the third medical congress in 1929, that is, “educating maternal affection and harms of abortion to woman” (1929, 275). If not physicians, Girls’s Institutes would be the proper places for educating “mothering” to Turkish girls in the 1930s.

4.4. Girls’ Institutes

Mustafa Şekip [Tunç] rightly considered the new Turkish woman as an emerging category, as “a subject matter whose frontiers are uncertain and imperceptible” (1939, 3). In order to imagine the new woman, Tunç refers to an analogy within which the new woman is a painting and yet its frame is an old woman. Although these two women, old and new, share a common time and residence, they belong to different worlds. In the world of the old woman, there is no place for the new concepts like the “Homeland” and “Nation,” and she does not separate people according to their language, race, color and nationality; she only knows the religious and non-religious worlds. She is a moral, spiritual being. She considers as sin the pursuit for worldly and material needs; she deems it as a human duty to “bear the bad vicissitudes and good fortunes of life.” The old woman lives a restricted life in her psychic and social relations: “Old women, who had left almost all their being to the shoulders of the men, were very comfortable and safe. However, simultaneously they had remained quite novice and gullible” (1939, 10). Tunç appreciates the republican regime in providing women with new rights so that women can be more active without fighting like feminists or suffragists in other countries. Despite the values of the old woman, the new woman has to live in a new world where national and humanitarian feelings and ideals are significant, where material security and general welfare are pursued (Tunç 1939, 10-11).

When İsmet Pasha tied the success of national economy to the frugality, and stated the idea that, “by a small accumulation of each family, a fundamental national capital would be accumulated,” in his mind, was the role of family economy in the national one, and thus the role of woman-mother for the Turkish nation. Then, the importance of the disposition and education of the young girls became obvious. İsmet Pasha continuously adds:

We are going to demand from our young women, as their mothers who carried ammunition with their strong bodies while crowning the yellow flowers of the mountains of Anatolia, to strengthen their nests like undefeatable castle through their power, contentedness, thriftiness, through waving the smell of yellow flowers of mountains of Anatolia (in Goloğlu 1972, 269).

These rewarding words for the young girls are surprising considering the manners of İsmet Paşa’s speeches. Yet the story of these words goes back to the establishment of a significant institute, namely *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* on October 11, 1928. The foundational aim of this school fits exactly what the nation needs, according to the predominant mentality of the period, which is educating good housewives. As it is further clarified in the brochure: “The first task of the school is embellishing Turkish family with strong housewives who know the technique of home” (İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü no date, 3).⁷⁶

The school’s curriculum involves two topics: one is a common knowledge courses like Turkish, Mathematics, History, Geography, Civics, Physics, Chemistry, Natural sciences, Hygiene, Child Rearing, Home Management, Music and Physical Education. Although these courses are common with other intermediary schools, these topics in the Girls Institutes are discussed in terms of their practical effects in life (İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü no date, 4). The other set of courses based upon the vocation. These courses are arranged to provide students with the knowledge and the habits for being proper housewives. Home management course includes washing cloths; ironing; patching; home cleaning; removing the stains; repairing small and simple home apparatus; controlling electrical and water

⁷⁶ Zübeyde Hanım Kız Enstitüsü (1973) also established in 1928 where 5 students began education. Manisa Kız Enstitüsü (1950) was established in 1937.

installation. Cooking course includes *ala turka* meals, the way of cooking national meals according to scientific and modern techniques; and *ala franga* meals and making pastries and preparing jams and pickles and table orders. General and technical painting course and the embroidery courses are also compulsory. The relaxation rooms of the schools are designed as home so that students can practice their theoretical knowledge instantly. Concomitantly, students feel a complete family environment at school. Students are accustomed to use the most luxury things as well as the simplest of the home utensils at school. Apart from these material qualities and dispositions, the Ministry of Education intends to give some significant moral attitudes. Students are expected to obtain strong national sentiments and to secure exalted and chaste character and to be practical and competent young girls (İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü no date, 9).

Afsaneh Najmabadi notes that Girls' schools are central in the modernity of Iran in particular, and in the Middle East in general. "The new schools," Najmabadi argues, "were not just for acquiring an education in the natural sciences, but were also the social spaces for developing moral behavior and for learning the sciences of cooking, sewing, childcare" (1993, 505). In the same manner, Girls' Institutes are significant phenomenon in the making of modern Turkish women. While the emphasis given to scientific and material development of the students at the Institute is momentous, moral education is not less significant in bringing about good mothers of the Turkish nation. According to the farewell speech of the director of İzmir Girls' Institute, Mürvet Avni İlkiz, the first task of the graduates is to be virtuous because they carry the blood of an honorable nation which is as old as the history itself. The school director assured to the students that they do not need to aspire for wealth in life because the genuine treasure is their "youth, virtues and craft" (İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yılıığı 1939). Given that young women retain the most valuable treasures in their body, character, and in their craft, they do not need to seek for a wealthy and high standing husband. Put it another way, young women were encouraged for seeking a modest life. Avoiding luxury and demanding simplicity seemed to guarantee happiness of the young women in their new life. The basic reason, the director offered modesty and

simplicity in their personal and familial life is that there is strong public duty awaiting young women in the making of new Turkey. İlkiz explained clearly that:

Never forget that the duty on your shoulder is higher than the duty of Turkish soldiers who saved the homeland from the enemies. This duty comes from the fact that you will be mother of the future generation. You will raise the coming generation with your feminine soul and sensation as well as with the confidence and meticulous feeling of a craftsman. Your lace is your home; your work of art is your child; your emotion is love. This Institute trains the virtuous Turkish girl who loves her Home, her Child and her Nation (İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı 1939, 9).

In the same annual, disciplinary regulation of the school is placed. These regulations express great similarities with the recommendations delivered by popular pamphlets and women's magazine of the early Republic. The first article defines the moral expectation from the Turkish children and enumerates the characteristics of a proper Turkish child: a) she is honest and hates lying. b) She obeys willingly and with love the laws of the Turkish state and regulation of the school. c) She does not destroy her health and strength which is devoted to the homeland and national duty. She spends her time outside school at home, at sport centers and people's houses, at the countryside and seeing proper movies. (İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı 1939)

In the next year's annual, the speech of the director this time addressed the parents of the girls. From the beginning, she stated that students' success in life depends on the strong foundations of their own family life. Thinking this fact, the director chose a guiding-teacher who would be a fellow sufferer [agony aunt] for students. She obliges students and teachers to fill up a notebook namely *Journal de Classe[sic]*, however she sees her efforts were futile. After a short time, she demands from the parents that they should help the school administration in carrying out the disciplinary regulations; parents' contributing to monitoring the students by assuring the sleep of their daughters at 22:00 o'clock, by prohibiting to go to cinemas in the night and weekdays and the similar details directed at inhabiting the girls within the home space. As the most efficient strategy to control the girls and to forestall their waste of time in the streets, every month a teacher is charged with acting as a tram-watchman. "Every evening, the teachers in

accordance with monthly files, helped and supervised the students in the 200-metre-long street during their boarding to busses and the trams.” In this way, director explains, “students are strictly controlled at home, in the street and at school.” Thinking the foundation of the family life is established at school, the pillars of such foundation include a strong character, sound morality, national sentiment and professional conscience. As the director repeats once again that the school has focused carefully on the morality of the girls and has given an incontrovertible will and firm conscience (İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı 1940).

In an interview appeared in *Ana* in February 1938, Hasip Akıncı, the director of Republican Girls Institute in İzmir explains that the Turkish revolution would live and be advanced by mothers. Having educated mothers is crucial to the extent that the director equates its importance with the salvage of the country and states: “If mothers do not know how to raise their children, our martyrs lying under the blood-smelling soil of Sakarya, İnönü and Dumlupınar will die once again” (1938, 21). This second death, however, would not be similar to the first one, which was enthusiastic and willing, because they were dying for the love of the country: that was a happy and honorable death. In the mind of the director, the martyrs did their duty to the homeland by salvaging it against the enemy. Now the turn is the women’s: “I deem mothers as ‘the most genuine producers and the most efficient protectors of the revolution.’” The country now needs healthy, knowledgeable and well-mannered housewives and full-blown mothers. The institute aims to realize educating young girls in such manner, and the journal *Ana* assists the institute. When the interviewer Gökalp asks the students: “You have three or four month to graduate. When you marry will you be housewives or professionals?”, and all of the girls yell, “Housewives!” After a while a few added that they would love to open their own workplace, and they would continue their education at the *İsmet Paşa Girls Institute* to be teachers. In the end, however, the desire of being perfect housewives enflames inside us: Completely knowledgeable, well-mannered and healthy mother! (1938, 22). For the question “What do you prefer for your life-mate, would he be a loving father, or a workaholic?” their answer is the

combination of these two characteristics. But when they are forced to prefer one, they become silent until their teacher Saadet clarifies: “Good, knowledgeable, well-mannered housewife knows how to connect a man to home. Even if a man is very hard-working and work-oriented, a good woman knows how to make him forget work matters at home and makes him a home-centered man” (1938:22).

Another interview was made at the *Selçuk Girls Institute* by the same journal. As we learn from the interview that, except for *İsmet Paşa Girls Institute*, all of the institutes have the same organization. Studying the history of the foundation of the Girls’ Institutes, Akşit (2005) argues that despite significant differences between the institutions in the western and the eastern cities, including Ankara, İstanbul, Bursa, Manisa, İzmir, Adana, Trabzon and Elazığ, the institutes have a common curriculum and their directors insisted upon their homogeneity in terms of girls’ education (Akşit 2005, 146-150). As the director of the Selçuk Girls Institute explains to the interviewer of the journal *Ana*, the Institutes accept the primary school graduates. After two years of a common education, students are divided into different branches like sewing and fashion. These branches take three years. Then the graduates become trainees, and obtain the status of intermediary school graduates. They would open their own workplace, or might maintain their education in Ankara (Gökalp May 1938, 20). In educating girls, the school administration tries to give a national soul to them in their craft. It is stated that the European fashion, the modest one, would be followed. This following does not mean copying. The fashion should be dressed locally. Making fashion local requires and proves a national soul. Admiring Europe relentlessly is considered as a hindrance to national identity. For this reason, the directors advise the young girls that they should learn how to arrange their life according to their own lifestyle. Aspiring for luxury in their garment and home design was considered the basic danger threatening Turkish families. All mothers should follow the motto to being moderate in their life styles and expenditures (Gökalp May 1938, 20-21).

4.5. Agony Columns in the Early Republic

In my opinion, the most pitiable human being of Turkish history is the Turkish woman. The articles on the establishment of family and hereditary of new draft law will bring a respectful position for the Turkish mother who hitherto excoriated as a slave but a lady since the foundation of the world (Mahmut Esat Bozkurt in Goloğlu 1972, 73).

Mahmut Esat [Bozkurt] stated on February 11, 1926, in celebrating the new Civil Code as the most pivotal revolutionary regulations in terms of its potential to change the Turkish social life in line with the civilized world. In spite of the well-known hindrance that valuing women merely to the extent of their maternal potential, a more egalitarian and individualistic character of the Civil Code cannot be denied. After the adaptation of the Swiss Civil Code, personal relations became the subject of the law; since the marriage was accepted as a personal contract, the freely expressed intention of the marrying parties was required, and the civil marriage ceremony, ceasing the religious prevalence over the marital issues, became compulsory. Concomitantly, self-selected marriages of the equal and free individuals were legally supported (İmamoğlu 2001, 101).

In line with these regulations, marital issues had set the agenda of various dailies; advice pages were devoted to the shaping of the conducts of the young, especially that of the young girls. During the 1930s, it was commonplace to hail to the young upon the proper attitudes on private matters, tricks for establishing good families, encouraging the marriage as an institution for oneself and for the nation's sake. In this sense, studying agony columns in the early republican era would be a good opportunity to map out the 'private sphere' and 'intimacies' of people to the extent that they were exposed in the public pages of dailies. As Penny Morris argues, agony columns, or problem pages, are "unique, if problematical, historical source for the study of the 'private sphere,'" however, in Turkey as well as in other countries they are often underestimated on the ground that they are trivial and invented, instead of reflecting genuine problems (Morris 2004, 11). Setting aside some possible problems such as the level of literacy and target of these dailies, agony columns are important when their advice is comparatively evaluated with other advice literature, and the general politico-moral framework drawn by the republican regime.

In *Yeni Gün* daily on June 5, 1931 the column, called *For the Young*, invited the young to the action and defined their basic duty as: “To give the full meaning of Turkish revolution to the Turkish cities and Turkish homeland” (1931, 5). This invitation was supported by the observation of Selim Sırrı [Tarcan] who stayed for a while in the Bursa city:

There is no smiling face; everybody is silent; everybody is thoughtful; everybody is sad! Because it is Friday, everywhere is closed down. Only coffee-houses are crowded to overflowing. Although it is very hot, people sit very near to each other. What a tranquil sitting. Almost nobody talks...One again I appreciated the idea that we need a merry, dynamic and ardent music (Tarcan 1931, 7).

Apart from the music, children were rendered the most animating factor for the Turkish nation. For having many and healthy children and raising them according to the civilized manners and republican ideals, the importance of the family institution was repetitively underlined. One of the articles in *Yeni Gün* on June 2, 1931 started with asking whether family institution was collapsing. After placing certain claims against the family institution, the article declared that for each and every young the most vivid and strongest feeling was attached to the idea of establishing a family. Continuously, it is explained that Turkish national life is the product of the Turkish family, and that Turkish nation takes its character from the family (1931, 5). Having established that the familial matters are serious, the following day on June 3, 1931 the agony aunt *Hanımabla*, scolded a young woman who does not love her husband. *Hanımabla* was terribly annoyed with the confession of that young woman who does not want to have a baby: “Once a man and a woman united with marriage requiring a mutual responsibility, they have to bear it. About the matter of child: why did you marry if you are not going to bring and raise a child?” (1931, 7).

It is clear that when the young people were invited to the action, they were expected to get married and make babies in the first place. But how do they decide to marry? How do they choose their spouses? How do they raise their children?

How do they overcome the family quarrels? How do they determine their paths in a new life inaugurated by the Republic? All these and similar themes were analyzed in details by the dominating advisors of the dailies. Both *Hanımabla* of *Yeni Gün* daily and *Hanımteyze* of *Son Posta* daily, targeted the young girls in most cases, claiming the idea that “the nest is built by a female bird.” For this reason, despite the formally egalitarian discourse of the time, in the recommendations and warnings, young girls were rather constructed as the ones who desperately need moral, emotional and mental guiding by the enlightened people and their prospective husbands. The reader letters that belong to the young girls mostly reflect the emotional disorder and instability, whereas the letters coming from the young men reflect men’s stronger position. More significantly, advice associated with the rising problems with the dream-like nature of the Oriental girls, and the backward traditions, categorized the fallen women and the decent yet naïve girls. Below I look into five letters sent by the young men, and then evaluate them with the responses of the dailies’ advisors.

On October 3, 1930, in *Son Posta* a young man from Ankara writes: “I am 19 years old, earning 100 lira a month. Last year, I fell in love with a woman I met at a night club. Our relation continued and my parents learnt about it. In addition, another young girl from my family circle has been in love with me for four years. This woman told me that she gave up loving me. Now I recognized that I love this woman too. Which one of these women would be my wife?” Next day, Hayati from Ankara asks what to do in facing with the infidelity of her beautiful young wife. On October 5, 1930 another young man writes: “*Hanımteyze* I am 24 years-old, a well-educated guy. I have a good career and circle of friends and acquaintances. I earn 150 liras a month. I want to marry a girl I love so much. Her merits are: 1. She comes from a decent family, 2. She is so beautiful and looks like just what I want, 3. She should have education until 7th class at intermediary school, 4. She has the qualities of a housewife. Her defects: 1. Her education is not enough, 2. She does not understand the music, 3. People say that she is quick-tempered, 4. She follows the fashion, 5. Her family is very conservative, 6. Her father’s social position is low, 7. Her siblings are ordinary people, 8. She is the

only daughter of the family and thus she is coy.” On October 9, 1930 Ş.O., from Beşiktaş, complains: “I am looking for a life mate, but I could not find any. From the middle class girls to the poor ones all go in for pompous dreams.” On November 11, 1930, another man whose pseudonym A.B. writes: “I am 28 years old and I love a young woman. However, her education is primitive and her ideas are simple. I expect my would-be wife to discuss the matter equally with me. Can I improve the level of my wife after wedding?”

In responding to these letters, the agony aunt *Hanımteyze* recommended all young men that they should marry without being so much scrupulous about certain qualities of the young women, especially about their physical beauties.⁷⁷ In other words, they should not look for beautiful women, because sooner or later these women would be unfaithful. In her arguments, very beautiful women have great potential to be fallen women. Concomitantly, men never marry fallen women, since their character and mentality have been changed radically, they will resort to infidelity whenever the passion of love disappears. For having a happy and stable family life, one needs to marry someone proper.⁷⁸ However, it is noted that without being indecent, all young girls are dreamers. As they live in the restricted domain of the home, they have no connection with life. They have nothing to do with the real problems of life. Their mind is empty. When a mind is empty, it fills with dreams and fantasies. Ignorant and uneducated mind’s imagination is devoted naturally to the sexual matters. Thus the young girls always dream to marry. In marriage, they imagine a better life, better furniture, better dresses, without thinking even for a minute how these things are earned. However, after marriage, they are able to put their lives in order.

⁷⁷ Selda Şerifsoy also underlined how physical beauty was disqualified as the primary criteria in searching for a good wife in the advices directed Turkish soldiers in the 1930s. Selda Şerifsoy (2004).

⁷⁸ Similar advice was given in another popular book written by the anatomy professor Doctor Zeki Zeren. Zeren argued that beauty is relative. If a woman has no handicap in her body, she should not worry about her beauty. However, moral beauty and gracefulness would easily mask ugliness. That is why a good looking man would marry an ugly woman. In addition attraction of a beauty queen was temporary, after sexual desire declined and a normal wife-husband relation established, man did not recognize the difference between a beautiful or an ugly wife (1943, 21-22).

In these advice pages, the Turkish girls are categorized as the Oriental Woman, and their qualities are compared and contrasted with the qualities of the Occidental Woman. According to agony aunts, in the love affairs at least, the women of the Orient and that of the West are completely different. First of all, an Occidental woman in every aspects of life, including the love affairs, is rational and calculative. Love does not drive her to some foolishness; committing suicide in the name of love occurs very rarely. The Occidental women, unlike the oriental ones, are educated and warned at the very early age on sexual matters. Occidentals are not unhealthy in their love. Men are not dreamy-creatures for them. Thus, their love affairs with men are based upon reason and good judgment.

Unfortunately, the Oriental women are oversensitive, dreamers and sickly. They have no sexual education; they are ignorant about sexual manners. Men live in their imagination and fantasy. They do not love, do not know how to love real men; they only love images. That is why their love is unhealthy. At the very early age, they fall in love; they believe that they are in love. They think that their lovers are just like their imagined men. The imagined love makes them busy for days and nights, inclining long-lasting, sweet dreams. An inner life begins. This makes their nerve exhausted. Neurasthenia begins. Finally love turns into a complete sickly manner. Girls become psychologically sick. Most of the Oriental girls sitting at home eventually will face with such an unfortunate fate.

In proving such a general theory on the Oriental girls, the advisor, Hanımteyze on October 12, 1930 *Son Posta* resorts to the story of one of her relatives: “I have a relative. She loves someone she had seen once in the street when she was fourteen. She had an eye contact with him and charmed by his eyes. She is eighteen years old now. For four years, this man, who did not spell a word to her has filled her life. The innocent love that started four years ago, now turned into passionate and helpless love, called blind love (*karasevda*) in the orient. This girl is a perfect sample of the oriental girl.” The diagnosed sickness of the Oriental girls would definitely be cured by the advisors. Hence the recipe comes: wake up in the morning, do some physical exercise for half an hour: walking, rowing, swimming

and the like, have a shower, have a strong breakfast, go out to work, or when working is not possible, do some more exercise for exhausting your bodily energy.

Hanımteyze explained that this recipe worked for her relative and she suggested that it would work for all young girls. The trick of the success of this recipe depends on the very common mentality of the time: psychic betterment cannot be possible without bodily betterment. A passionate love can only be removed by the healthy physical exercises.

While the unhealthy love of the Oriental girls was despised, young girls were encouraged to have healthy, rational and calculative love affairs. This is not to suggest, however, Occidental women are the better choice for to love and especially to marry. *Hanımteyze* clarified on November 13, 1930 that she is against the marriage of Turkish young men with foreign girls and women. Even they are deeply in love, their relation should not be resulted in marriage. *Hanımteyze* did not mention the possibility of an affair between a Turkish girl and the foreign man. She stated that it is not possible to create a common sentiment with a foreign woman. She continued: “We are the children of separate environments, separate worlds, separate upbringing. We have almost no commonalities. For this reason especially the position of the future generation, would be problematic. Which language should children learn? Which kind of education and culture do they receive?” Nationality of the children is the basic problem according to the advisor. She insisted that the marriage is based upon a spiritual understanding, and such connection cannot be created between the Oriental and the Occidental European woman will always consider the Turkish man as a colonized. In addition, she said she met very few happy couples of the mixed marriages. The advisors prohibited marrying the Occidental women, but they do not ignore their quality in sexual matters. That is why, they suggested education for Turkish girls. In such conditions, the targets became the parents, mostly mothers who are not able to create a modern communication and friendship with their own daughters. Yet *Hanımteyze* was aware that the social norms coming from the past had an effect on the parents. In order to clarify this handicap, on October 22, 1930 *Son Posta*'s

agony aunt cited the letter of a young girl who she believes comes from a good family: “I am 16 years old. I love a young man. But I love him as if this was a sin. I could not dare to tell this to my parents. However, my aim is to marry this man. How can I tell this to my mother?”

In replying to this letter, *Hanımteyze* made an analysis on the primitive societies where sexuality is a kind of taboo, where even the spell of the sexual words is shame. Accordingly, she states it is normal that “in our society, families are quite harsh and tightlipped in the sexual ethics and love affairs...Parents consider referring to sexuality as disgrace and immorality. In such instillation, children hesitate to mention their sexual feelings. Parents assume that their children are innocent and do not understand the sexual matters; however, nature has its authority. And as the child grows up, nature affects him/her. He (she) learns wrong things from friends. The child actually needs his/her parents in sexual matters. Young girls should tell their first romantic emotion to their mothers and learn from their experiences.”

On October 24, 1930 *Hanımteyze* analyzed more specifically the duty of mothers to their daughters. The basic theme of that analysis was the sexual education of the children. She stated that, in the Turkish society, sexual education of children was ignored. Children were demanded to be virtuous and decent but their natural inclinations were not seen. The social life in Turkey was organized against nature. Women and men were separated. Any contact among them was deemed sin and shame. It was intolerable if a woman and man could see and contact. The laws of the nature, nevertheless, are stronger than that of society. That is why, in spite of all social prohibitions, girls and women find their partners to live and experience the natural instincts. However, such experiences were not natural and legitimate. In the end, as in all over the world, in our country, natural laws prove their irresistibility. *Çarşaf*, veil, cage and *haremlik* were abolished; even the co-education of girls and boys was permitted. Girls gain the rights to have male friends. Yet still the sexual education of the children is neglected. The young are still suffering from the darkness. Neither teachers, nor books would help them.

Parents do not care for the sexual matters. The most important responsibility of the parents is to warn and inform the young. Mothers are the guide of girls. Mother has to inform her daughter before they reach puberty. She has to teach her daughter that sexual intercourse is not a sin, but it requires to be known; it has to be realized knowingly. In fact, this is a matter of science.

Another reader letter reflects the pains of a young girl, M.T., who decides to leave her lover because of a double standard of the society in evaluating women and men. On November 12, 1930 the agony aunt finds the complaints of the girl fair, and clarifies theme as the “idea of honor” dominating values of Turkish people. Here is the letter:

My dear Aunt, I used to be a girl who hated men. But I met a young man and liked him. However some of my ideas force me to keep away from this man. Why? Society does not consider us equal. Significant or trivial, all common faults are first exaggerated and then become the burden of the women. Since women are not the judge of their affairs, they have to act according to others’ judgments; women are the slave of outsiders’ fair or unfair convictions. Although these convictions are not accurate, since all the people in society share them, it is compulsory to obey them in order to be deemed as good, and at least for not being the object of hate. It is necessary to leave love and live without emotions.

While the advisor finds the arguments of the young girl quite reasonable, she comes to the conclusion that “we have to obey our society’s rule as soon as we live in it.” That was not a strict recommendation however. Advisors frequently criticized certain rules of the society and old mentality. Some other time, *Hanımteyze* recklessly advised to sidestep these rules on the ground of the new Civil Code. On November 17, 1930 for example, she stated that, “if people set their hearts on each other, old traditions and customs cannot stop them. If a young girl is willing to marry then she can get engaged instantly and do not care others’ judgment.” Similarly, at another context on October 13, 1930 *Hanımteyze* found arranged marriage as out of fashion, and added that, “today’s young do not marry people they do not know. Now young girls do not see men from the cage, but they know them in life.” According to the advisors, the most significant matter in marriage is accepted as the equivalences of spouses. In defining the differences

between the past and new mentalities the following analysis was made by *Hanımteyze* on October 1, 1930: “When one has to praise a young to marry it is commonplace to note his/her familial background. One would even say, “Yes, I know his/her family. He(she) is the son (daughter) of a good, well-bred and decent family.” The value of a young woman or man is appreciated according to the value of a family. But today things are different. There is a huge gap between yesterday’s mother and today’s daughter; yesterday’s son and today’s father. Coming to a conclusion about today’s young according to their parents’ qualities, means rejecting the existence and character of the young. Then, the most crucial point in marriage is equivalence of the marrying young, not of their parents. If the young are apposite to each other according to their education and agreement, then their mother’s lack of education or father’s poverty does not matter at all.”

Although in the early republic, the young girls were entitled to enjoy the freedom and rights, there were still limits for their freedom. On the one hand, the young girls were encouraged to know men in life, instead of having imaginary affair with them. They were demanded to inculcate civility rules, which include sharing public space and establishing friendship with men. On the other hand, they were forced a firm self-control in their relation. Their joys, their laughter, their freedom must always be checked. Underlining such compulsory self-control was the idea that young girls are prospect wives and mothers: no man would marry a girl whose chastity is not tenable. Young girls were wanted to manage their conducts in order for having a husband, and then to maintain their marriage.

Given the importance of getting married for the young girls, on October 14, 1930 *Hanımteyze* gave some clue and tactics to hook a husband. She claimed that men initially look at the head, then the feet and then the legs of a woman. That is why, she suggested the young girls that they should pay attention to their hat, instead of wearing the best dress, and then they try to have the most stylish shoes and the stockings. Her second claim about men is that, “men would seem to like the girls exposed and cheerful girls, but coming to the marriage they prefer shy, dignified and well-mannered girls.” Thus, according to *Hanımteyze*, the girls who are good

at dancing and who know to have fun would be good friends, but they cannot be good housewives. That is why, she came to the conclusion that men prefer good housewives; even if men were expressed otherwise, even they seem to hate the idea of having children, young girls should not take their words seriously; on the contrary, they should express their competence in the home space. *Hanımteyze*'s another analogical claim on men is that, "men always want to be the lions for hunting young women: the easy preys, the weak girls in love affairs are not welcome. Shy and uninformed girls are more pleasing." That is why, *Hanımteyze* recommended to the young girls, that they should seem to be inexperienced, innocent, uninformed about love affairs.

Similar analogy came from *Hanımabla* as well. On April 11, 1931 in Yeni Gün when a reader asked if the jealousy would kill love. On the contrary, said *Hanımabla*, mild jealousy is to augment the love. The man's jealousy is pleasing and normal, because the man stands the position of hunter, the woman is a bird he hunted and caged. The woman's jealousy is seen as funny and pitiful, because the woman is a prey. When a hunter's follows someone else around, this means other woman is more attractive. In man's jealousy there is pride and defense; in woman's jealousy there is weakness and infirmity. The hunter can go anywhere he wants, but the prey goes wherever she gets to go. Perhaps this man goes away just as a trick. If you want to have him, you should be very jealous, but show little jealousy.

Agony columns of the dailies in the Republican times offered significant clues on daily problems and common norms about love affairs, maternity and coupling. Following the general framework drawn by the republican regime, they counseled readers by referring to a secular and western-oriented morality, and simultaneously they encouraged marriage and maternity as the primal goal in life. The conservative tones of the counsels were not exaggerated, rather, they offered a 'reasonable freedom' or 'limited freedom' to young women for catching happiness in the newly established republican life.

4.6. A Journal for Modern Republican Mothers: *Ana*

Doctor Fuat Umay, apart from being the deputy of Kırklareli and directing the *Society for the Protection of Children* as the founding father, initiated the publication of a periodical, namely *Ana* (Mother) from the very beginning of 1938. Although he did not publish any article, Doctor Umay encouraged his colleagues, especially the female ones from the National Assembly for contributing to such a crucial journal on the child education and maternity themes, in line with the larger aim of *Ana*, which is to spread the task of the protection of Turkish children among the families in which the children were born. While the first issue contains quite sentimental lines on the beauty of mothering from Behçet Kemal Çağlar's poem *Mother and Child*, that of "The most sacred love is in the voice uttering 'My Mom!'; 'My Child!' is the sweetest melody of the world," the boarding committee confessed that any journal dealing exclusively with child-rearing and child-raising would be boring. That is why, *Ana*, instead of covering merely maternal responsibilities and duties, was planned to be more colorful.

In supporting the colorfulness of *Ana*, two contests are announced: the *Robust Baby Contest* and the *Lullaby of the Republican Child Contest*. For the former, the parents having the babies from 15 days-old to 2 years old are considered proper for application. While applying, they should send first a nude or light-clothed picture of the baby; second, a document showing the date of birth, and the height and weight of the child when the picture is taken and lastly, a document informing the place of birth and the place of the photo-studio. The winner would be awarded financially, i.e., 25 liras. The first contest aims to encourage the common republican ideal that of having robust and healthy generation. Parallel to this ideal, the latter contest also underlines the importance of raising republican children, yet an emphasis given to the soul. One crucial thing is wanting in taming the soul of republican children: a republican lullaby. Nothing would be more valuable than listening to the republican ideals by birth from the sweetest voice on earth, that of mothers in the making of the republican children. Given the richness of the lullabies in our folklore, it is stated, a new lullaby ringing the melody of our national lullabies should promptly be arranged. The winner would get 30 liras.

Apart from the lullabies and lyrics, small stories revolving around maternal affection and national sentiment give color to *Ana*. While the similar themes will be redundant later, from the very first issue the worth of woman is associated with her potential mothering. The story “Düşünce Ayrılığı” (Different Ideas) narrates a meeting of two young women, Nilüfer and Seniha, whose friendship goes back to their high school years. Nilüfer is a very attractive and stylish one; her husband is old but a rich man. Seniha’s beauty and life is quite modest; yet her husband fits her. Significance in this story is expressed in Seniha’s analysis of women who are divided into three:

One is the perfect representative of physical beauty...Such a woman is sought after only for a moment. That is all...That much adored woman will eventually be the woman of everyone. The second type is the one who needs nothing but love; her life is devoted to a big love. This woman is passionate and full of love. Her love is limited; there is no room for children... The third kind is the one who tries to find her ideal in her nest, one who loves her husband and respect him, one who adores her children, who sees the beauty of life in her children. This woman helps her husband in his bad as well as good days; she is strong. And the society is based upon such woman. For me, any woman who does not love children, who does not appreciate the importance of raising children is not different from the handicapped. (*Ana* January 1938, 21)

Seniha’s analysis on women will be made clearer in the second issue. In the opening page, it is explained that women have played significant roles, but invisible roles compared to men; however, the most significant role of women in human history is played through the children they raised. As mothers, their contribution to their country, nation and to humanity is incomparable. Mothering contributes to women themselves too, because, as the editorial page of *Ana* declared “the greatest ornament and honor of a woman is motherhood” (February 1938, 4). Even the fallen women can be dignified by being a mother. And the weak women can be strong with having a baby, as a mother in the story of Mükerrerrem Kamil Su, entitled “Ana Sevgisi” (Maternal Love,) says to the judge when demanding her child:

Raising my child and preparing him as a good, honest, patriotic man for his society is my greatest ideal. Judges! Do not fear from a mother who loves her child. I want to raise my child. Even if she is the poorest and the most ill-disposed woman on earth, she would never make a bad thing. Because, there would be a power, which prevent her at the beginning of any bad act

and would empower and give hope to her in front of any difficulty: this is *maternal love* (Su, 1938a, 26).[emphasis added]

Mükerrem Kamil continued her similar arguments later, and declared that anyone who stating the bachelorhood as sultanate is the enemy of society (Su 1938b, 8-9): double-bind of the word sultanate is clear: anyone who talks about the sultanate in the age of Republic is already marked as an enemy of the regime, and yet finding the sultanate by sustaining celibacy is a firmer enemy for the current aim of the Republic, which is to increase the number of Turkish population.

However, the Republic granted “infinite and great rights” to Turkish women as Emine Ortaç explained, in her article “What do we understand from education?” As a response to what Turkish woman must do is “to raise Turkish youth who would work through exalting cultural causes of the Republic over their personal interests” (Ortaç 1938, 14). Raising Turkish youth seems urgent to Ortaç, because in the republican era the young without witnessing the sad past of their nation had spent a happy and peaceful childhood. Turkish women have to educate their daughters who are the candidates of marriage and mothering on the national past which was full of disasters, frustrations and the lost, and thus our young girls consciously should know the importance of the task of being mothers. As the professional women in the Republican age are seriously attached to their career, the family women who attach their life to the happiness of their families should realize their task of mothering and wifeness. In exalting the level of our country, the role of mother is the most important one. The level of a country is measured by the level of morality and character. As well, the foundation of the morality and character is not the school, but the mother’s embrace in the first place (Ortaç 1938, 14)

The deputy, Esmâ Noyan, also touched upon the role of moral education, by saying: “most of the parents do not know that the education given to children at the early ages will directly affect their health and their morality in their maturity. Although some of the parents would acknowledge the importance of health-care,

they never know how a strong and healthy mind and morality would help their children in future (Noyan 1938, 4).

Similarly, Güzide Alpar, as a lawyer illuminates the duty of mothers towards their children. According to her, for the civilized countries of our age one of the most crucial matters is bringing up generation, raising children. Raising children according to the contemporary conditions; teaching them their rights and responsibilities is the duty on the shoulder of mothers; thus, mothers carry the most difficult task of the age. The Turkish mother has found her being in terms of child care as well as in all laws including the family law only in the Republican era. Before the Republic, her position in the family amounts to that of slave and thus she had no rights at all. However, today there is a full-fledged family union....Parties in the family, the wife and the husband, use their rights according to the Civil Code. There is no need for favor and clemency, because a woman has her own rights. (1938, 14)

Kazım Nami Duru explains that if a mother knows the seriousness and appreciates the responsibility of mothering, then undoubtedly she is the real head of the family. However, such an exalted status is not given to them for being arrogant and dominating husbands; such status is given them for the sake of the sacredness of their duties and the heaviness of their responsibilities. If a mother cannot appreciate this fact, then she deserves neither the most exalted status, nor any maternal status (1938, 7).

Behind such an incessant emphasis on the responsibilities and heavy tasks of women lies a prejudice on women. As the editorial page of the sixth issue, entitled “Tatmin Edilmeyen Kadın” (The Women Who are not Satisfied) of the sixth issue suggests women’s desires and demands are enormous. Although all human beings are in need of satisfying their material, spiritual, emotional and passionate desires, women are greedier than men:

Woman is physiologically greedier than man and she is more assertive and stubborn in her desire. We could not find the patience and toleration of

man in woman. We would daily see the continual struggle of woman against her deprivation when for some urgent reason she deprives of one of her desire. The woman wants cloths; wants shoes, aspires to conform to fashion; she is indulged in going out and amusing herself. Dissatisfaction of these desires remains the woman in torture. Material impossibility does not affect her incessant desire... Although the demands of the man are limited, the woman who moves convulsively for her infinite demand would always find a cause of frustration (1938, 4).

The solution of *Ana* to the insatiable wishes of women is motherhood. It is claimed that, “her baby in the woman’s embrace would sooth her various desires, appetites and passions. The love for that baby, the maternal affection, crowds out other desires. The first smile of the baby gives more elevated pleasure to the Mother over the satisfaction of many other feelings. A mother-woman is a woman with a purpose... She receives the greatest happiness, peace and comfort thanks to motherhood. How happy she is! (1938, 4)

Achieving the quality of mothering not only gives women an immense happiness and joy in life, but guarantees the survival of any marriage. Even the deepest love between the wife and the husband cannot be the foundation of a blissful family nest. In the 8th issue, the editorial page, entitled “Boşanma Bir Lekedir” (Divorce is a stigma), it is explained that in the Republican period, marriage institution obtained its deserving status and thus divorce became a rare case. It is stated that, “since the foundation of a nation based upon the family and since the prosperity and peace of the nation is only possible with that of the family, our familial life requires a further investigation. The divorce is completely opposite of the familial prosperity and peace” (1938, 4). In line with this argument, although divorce is a legal right, and not only men but also women can apply for divorce, its moral justification can only be made through a concrete reason that is the case of infertility. This topic is narrated in a story, entitled “Çocuğumuz Olacak” (We will have a baby). Şefika left her nest after reading a letter that belongs to her husband Süleyman to his friend. Süleyman states that he is very happy with his wife as his wife repeatedly expresses, “I am your lover, wife, lady, concubine, servant, cook and attendant!” and unfortunately “Ah.. It hurts telling this. For seven years we could not have even one child...If my wife was another woman other than Şefika,

a woman I love less, I would show no hesitation to leave her”(Ragıp Şevki 1938, 13).

This is not to suggest, however, that women should leave all their wifhood responsibilities after having children. In the advice pages of the 12th issue of *Ana* entitled *Dert Ortağı* it is explained that each family has its own daily matters. Most of them do not know how to deal with these matters and go astray and get damaged. In the advice pages daily grief of the families is analyzed and troubleshooting is realized with efficient recommendations. In advising a young woman with 2 years old, advisor writes that:

At the beginning your husband was very devoted to your home and you. This is quite natural. However, later you had rejected his invitations for cinema or friendly parties by stating ‘I love staying at home and I do not like going out.’...You have preferred staying alone at home instead of happily obeying his desire to go out together. This is your first fault in the emergence of carelessness. The second point: you said that, ‘I used to care your dress and finery very much; I was known among my friends in terms of my smartness and elegance.’ You have thought that a woman should consider her home instead of her cloths and you neglected yourself for the comfort and peace of your husband at home. No, my daughter, you made a mistake. I do not tell you that you do not care for your home...Your basic task should not have made you forget your duty of womanhood and wifhood. (1938, 6)

4.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I studied the woman question in the early Republic through drawing upon various written materials which address young girls and women. The main common point of the texts appeared as dailies, magazines, medical pamphlets, school course and narratives, such as novels and stories was their counseling tone. The advice given to women were considered as a possible remedy for the oscillation of Turkish women between the public and the private, between visibility and invisibility, between chastity and indecency, between virtue and freedom, between the new republican life and traditional Ottoman life.

This chapter is based upon different sources including the significant legal regulations, especially the Public Hygiene Law and continues by delineating the

advice books on the health, civility rules and moral values for women published by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health as well as by other publishing houses. In addition, I looked into how the similar themes were popularized in the newspapers, namely *Yeni Gün* and *Son Posta* dailies' agony columns, entitled respectively *Hanımabla'nın Sütunu* and *Kadın ve Kalp İşleri*. In these columns, reader's letters were published or summarized, and certain advices were given to overcome the obstacles readers entangled in their personal affairs. Lastly, I concentrated on a significant institution of the republican era, directed at the domestic and national training of young women, the Girls' Institutes. I suggested that these Institutes reflected the same modern mentality in its establishment and curricular aims. In tracing these institutes, a magazine, *Ana* (Mother), which was published by *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* (*Society for the Protection of the Children*), shed some light on my analysis. In analyzing these various texts, I have found out that domesticity, mothering and wifehood were considered as the main duties of republican women, to use Kashani-Sabet's (2005) language, patriotic commodities for exalting the Turkish nation to the level of western countries.

Feminist scholars of republican history have already shown how the image of the Turkish woman in the early republican era was constructed by both pompous as well as merciful statements. The Turkish women were deemed as "ideal," however, simultaneously they were "pitiful" and in need of intervention. Zehra Arat reminds us that "the construction of 'the ideal Turkish woman' was an essential component of the Republican elite's 'nation-building' project" (1998, 2). The most significant characteristic qualifying Turkish woman as ideal was her "virtuousness." In the republican political tradition, virtuous citizens, who willingly and passionately accomplish their civic duties are the bases of a good political community. But what it meant to be a "virtuous Turkish woman" in the early republican era? As the statements opening this chapter, as well as various recommendations in popular pamphlets and speeches addressing women have shown, the basic republican duty committed to women was "raising generations," and these generations, to cite Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, were expected to be

“capable of preserving and protecting the Turk with his mentality, strength and determination” (in Arat 1998, 1). Despite the duty committed to women was obvious, her elevation to virtuousness was also another dimension that reproductive coupling cannot exhaust. Mustafa Kemal further noted that “the woman who is the source and social foundation of the nation can fulfill her duty only if she is virtuous” (in Arat 1998, 1). In fact, as soon as women were concerned, virtue always connoted to sexual purity. The sexual implication of being a virtuous Turkish woman was also the task with which this chapter to handle. Ayşe Durakbaşa argues that “however modernist an ideology it was, Kemalism could not alter the traditional norms of morality that guaranteed a biologically defined and socially constraining femininity for women” (1998, 148). This chapter rather exposed the very modernity, rather than traditional face of the sexual morality that the republican regime aimed at endowing Turkish women. It was the elements deriving from the scientist and especially the medical discourse that were articulated into the republican moral discourse in shaping virtuous women. In the next chapter, I will discuss how sexual advice literature recommended women as well as men to be virtuous and healthy in their sexual life.

CHAPTER 5

A VICTORIAN SUPPLEMENT TO THE NATIONAL PEDAGOGY:

PRIMERS ON A HEALTHY AND MORAL SEXUALITY

The most healthy and natural time for sexual union, the one which is particularly most suitable for making a baby is the time after dinner when the digestion is completed and [couples are] in bed. Then the body is relaxed and able to breast the load of copulation. Both woman's and man's body and all their bodily parts wait for it in completely suitable desire. Other times than this, an extraordinary desire and appetite would perhaps awake. Nevertheless, all these [copulations] should not be done any time...For instance, when a man and a woman is drunk, when they are tired, when they return from a special event in the night, they should not couple; they should wait for it until the next morning and even better until the next evening. When a woman is menstruating, or when she is in childbed or in the time of breastfeeding, couples should abstain from copulation, because this act would be a great misdeed committed to both the baby and the mother. Apart from that, when there is strong mental fatigue, woman or man should not express a desire for copulation. It is observed that the babies beget in these times are generally born unhealthy and some of them become foolish and cranky as they grow up (Korok 1937b, 23-24).

5.1. Introduction

Victorian physicians, Wendy Kline explains, assumed the body as the beholder of a limited amount of energy: "If any organ drew excessively on this limited amount of nervous energy," then "the body would be depleted, an illness and insanity might occur" (2001, 61). Accordingly, Victorians considered "frequent sexual intercourse and masturbation as a threat to both physical health and moral character" (Kline 2001, 61-62). In a similar vein, during the early republican era a certain literature emerged ringing the Victorian morals on the ground that this literature prohibited masturbation, encouraged a small number of but fertile sexual intercourse and advised a strict sexual monitoring of republican generations.

In this chapter, I read this literature promoting the elimination of sexual illiteracy as a supplement to the republican politico-pedagogical and politico-moral discourse, which invests the body, cares for the physical as well as moral qualities of people, and aims to raise a healthy and virtuous generations for the sake of the future of the Turkish nation. Put it another way, this chapter explores an articulation of sexuality, health and morality during the early republican period. It scrutinizes this articulation by focusing on the work of Daniş Remzi Korok (1905-1976), who wrote 32 popular sexual and marital advice primers between 1936 and 1937. These books resembled—at times directly copied—the Western sexual advice literatures; yet they expressed certain differences by bringing the arguments that compare the Western recommendations and the Ottoman/Islamic (traditional) prohibitions on sexual matters, and by paying a special attention to the republican ideals in the making of healthy, strong and virtuous Turkish citizens.

As opposed to the received wisdom, which underlines state-centrism and conceives of dissemination of republican concerns as the top-down tasks of the state elite, this chapter also aims to underline the efforts outside state officials in the making of the republican discourse. In other words, while the members of the People's Houses, certain governmental authorities, officials, especially pedagogues and physicians were acted as the significant interlocutors of the republican regime, certain self-proclaimed experts, columnists, and medical and moral popularizers became the volunteers for spreading the republican ideals and advice to improve the civilized conduct of life among Turkish people.

5.2. Educating Intimacy, Creating Healthy and Strong Citizens

As I discussed in Chapter 2, scholars of Turkish modernization have underlined the novelty of rationalist, positivist and scientist stands of the republican discourse in shaping the public sphere, yet very few shed a light on the efforts given by the republican elite for regulating the intimate and affective structure of the republican subjects. Many prominent scholars have expressed that the Turkish revolution is a “total revolution” in desiring the consummate transformation of the people, and yet none of them has offered a detailed analysis of the transformation in the private

sphere. Ayşe Kadioğlu, among others, underlined rightly that “the republican elite defined not only the public duties of the citizens, but also their private roles, dress codes and their recreational activities. It is then possible to argue that the notion of Turkish citizenship was defined from above by the Republican elite, by disregarding the privacy of individuals” (Kadioğlu 2006). But she remained silent how the private roles and privacy of the republican subjects were shaped. In fact, disregarding liberal privacies Kadioğlu mentioned is one thing, but ignoring intimacies is quite another: I contend that within the authoritarian culture of the republican regime, the republican elite did not respect the privacies of people; however, they cared for the private sphere.

Berkes noted that “the secularization of civil law is considered as the most constructive achievement because the wheels of the society were thus put on a new track” (1964, 467). Unfortunately, he gave us no clue on the repercussions of the civil code on intimacy which outlawed polygamy, deemed void the religious coupling, and brought about a seemingly egalitarian and secular vision to the Turkish family.

In dealing with the pre-republican era, Somel writes that, “the tragic romances of Aşık Garip, Aşık Kerem and Tahir ile Zühre, possibly strengthened the sense of the impossibility of attaining perfect love through a sensual relationship and perhaps reinforced feelings of mysticism and other-worldliness” (2001, 251). Coming to the republican era, however, sexual primers illustrated the possibility of perfect love through sensual and sexual relations and emphasized this-worldliness, which is the heart of the republican morality.

In this connection, this chapter is an initial attempt to study sexual and intimate politics in the early republican era. By focusing on Korok’s works, my aim is not centralizing Daniş Remzi Korok as an author; rather I seek focus on specific knowledge on sexuality and sexual morality in the early republican era. I call this knowledge in a Foucaultian stance as “subjugated knowledge.” “Subjugated knowledges are” Michel Foucault explains “...blocs of historical knowledge which

were present but disguised within the body of functionalist and systematizing theory...(which have been) located down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition and scientificity” (1980, 82). Generally speaking, popular books constitute a genre which would easily be deemed naïve and unscientific. Similarly, Korok’s popular books, even though written by a scientific claim as opposed to the superstitious beliefs of the past about the sexual health and morals, have not caught the attention of the dominant scholarship so far. And yet the themes Korok’s advice revolves around were the themes of other much-welcomed elite of the republican era. In what follows, I outline general concerns of certain aspects of the republican elite about sexual health and morality of republican citizens, and then I explore the specificity of Korok’s contribution.

Scholars of Turkish history have acknowledged that the elite in the early republican era had countless advice for people. Almost all of the newspapers and many journals had special pages for counseling people about the tricks of the new civilization and new national life. In *Demiryolu Mecmuası*, for example, readers were advised to recognize the importance of population politics and to improve their hygiene knowledge. The Engineer H. Yakup particularly recommended the following books: Doctor Karl Dohrn’s *24 Saatin Hıfzıssıhhası* (Hygiene for 24 Hours); Doctor Victor Pauchet’s *Stay Young* (Genç Kalınız) and *The Path of Happiness* (Saadet Yolu); İzzet Bey’s translated volume *Family Physician* (Aile Hekimi) and Doctor Şükrü Kamil’s *Be Your own Physician* (Kendi Kendinin Doktoru), by explaining that any civilized man would have at least one of these books, which focus on hygiene rules and sanitary manners in daily life, and added: “Of course reading these books are hundred thousand times more beneficial than reading Aşık Garip and the similar books” (H. Yakup 1933, 581).

Given the poverty of books written in the new Turkish script (Başgöz and Wilson 1968, 65), various books were translated for enriching the libraries and improving the knowledge of people: among these translated books, the ones on pedagogical matters were significant. The works of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1931a, 1931b); Adolph Ferrier (1932); Karl Hamper (1931); William James (1931); Immanuel

Kant (1933); and John Dewey (1934) on education were targeting rather elite circles. Apart from these foreign sources, the Turkish pedagogues published many books about their reflection on the philosophy and the practice of pedagogy: Fikret Kanat's *Terbiye ve Tedris Tarihi* (1930); *Muasır Terbiye Ülküleri ve Terbiyede Yenilikler*; and *Pedagoji* (1937), İsmail Hakkı's *Umumi Pedagoji: Muhit, Mevzu, Mürebbi, Gaye ve Usul* (1930); *Tarih ve Terbiye*(1935); Sadrettin Celâl's *Yeni Terbiye ve Tedris Tekniği* (1931) and Zeki Ülkü's *Terbiye ve Ruhیات Hakkında Bir Türk Tezi* (1936).

Moreover, there were many popular, "self-help" books for common people, young women and men, and especially for parents to guide their children in the prickly path of the new republican life. Felix Thomas' *Oğullarımız: Aile İçinde Terbiye, Ebeveynin Günahları* (*Our Sons: Sins of Parents in Family*) (1931) and *Kızlarımız: Aile İçinde Terbiye, Ebeveynin Günahları* (*Our Daughters. Sins of Parents in Family*) (1931); J.P. Ferriere's *Ailede Terbiye: Yedi Yaşına Kadar Çocukluk* (*Education in Family: Childhood until the Age of Seven*) (1933); Mahmut Şemsi's *Terbiyenin Biyolojik Temelleri* (*Biological Foundations of Education*) (1934); İsmail Hakkı's *Çocukların Terbiyesi*(*Education of Children*) (1948) were the books marking that child education was no longer considered conventional and spontaneous, but rather in need of expert knowledge and a deep scrutiny and regulation. The books written about manners were included: Feliha Sedat's *Genç Kızlara Muâşeret Usulleri* (*Etiquettes for Young Women*) (1932), Muhittin Dalkılıç's *Yeni Hayat Adamına Yeni Adab-ı Muâşeret* (*New Manners for Men in New Life*) (1932), Hidayet Ongan's *Talebeye Muâşeret Bilgisi*(*Etiquette Knowledge for Students*) (1938); Hüsnü Savaşçı's *Adab-ı Muâşeret* (*The Manners*) (1938); Zeki Zeren's *Bekarlık ve Evlilik: Bilgisi ve Öğütleri* (*Bachelorhood and Marriage: Knowledge and Recommendations*)(1938), S. Arel's *Halk ve Talebeye Muâşeret Bilgileri*(*Etiquette Knowledge for People and Students*) (1939), Samih Nafiz Tansu's *Talebeye Muâşeret Usulleri* (*Manners for Students*) (1939) and again Zeki Zeren's *Sihhat, Terbiye ve Giyim Hakkında Umumi Prensip ve Adetler* (*General Principles and Customs on Health, Education and Attire*) (1940).

Generally speaking, men and women were under a constant flow of recommendations about how to be dressed at a ballroom, how to dance, how to design their living room, how to rear their children, which books should be read in the first instance, why sportive activities are necessary, and so on (Göle 1997; Bozdoğan 2001). An emblematic one was Feliha Sedat's seminar-based counseling book for girls. Feliha Sedat (1932), as an educator, observes that there is no guide for her students, the young girls. She explains in her book for girls that life has changed; society has changed in the new Turkey. In her account, this change is a good and happy event, especially for young girls. Feliha Sedat repeated the modernist arguments in commenting on "traditional" women: yesterday's girls were mostly illiterate, otherwise they would have seen a great discrepancy between the knowledge in the books they read and the life they experienced. They were timid, veiled, shy and pitiful. (1932, 3). The new republican life, on the other hand, has created vivid, dignified, and joyful girls, who are as literate as men, who are sportsman as men are, who have no difference from men at any level. Thanks to the republic, the Turkish girls have become the civilized girls of the civilized life. However, admitted Feliha Sedat, passing from the bad past to vivid life created several difficulties and questions for the young girls: "are not young women, who have gained a total liberty and have just emancipated from the thousands rules and superstitions of the past, right when they could not determine how to regulate their attitudes in the new life?" (1932, 3) She explains to the Turkish young girls, that they have to face a difficulty with which no other country's girls would suffer in arranging their social acts. A French girl can learn how to act in the saloon for example from her elder sisters or from her mother; she can copy whatever she likes. However, the Turkish girls have to create all the requirements of new life by themselves; they have no role models in choosing their outfits; in deciding beneficial reading materials and more importantly in arranging their social relations, the Turkish girls are unaided: "Your noble soul needs a model, a guide. I have heard this demand from different girls in our country. This book is for you" (1932, 3). In spite of the difficulties, Feliha Sedat mentions that, the Turkish girls are very lucky. Unlike their mothers and elder sisters, they are blessed for having an immense contentment: society has opened all of its doors for

them. They are entitled to enter everywhere as soon as they remain upright and virtuous. However, this extensive freedom comes with a price: They have to regulate their conduct well, and they have to watch themselves and control themselves everywhere. Otherwise, their fortune would not be good.

One of the significant magazines of the republican era, *Muhit*, was full of pedagogical recommendations, including child education, hygiene and sports. Nevzat Mahmut called for a new pedagogy centralizing the body (1929, 664), Selim Sırrı Tarcan examined if readers have qualities of a good sportsman (1929, 42), Mustafa Şekip [Tunç] addressed mothers to teach the essence of child-rearing. For him, before the publication of Rousseau's *Emile*, there was no scientific child education. Accordingly before the republican era, the old women (mothers) were giving their energy to their husbands; however, the new women in the democratic family should love and care for their children in the first place (1929, 6-7). The number of the Turkish population as well concerned *Muhit*: several articles concentrated both on the number of birth as well as extending the life span (February 1932, 30).⁷⁹ Ahmet Cevat underlined the scarcity of population in Turkey. He underlined that even Malthus noticed the scarcity of Turkish population during the Ottoman Empire. Yet he believed that Kemalism would solve this problem which is threatening "our national existence" (1931, 27).

There was also a special informatory and recommendatory literature on sexual conducts such as Ahmet Asım's *Kısırlık: Halk için (Infertility: For People)* (1930); A. M.[no full name]'s *Tenasülî Hayat Hakkında Gizli Musahabeler (Secret Talks about the Life of Reproduction)* (1933), Nebahat Hamit's *Cinsi Terbiye (Sexual Education)* (1933); Sicard de Ploujoles' *Gençliğin Cinsi Terbiyesi (Sexual Education of the Young)* (1935); Mazhar Osman Uzman's *İdiş ve Kısır Etme : Siniri Sağlam Çocuk Yetiştirme (Castration and Sterilization: Raising Mentally Strong Children)* (1935) and his *Öjenik (Eugenics)* (1939); Kemal Çağlar's *Tenasüli İktidarsızlık ve Tedavisi (Sexual Impotency and Its Treatment)* (1936);

⁷⁹ For another article please see "Nüfus ve Hayat Meselesi: Medeni Dünyada İnsanın Vasatı Ömrü Uzuyor", (April 1932, 26).

Marie Stop's *İzdivaçta Aşk (Marital Love)*(1940). The underlying mentality of this literature is that they were all searching the truth of sexuality: How could one get a better sexual life for oneself, for society and for the nation? The answer in most cases was substantiated with scientific observations as strategy for justifying their truth claim on sexual conducts: marriage appears as the unique institution that provided one with a happy life, healthy sexuality and fertile intercourse; that would also provide one with accomplishing his/her duties to society and the nation. The matter in this literature was not reducing sexuality to procreation, but to invest it as a great potential in regulating society and in furthering the national strength and progress.

5.2.1. Sexual Advice for Republican Citizens: “Lie Healthy and Think of the Republic!”

It is commonplace to argue that “Lie still and think of the Empire,” is the wedding-night advice Queen Victoria was supposed to have given her daughter (Lystra 1992). I speculatively ask what would be the wedding-night advice for the young in the early republican era. At a time when the new nation was suffering from population problems⁸⁰ because of wars, migrations, epidemics and infant mortalities, the republican elite, especially the physicians, resorted to a pro-natalist and eugenicist discourse (Alemdaroğlu 2005). The aim was increasing the number of population, creating strong and healthy generations and bringing back the image of “strong as a Turk.” As a matter of fact, after WWI, concerns over populations with their number, health and longevity increased all over the world. Social hygiene and eugenicist arguments gained currency not only in the US and Germany, but in Soviet Russia. Scientific community, moralists as well as politicians were in agreement about the benefit of marital union. Marriage was encouraged primarily for generating several babies and this was considered as the primary duty of truly patriots in any country. The problem was not making babies only, but keeping them alive, healthy, as well as raising them as useful and

⁸⁰ Feroz Ahmad writes that “the Turkish Republic was not confronted with a land question of the type which confronts so many newly-independent Third-World nations, resulting from a large population and insufficient land....The real problem of agrarian Turkey was not the shortage of land, but the shortage of labor.” (1981, 153)

virtuous members of their society, were of significance. The new Turkey was no exception.

In a speech delivered to the Grand National Assembly, Mustafa Kemal, in 1923, stated that, “the population question of a country is one the most important, crucial problems” (1923, 2). In his account, population question was associated to administrative, military, financial and economic problems of a country. For this reason, knowing the exact number of population, collecting annual statistics about people, searching for the rate of increase and decrease of population, maintaining the conditions that provide the rise of Turkish population, and eliminating the causes leading to the scarcity of population are crucial in the republican era. Yet, he acknowledged that because of “infinite disasters and activities,” the national government did not yet direct a significant amount of energy to collect proper statistical knowledge about Turks and Turkish land. In addition, the legal procedures concerning population problems were not ready as Mustafa Kemal complained about it. In the next year, it was through the 1924 Village Law that republican concern over population and social hygiene was clarified. The village headmen were made responsible for registering the number of birth, death, marriage and divorce. These records were required to send to registrars in town and cities in every month. Another crucial effort for exploring the truth about the Turkish population was the 1926 Sanitary and Social Geography of Turkey project of the Ministry of Interior. In a similar vein to the headmen, the sanitary director of each city was made responsible for recording the population number, and the rate of birth and death in villages and towns.

Before the republican era, along with the reformations efforts in the Ottoman Empire, several bureaus were established to collect statistical data on population in various towns and city centers. Toward the end of the 19th century, the Central Statistical Council was built. During the republican era, between 1926 and 1930, it was the Central Statistical Department that was collecting and producing statistical knowledge about the new nation. In 1927, the first census was accomplished. In 1930, this department was replaced by a new one, namely the General Directorate

of Statistics and in 1933, this directorate was enlarged to cover ten branches. Apart from providing the republican government with proper knowledge on the Turkish population, this directorate published (translation and original) many books for enlightening the reading public on the significance of demography in national life. Among these books, translations of M. Celal Aybar, the vice chair of the directorate, included W. Tompson's *Dünya Nüfusunun Son Temayülleri*, F. Boverat's *Avrupa Nüfusunun İstikbali*, F. Marsal's *Kanunların Nüfus İnkişafına Tesirleri*, E. Würzburger's *Umumi Harbin Nüfus Harekatına Tesirleri*. There were also writings on statistical affairs in different European countries. Another vice chair, Selim Sabit Aykut, also contributed to the translation of many books concerning demography: H. Kawan's *Nüfus ve Kıtliklar*, Bela Foldes' *Maddi ve İctimai Vaziyetin Evlenme, Doğum ve Ölüm Vakaları Üzerine Tesirleri*, Géza Kenedy's *Harp ve Nüfus Artması* and Gaston Bouthoul's *Cihanda Nüfus*.

While this literature marked the significance of the number of population, they also associated the population of a country with technical, moral and social progress. However, it was physicians who informed with patriotic sentiments, rather than statisticians that repeatedly underlined that qualitative transformation of the population was as important as quantitative one for national strength. Mahmud Sadi [Irmak], Mazhar Osman [Uzman], Fahreddin Kerim [Gökay] (later, the Minister of Health), Zeki Nasır [Barker] and other medical scholars contributed much to the political pedagogy of the Republic through fortifying the link between personal health and morality with national strength and republican politico-moral discourse. Irmak (1934) in his *Veraset ve İctimai, Terbiyevi Neticeleri* explained the rising importance of heredity and racial roots in European societies. However, his point was that while biological nature was important, education was essential in raising a strong Turkish generation. For this reason, pedagogical and national tasks of any responsible republican under the guise of *mürebbi* (educator) should be combining findings of biology and psychology. Concomitantly then, *mürebbi* would define psychic qualities of a baby, would help advance positive qualities, and would eliminate and discourage negative qualities,

and would direct people to the jobs that would fit their own qualities and to the needs of society. In addition, the educator would counsel on marriage.

The population problem seriously struck the republican elite in the 1930s. It would not be an exaggeration if one claims that the republican elite were seriously concerned with the shape, color, size, weight, height and the number of bodies in Anatolia. What is more striking, however, is the translation of these anxieties over bodily structure into the politico-moral domain. These translations would easily and quickly detect immoralities, criminal tendencies, psychic disorders and mental retardation from corporeal “deformities.” A body, which is “weak, thin and pale,” would belong to a syphilitic, to a masturbator and to the poor. It would be the body of the one who has no self-mastery over his inclinations; of the one who cannot transform his energies and bodily power into economic profit and national utility. It would be the body, which is parasitic, lazy and sick. As we know very well from the travel accounts of the republican elite that it would be the body of a peasant (Chapter 3).

In the republican mind, the physical qualities of Anatolian people as weak and sick did not give the essential qualities of the Turkish race. Rather, they expressed how much the Ottoman regime ignored Turks. In addition, the eastern moral and religious dispositions dominating the life of people before the republican order led to the powerlessness of Anatolian Turks. For the republican elite material and physical qualities were not severed from moral questions. Burhan Asaf [Belge] underlined well how the republican concerns over bodies were intertwined with republican morals:

We could learn both from our own history and from the songs and tales of Europeans how Turkish society raised strong people before the 19th century. However later, generations retrogressed. The yellow and dreadful breath of malaria in Anatolia caused the emergence of children with drum-like (swollen) stomachs and with thin and twiggy limbs. In cities and towns, bow legged and weak generations began to appear...We...would like to have ten, hundred thousands [citizens] who have embraced republican morality and who have strong and beautiful bodies (1932, 72).

Although history and European records offer the truth about the essential physical qualities of the Turks, even the Turkish elite do not know well about the Turkish body. Irmak underlined the importance of folkloric studies, which would prove that “we are a nation of culture with a very strong racial accumulation” (Irmak 1934, 79). Given the lack of folkloric studies on the Turkish nation, some people assumed the inferiority of the Turkish race. “There have been ones who suggest copulation of our nation in large number with other nations for exalting our racial accumulation,” Irmak remarked critically, and announced safely that since our nation is already *superior* [sic], we do not need to copulate with other nations; on the contrary, republican government should prohibit Turkish people’s marital union with other people coming from foreign nations. In his account, racial empowerment of the Turkish nation would be possible through internal marital unions. Since the result of extra-national unions are suspect, it is better to encourage Turkish people to elevate national and racial qualities by strict control of marital unions (1934, 83).⁸¹

Fahreddin Kerim Gökay also underlined the importance of regulating the copulation, the marital union of Turks. The most urgent question of revolutionary Turkey seemed to him “Eugenique,” or racial hygiene. For Gökay, it is pointless to ignore racial hygiene of our superior nation at a time when the republican government considers the betterment of animals and plants through inviting foreign experts and establishing special institutes for that purpose (1934a, 207). In Gökay’s analysis, “our sacred lands,” have potential for feeding more and more population than the current one. For this reason, improving physical and mental health of the population was nothing but the clearest target of the Turkish revolution. In a similar vein to Irmak, Gökay also criticized inter-racial (national) marriage, because, in his arguments, if two different races unite, one should

⁸¹ The idea that bringing European men to impregnate Turkish women for making Turkish race superior has been attributed to the dedicated westernist, materialist and anti-religious Doctor Abdullah Cevdet. As Hanioglu shows *Tevhid-i Efkar* circulated this idea through the headline “Avrupa’dan Damızlık Adam Celbini İsteyen de Var”, 12 Kanun-isani 1340, No.1276. However, Şükrü Hanioglu rejects this argument by explaining that Abdulllah Cevdet suggested to bring farmer families from Europe to increase both the number of population and the quality of farming (Hanioglu 1981, 387-388).

consider its psychological result, which is led by unification of two different characters under one chest. Hybrids, in Gökay's account, were remarkable by their moral weakness, unreliability, infidelity, and powerlessness (1934a, 210).

The prospect couples of the 1930s were encouraged to choose Turkish partners; however, this was the only one among much advice of the republican elite for regulating coupling. As a matter of fact, counseling prospect couples about the tricks of finding a proper partner was not peculiar to republican elite. In Germany in 1926, the Ministry for Social Welfare issued a decree for launching marital counseling centers "to advice prospective mates and parents about their eugenic fitness for marriage and procreation" (Grosman 1995, 9). The experts in these centers were encouraging "responsible marriages," which would generate "healthy and high-quality offspring," and they were also discouraging the proliferation of the "unfit." In Turkey, the establishment of similar institutions was also considered. Referring to these centers, Irmak stated that, "until the establishment of marriage counsel centers (İzdivaç Müşavere Teşkilatı), it is our duty to disseminate biological knowledge about heredity among people and to attempt to evoke the feeling of responsibility of prospective mates toward the nation" (1934, 83). For having a better Turkish generation, Irmak encouraged love-match marriages, rather than wealth and decent-seeking marriage, because in his account, love is a way of natural selection (1934, 38). Gökay, on the other hand, criticized love-match marriage:

In marriage, one should give more significance to reason rather than emotion. The consequence of marriages which are based either solely on excessive love or solely on materialism is not good. Marriages based on passionate love appear mostly among dreamy hysterics. One would observe disappointment and thus psychological trauma in these people. Marriage which is based upon material and self-interest in most cases leads to tragic ends. Our advice in this condition is that parties should investigate each other well before marriage. They should give great importance to physical as well as psychological health. It is necessary to collect an extensive knowledge about the families. It is the marriage that based upon reality rather than the ones based upon meaningless considerations and inspirations is the basis of racial hygiene. In order for increasing our national strength and energy, we never deviate from this principle. It is only in this way that we would act in accordance with our national population cause (1934, 211-212).

What the republican regime expected from its citizens, men and women was that sexual lust is also a national resource which should not be wasted carelessly, because this would lead to sexual infertility and population scarcity. In such a context the wedding-night advice in the early republican era would be that: *Lie healthy and think of the Republic!*

5.2.2. Responsible Citizens, Responsible Sexuality

Despite the fact that no marital counseling center was built in Turkey in the 1930s, republican elite, physicians and some motivated mentors were not faced with difficulty for disseminating their advice. Newspapers, booklets, people's houses, and schools harbored incessant sermons about how to choose a proper mate, and more particularly how to control sexual desire in line with republican politico-moral concerns. Frank Morth wrote that in the first decades of the twentieth century, sexual education became a public issue in England: "The sexual instinct...was to be channeled into healthy and responsible parenthood....There growing consensus that sex hygiene teaching held out the best assurance for eliminating vice" (2000, 128). In the same vein, the republican government published several leaflets and books on sexual education of the young, the People's Houses and state schools organized many speeches on how to regulate sexual instincts, some voluntary institutions initiated public talks especially with the young about sexual needs and their satisfaction, and private publishing houses translated and published the popular Western sexual conduct books in Turkish.

In the first issue of *Ülkü*, a semi-official journal of the republican regime, Doctor Zeki Nasır [Barker] touched upon the importance of marital inspection: "Our government has guaranteed for a long time that the marrying young couples are free from the ills and the diseases that would threaten the Turkish race and generation" (Barker 1932, 74).

By stating that the family established by the ones suffering from venereal diseases cannot find health, happiness and prosperity in life, Nasır underlined the necessity

to regulate sexual behaviors of the young and educate their sexual desire by facilitating and encouraging sportive activities. He also added: “Coordinating the sportive aims with the sexual education of the young is the most efficient and fruitful effort. Heading his way with the sportive ideals, a young could not suffer from the uncontrollable and unruly and mostly harmful behaviors of puberty” (1932, 75). What Zeki Nasır implicitly stated about the surveillance of sexuality was explicitly voiced in the later issues of *Ülkü*.

The words of Gökay, a very famous psychiatric professor, a passionate republican and an activist of the People's Houses and later the Minister of Health, are worth analyzing at length. In the article *Psychic Health of Children*, which appeared in *Ülkü*, Gökay (1934b) explains that both girls and boys experience radical change when their sexual drives awaken. Apart from the physical alteration, their psychic structures express significant transformations: they become very sensitive about their personal dignity and, at times, they act quite moodily. In these conditions, Gökay suggests parents to be patient and carefully watch their children. In fact, inspection of the children should be launched much earlier than the age of puberty. Children are required to be informed about the ‘truth’ of their sexual character. The easiest way for enlightening children on sexuality is an analogy to the nature, because the nature offers the most normal way of fulfillment of sexual desires and centralizes procreation, rather than pleasure. If children are not informed by their parents, they would be poisoned by certain “secret books” and by the secret talks amongst their peer groups. The most crucial lesson must be given about the harms of masturbation. Boys should be informed about sexual matters when they arrive at seven. In order to prevent their onanist tendency, they should not be permitted to sleep with feather-pillows and on soft beds. Boys should not spend lengthy time in their bed when they are awake. Their time in the bathroom should be limited as well. Sportive activities are recommended for exhausting physical energy. Girls’ onanism also worries Gökay. According to him, girls become very sensitive and weak and need resting during their menstruation. Their genital organs should be kept clean and get protected from the cold. Parents should be watchful, before, during and after the puberty of their children. A good supervision guarantees

psychic and physical health and strength of the young generation. That was the ground of establishing happy families in the country (1934b, 284).

At another context, by referring to Sigmund Freud's arguments, Gökay detects sexual dissatisfaction and sexual needs in those women who were obsessed with cleanliness, and he suggests sexual regulation of children in order to prevent the rise of psychological illnesses during their adult life (1937, 4-5). Similarly, Mazhar Osman [Uzman] warned parents against the dangers of masturbation:

If a young started to be lazy, confused, and unhappy, one should consider first onanism...It makes young's eyelids, hands and fingers shake; shortens intelligence; makes him aggressive, curtails his self-esteem, it prevents his work and development, it kills his joy, it weakens his body, it leads to tuberculosis (1947, 324).

Mazhar Osman also informed his readers about the unpredictable and startling vehicles used by young girls and women for masturbation: "Banana, carrot, jug's lid, candle,...clasps" (1947, 329).

In a similar vein, Doctor Mukadder in the journal *Ev-İş* targeting to the women underlined the importance of sexual inspection of young girls and children. The most threatening evil for the girls is defined as masturbation, because in the author understanding, it is an untreatable disease; since the emancipation from such sexual deviation is almost impossible, the parents (mothers) should do better to prevent it before it begins. For preventing masturbation, Doctor Mukadder suggests that it is necessary to prevent all effects irritating child's sexual organ: because these irritations cause itching and itching causes masturbation (Mukadder 1937, 6). Masturbation, as Doctor Mukadder explains, destroys both the soul and the body of girls. If parents could not prevent their daughters' initiation to masturbation, they would resort to some tactics that would cease that habit such as sports, walking, cold and warm baths, swimming and gymnastics, which would kill bodily energies and sooth the souls (1937, 7).

Onanist proclivity of young girls worried Azmi Ömer (1933) as well. In his account, since novels, movies and indecent jokes would awake some untimely sexual feelings, some girls at the age of childhood turn into women. Such untimely awakening drags them to a terrible habit which he calls ambiguously as “hidden sin” and shame. Many city girls as the victim of such a dangerous habit know their misdeeds, Azmi Ömer declared; unfortunately, they do not truly recognize its dangers. Some use imagination and mind knowing the fact that some other ways would be harmful; while some other girls use their hands and various means to satisfy themselves. In either case they do an incredible wrong to themselves. These misdeeds exhaust reason and memory, cause acnes, takes away the light of eyes, diminish the bodily strength and drive them to madness. Rescuing from such misconduct is very difficult; it remains for years and it becomes hereditary and passes to children and grandchildren.

If the young girls learn to respect themselves and appreciate their importance and worth, they do not fall into such habits. But what if, inadvertently and unknowingly “you grip this habit, how do you save yourselves?” asks Azmi Ömer to the young girls, and he adds, “if I had not have such an information that certain *uneducated city girls* get this habit, I would not have mentioned such an ugly topic.”[emphasis added] Azmi Ömer warned young women as follows: “You should know that the body gets a sense of pleasure due to each and every natural duty. While eating, drinking, looking, walking, smelling and touching to certain beautiful objects, the body gets pleasure and enjoyment. And the sexual organs are open to influences, thus bad habits would easily emerge unintentionally. The excitement and effect that it stirs up are delightful and dangerous.” In this pleasing yet dangerous situation, a proper young girl should keep in her mind that “sexual excitement can only be permitted under the wedlock” (1933, 67).

The most comprehensive popular book on sexuality during the republican era was *Tenasüli Hayat Hakkında Gizli Musahabeler* (1933). As explained in its introduction, this book, consisting of 451 pages, was a combination of three books of a German, an Irish and a French scholar. This book was emerged as a necessity,

because “many books were already written about sanitary and sexual matters; however, they generally targeted experts and thus they were not enough to fulfill the real needs” (A.M. 1933, 3). In this sense it was an assertive project, which would satisfy all needs of the young and the elderly, married and singles, and all classes of people about every stage of sexual life (1933, 3).

As the potential readers of the book suggest, the publisher(s) detects an extensive lack of knowledge on sexual matters and links such lack to the Eastern mentality that assumed any knowledge on sexual life and sexual organs to immorality. In this sense, the book is offered as a moral way of learning about sexuality by stating: “Acquiring knowledge by reading this book can never be deemed as immorality” (1933, 3). While body and bodily parts concerned “us,” it is stated, “[We] never concern with the organs that produce life. We ignore them,” unfortunately, it is added “among us the number of those who would truly be deemed as the expert of progeny is very low” (1933, 4). Here “we” in their usage amounts to the “Easterners” as it is clarified in the following: “We will call this, the greatest of all indifference, lethargy and superstition as ‘Oriental indifference’” (1933, 4). Despite the “Oriental indifference,” which resulted in sexual illiteracy, the Occidental care on sexual matters seemed to endow one with extensive knowledge about his/her body, sexuality, pleasures and powers.

When Samuel Jameson wrote that “Turkey is a land of illiterates, even the Turks admit. This, for generations, has been a blot on Turkish national character” (1936, 489) in his mind there was no sexual illiteracy of the Turks; however, in the 1930s, sexual illiteracy was also added to the national concerns. In 1935, Mahmud Sadi [Irmak] noticed the necessity to increase Turkish knowledge on sexuality on a scientific ground. In this scientific study, biology, sociology and the morality perspectives were incorporated. For having sound information about human sexuality, a sociological biology (*içtimai biologic*) perspective was seen mandatory. For Irmak, this was also evident in the population movements, heredity, education and degeneration (1935, 3). In this analysis, the family institution lies at the hearth of the national life for being a moral institution, as well

as the locus of the population, degeneration and hereditary. Irmak writes that human beings have two powers: one that pulls a human to the low, other to the high (1935, 15). Here sexuality is considered as the first power that degrades human beings. However, a proper education and regulation would lead the dangerous sexual powers to the national advancement.

5.3. A Self-Proclaimed Expert: Daniş Remzi Korok

In 1936, one of the publishing houses in İstanbul announced a new series of popular books, namely *Books on Health and Society (Sihhi ve İctimai Kitaplar)*. Every week a small and a cheap book, containing 24 pages more or less and costing of 5 *kuruş*,⁸² was circulated for enlightening Turkish people who had been oscillating amongst various principles and values flowing from the Ottoman past, the West and the new Republic. Daniş Remzi Korok (1905-1976) began his chapbook career with these 32 books, scrupulously probing into sexual life and education of the Turkish men and women from their childhood, to maturity, to old age. Later he wrote many popular books on various themes springing out of popular consciousness and memory. Heroism, romance, religious tales and moral instructions as well as the adventures of Arsene Lupin, a French counterpart of Sherlock Holmes constituted his numerous area of concern. In his writing career he authored more than a hundred books, some of which are as follows: *Arzu and Kamber; Ebu Muslim of Khorasan: The Great Turkish and Islamic Hero; Yezit and the Karbala Disaster; Letters on Love and Passionate Desire; the Aphrodite Appeal; Mehmetçik Never Dies; Captain Jarj; Yusuf the Cannibal; Religious and Moral Tales from Holy Persons; Zaloğlu Rüstem; Arsene Lupin in London: Unusual Adventures; Why did Prophet Mohamed Marry Several Times?; The Korea War.*

Korok's chapbooks enumerated above were based on the popular Turkish-Islamic legends and stories. Somel explains that the popularization of these books, which were basically coming from oral tradition, went back to the 19th century. As we learn from the memorials of Ahmet Emin Yalman, Halide Edip Adıvar and others,

⁸² In the 1930s of Turkey, 5 *kuruş* amounted to the daily price of various newspapers, including *Cumhuriyet* and *Son Posta*.

such legendary books were well-known among Turkish families. According to Somel (2001), the Islamic epic tales would provide the readers with the sense of belonging to a Muslim community, the tragic romances would create “the feeling that real love was mystical love, the love of God.” and as the idea of homeland (*vatan*) and nation (*millet*) emerged, “the religious sentiment of martyr was transformed into a love of the motherland... Thus the love for religion turned into a patriotic fervor” (Somel 2001, 245). Rewriting these books in the republican context, Korok’s terminology was strictly stripped of the religious sentiments in accordance with the staunch secularism of the republican regime and devoted to the love of country and the Republic.

Generally speaking, chapbooks became popular from the sixteenth century through to the nineteenth century onwards in Europe. Although there is no exact definition of the word, chapbooks, consisting of songs, poems, political treatises, folk stories, religious tracts, and all kinds of short texts, and would mean anything that were sold by the chapmen, the itinerant peddlers. Margaret Spufford, in the same vein, writes that “the pedlar is a very elusive figure indeed, not only because he/she is peripatetic, literally always walking off over whatever administrative boundary represents the edge of historian’s working area, but also because many of them lived near the edge of society, the vagrant infringe” (Spufford 1994, 14). She also added that very few European historians have recognized that, “these people, peddling their goods on the vagrant fringe of society, walked all over the England” (1994, 14).

Undoubtedly, Korok was not one of those European itinerant peddlers who travel through city streets and countryside to sell chapbooks whenever they could, though he occasionally tried to encourage his readers to buy the whole series or his previous books. Yet his motive in such encouragement was not commercial, but noble: his illuminating lectures, pursuing to the fulfillment of the needs of all Turkish citizens, especially of the young in their new life launched by the Western-oriented republican regime, can only be perceived in their entirety, as he suggests. Having different goals from the European chapmen and common ideals

with his contemporary republican elite, Korok traveled a lot toward Anatolian villages. His travel accounts turned into a book, not a chapbook surprisingly, entitled *Towards Village and Peasantism in the Republic: National and Social Investigations (Cumhuriyette Köye ve Köycülüğe Doğru: Milli ve İçtimai Tetkikler)*. Even this book, if not his primers on sexuality is enough to save him from the label, the “man who lived on the margin of society” in the early republican era.

Korok was a self-proclaimed expert, aiming at educating the sexual desire of the Turkish people in order for making them healthy and happy republican citizens in their public as well as their private life. His counsels resembled the Western sexual and marital advice literature by ringing certain Victorian morals; however, they expressed significant differences in that Korok’s sexual teaching was stamped with the dominant republican pedagogy of the period and negotiated between the Westernist and nationalist arguments while refuting the Islamic-Ottoman past, and thus offered an alternative intimate life within which sexual desires and pleasures were not denied or repressed, but welcomed and appreciated as soon as they were fulfilled under the wedlock and as soon as the pleasure ideal went hand in hand with the procreation ideal.

Considering the task committed to each and every republican elite is to civilize people on the one hand, and recalling what Elias told us that, “...with the advance of civilization the lives of human beings are increasingly split between an intimate and a public sphere, between secret and public behavior.” (Elias 1994,156) On the other hand, it is manifest that civilizing mission of the republican regime requires regulating not only public sphere and policing the public appearances and attitudes of people, but also private sphere and the intimate conduct must be monitored. Korok, as a patriotic man of knowledge, devoted himself to the secret life of people and contributed to the regulation of the private sphere, without which he assumed catching up with the civilized countries, the supreme national ideal (Berkes 1964), was impossible.

5.3.1. Korok's Books on Health and Society

Korok gives us a detailed analysis of sexuality and sexual and national duties of the people, especially the young in the early republican era. Korok's *Books on Health and Society* were divided into four sets, consisting of eight books: The first set included *Secret Talks with Young Men(Book One)* (1936a); *Secret Talks with Young Girls(Book Two)* (1936b); *Secret Talks with Married Men(Book Three)* (1936c); *Secret Talks with Married Women(Book Four)* (1936d); *On Masturbation and Sexual Touch(Book Five)* (1936e); *Bad Habits of Young Women(Book Six)*(1937a); *The Sexual Impotency of Men and Women(Book Seven)* (1936f); lastly the *Talks on Pregnancy and Protection from Pregnancy(Book Eight)* (1937b). The first set was devoted to a more general sexual education of young men and women. It embraces a wider readership including first, the young men and women who know little or nothing about sexual matters, second, the parents who want to inform and control their children on sexual knowledge, and third, a more general public who yearn for counseling the young about the harms of sexual misconducts.

The second set consists of the books: *Girls until the Age of 12(Book Nine)*(1937c); *Girls until 16(Book Ten)*(1937d); *Girls until 18(Book Eleven)* (1937e); *The Desire for Love and Lovemaking in Girls(Book Twelve)* (1937f); *Primers for Girls on Marriage and the Wedding-Night(Book Thirteen)* (1937g); *Young Women until 45(Book Fourteen)* (1937h); *Forbidden Pleasure for Women(Book Fifteen)* (1937i); *Last Youth and Passion (Book Sixteen)*(1937j). It was devoted to women; however, it was advised for men as well in order for learning about feminine sexual behaviors.

The third set consists of the books for men including *Boys until 12(Book Seventeen)* (1937k); *Puberty and Youth in Boys (Book Eighteen)* (1937l); *The Desire for Love and Lovemaking in Men (Book Nineteen)*(1937m); *On the Wild Youth and Debauchery(Book Twenty)* (1937n); *Primers for Men on Marriage and the Wedding-Night(Book Twenty One)* (1937o); *Forbidden Pleasure for Men(Book*

Twenty Two) (1937p); *The Bankruptcy of Manhood (Book Twenty Three)* (1937q); *Last Sin and Peace(Book Twenty Four)*(1937r).

And the last set consists of the books on widowhood: *Secret Talks with the Widow Men and Women(Book Twenty Five)* (1937s); *Widowhood and its Harms(Book Twenty Six)* (1937t); *Love and Passion of Widows(Book Twenty Seven)* (1937u); *Widows with or without Children(Book Twenty Eight)* (1937v); *Re-marriage of the Widows and its Results(Book Twenty Nine)* (1937w); *Debauchery and Libertinism of the Widows(Book Thirty)* 81937x); *Appeal of Widows and its Reasons(Book Thirty One)* (1937y); *Old Age and Suffering of the Widows)(Book Thirty Two)(1937z)*. This set reflects the obsession of the writer with widows. In most cases, the widows are demonized, and especially women become the target of attacks: they are positioned as dangerous and immoral figures on the ground that they have carnal knowledge, but they are not under the tutelage of any men. Their sexual desires are seen stronger than the ones who have never been married.

Mary Lynn Stewart (1997) writes, that at the turn of the twentieth century, the popularity of the sexual advice books in Europe and America increased as a reaction to the well-known *fin de siècle* sexual anarchy and decadence. The central themes of these books were marriage and family life. In this literature, family is seen as a buttress against sexual decadence and social disorder. Korok agreed with the role of marriage and family in creating harmony, happiness and prosperity for the nation and individual.

5.3.1.1. Marriage: Happiness for the Self, Prosperity for the Nation

At a time when the birthrates were of national concern and child rearing was a national duty, it is not surprising to notice in Korok's texts that marriage is repetitively recommended and strongly defended as the primary goal in life. As he states, “the ultimate goal in life is happiness and the resource delivering this happiness is 'marriage' (izdivaç)”; “the happiest resort of the road on which the young are stepping is the genuine and serious marriage” (1936b, 7-9). Marriage is the “unification of two separate bodies as one single body...The merging of youth,

pleasure and passion” (1937g, 4). Marriage is a heavenly life on earth (1936d, 4). And yet, the point of marriage, expectably, is having children for the purpose of raising a healthy and robust republican generation. For Korok, this is the primary duty, among many other duties and debts to society of each individual. The payment of this debt and duty is realized through giving nation what it needs: “we should give our nation the young men who are sturdy and dignified and the young women who are compassionate and loving those are the ones would comply with the noble blood of our nation” (1936b, 12). In this sense, Korok believes that the young should never forget that they live, after all, for the sake of nation and society. And again they never forget that the way of life they follow, the discipline of life they adhere to will provide their own utility and render their living in the most natural and happiest manner, and prepare for them enjoying the most tremendous pleasures and immense desires. These pleasures are seen as legitimate as being natural, as coming from the natural principles. Adherence to them means seeing the complete beauty of life, benefiting from the powers, desires and tastes of youth; briefly, it means to live as a human. (1936b, 12-13)

Marja van Tilburg also noted that authors of conducts books in the Danish context reminded their young readers that, “in order to qualify as human, sexual desire must be satisfied in the cultural institution of marriage” (2006, 172). She added that sexual attraction is not the basic motive in choosing marital partners, however, sensual harmony between partners is deemed necessary. Similarly, Korok, in the Turkish context, strictly prohibited extra-marital coupling. The main reason of this prohibition is the danger of seminal loss, which would lead to infertility in the family life. Men’s seminal loses are significant in all sexual conduct books. Korok devotes a book on this topic, *Bankruptcy of Manhood* (1937q). This topic would seem to hail the old men, who naturally lost their sexual capacity and fertility, Korok stated, however, he added that he talks about the young ones who look quite strong and adorable. Their bodies look perfect. However, they do not feel attraction for women.

For Korok, although marriage is the most virtuous behavior and the bachelorhood is the evil one; marriage without reproduction is not any different from bachelorhood (1937b, 2). In speaking about the evils of bachelorhood, Korok mostly criticizes men, because in his opinion, all young women spend most of their time by dreaming of marriage (1937g, 3). Young people, as the responsible citizens should marry and however, the point of marriage is not satisfaction of sexual passions in a legitimate way, but producing new members to society. For Korok, human beings without children are nothing. That is why the young who have been indulged in sexual passions by abusing their sexual capacities, should immediately resort to a physician. Otherwise, they would lose all their sexual potency (1937b, 3-4).

Korok harshly criticizes those married couples who avoid reproduction. These people are named as egotistic, because they consider that children would prevent their individual happiness. Korok claims that they invent certain abnormal contraceptive techniques, abnormal coupling methods to block pregnancy. As a result, their sexualities become abnormal. These are the real enemies of society as well as humanity. They are worse than the young people, who have lost their sexual power before marriage (1937b, 4). Yet Korok acknowledges that there are some couples who really want to have babies, however, they could be successful although they have been married more than two or three years. His advice for such couples is as follows: Both of the couples should be consulted by an expert physician so that they learn about their health and their physical powers. Many couples, especially the women are prone to go through folkways for getting pregnant. For Korok, in this age people have no chance but the medical doctors. Most of the genital diseases, uterine and renal diseases of women is caused by the superstitious medication and folk remedies. Korok added that:

The main reasons of these failed efforts are the ignorance of our women about human anatomy and their lack of knowledge about the importance of their sexual potency. They do not know the fragility and order of sexual ability. However, in this age of progress and knowledge we should not allow such disasters, we should care our youth more attentively and illuminate them on sexual matters, and we should increase our sexual and national powers (1937b, 6).

Korok also argues that resorting to folkways leads to unhappiness in family life. If couples know the scientific explanation about their bodies and sexualities, this knowledge would increase love and intimacy among couples. Korok recommends young couples who could not have babies to establish in the first place a moral, spiritual and ideal harmony in their marriage. He explains that such moral union takes five to seven years. In addition, making mentally and bodily healthy babies requires a sexual coupling, which is based upon a perfect harmony between partners. The leading role is given to men in creating a perfect sexual and spiritual union. Korok adds that he considers men and women as complementary. Men should be loyal to their wives and care for them and are ready to protect them. As a response, women should obey their husbands. However, he adds, women do not have to obey all rational and irrational, legitimate and illegitimate demands of men. Our laws forbid such absolute power of men in marriage.

For a harmonious marriage, couples should know each other before the wedding. Pre-marital agreement is mandatory. However, very few marriage have been established on that. Some young persons consider that they have met their soul-mates in the streets, cafes, bars or even at schools. Unfortunately, in most cases these meetings are not real but pseudo-love, after a few years of marital life, their love ruins. It is scientifically proved that if marrying couples are not proper for each other in terms of their status, disposition, knowledge and thought, their marriage could not be happy, as their sexual intercourse could not be satisfying (1937b, 8-13).

For Korok, men are the active figures in the sexual intercourse, yet women could ruin everything with a minor act. Women's feelings are important. Men should be very gentle and sensitive to their wives. Men should have in mind that women are not sexual playthings. Men's timeless and unceasing sexual assaults on their wives would lead to sexual frigidity, infertility and even miscarriage in women. Scientifically speaking, Korok explains, men and women should couple once a

fortnight. Only after establishing a perfect harmony and affection among couples, then Turkish nation would have healthy generations. (1937b, 20-23).

Unfortunately, he states, because of misinformation, marriage is named as “the life of despotism and “the life of monopoly,” and the young are poisoned against marriage and headed to wrong way, and thus they ruin their sexual potency. In Korok’s account, sexual appetite can only be regulated and channeled into utility by marriage. Otherwise, the power of sexual desire directs people, especially young to evil. If one commands sexuality, then commands national life. For this reason, Korok sincerely wishes that,

all members of our nation, all the young of our nation initially...be saved from ugly habits and evil beliefs of the past. The sturdy and normal bodies of the lands of white lilies should not be far away from us, as if they were imagined and ideal lands and figures...All people should be cheerful and healthy, all corner of our nation be clean and ordered. This beautiful and heavenly country should be seen to any visitor as happy and jolly (1936b, 13).

The dreamy lands of lily whites, Korok mentioned, reminded him of a popular book namely *Beyaz Zambaklar Diyarında*. It is about the development of Finland through a national education campaign in a short period of time, as narrated by Grigory Petrov.⁸³ Finland turned out to be paradise: all marshes dried out, illiteracy eradicated, people looked healthy, country became clean and happy. Turkish intellectuals were impressed with the experience in Finland, in addition given the centrality of pedagogical concern in advancing a country, the Turkish elite found out many commonalities what was done in Finland and what would be done in Turkey.⁸⁴

⁸³ Grigory Petrov (2005). Since the early republican era *Beyaz Zambaklar Ülkesinde* has been republished many times.

⁸⁴ In fact, Mustafa Necati, Minister of Education when sending a congratulating letter to the graduate of Teacher Training College, he gave *Beyaz Zambaklar Diyarı* as present in 1928. Please see Recep Ertürk (1997, 72).

5.3.1.2. Sexual Illiteracy and Its Harms

Although that clear and simple the paradise to be arrived at in life, the path of this arrival is quite complicated, considering the strength of sexual instinct and dangerous social milieu surrounding the young. Misknowledges and lack of education on sexuality, prohibitions on sexual desires and love arising from the previous moral values, flowing of new ideas and choices on free life in the new era, all challenge pejoratively the mind of the young. Korok cites some naïve questions of young women, which reflect their sexual illiteracy: “What happens in the wedding night? Why do women marry men, instead of women? How does one get pregnant? What does miscarriage mean?” According to Korok, these questions prove the backwardness of old generations. Old generations could not educate their children; as a result, young generations do not know their personality and their freedoms (1937g, 16-17). The scarcity of role model and the lack of guide and mentor on sexual matters, the young confuse the path to follow. And what is striking, is that this problem is not a personal problem of a few young, rather of a public concern. For this reason, in his “secret talks” with young women and men, Korok's moral teaching on sexuality does not draw a prohibitive and repressive picture, rather, it is the regulation of sexual desire and pleasure is sought after in the first place. That is to say, Korok recommends young a strict adherence to self-control and sexual abstinence until marriage, but simultaneously promises a genuine sexual pleasure and happiness that is only possible in a well-established family life. Instead of denying the pleasures and powers of sexual awakenings and practices, Korok celebrates the sexual potency and desire as soon as they are managed and controlled truly until the wedding time and actualized under the wedlock. However, as Korok knows very well that sexual feelings and habits begin much earlier than the age of marriage, these feelings go back to the period of childhood when the self-control cannot be understood and realized. Then, watchful parents must be in charge: sexual surveillance of children requires attentive and continuous efforts. Especially mothers must monitor their children day by day and report any noticeable change to fathers. Only through such efforts, through regulation of the sexual desire, a moral and fruitful sexual education of children is possible. Otherwise, if children are left alone and their sexual awakenings are not

controlled, certain dangerous and unhealthy behaviors that would follow them in a life-long period are habituated.

In many cases, middle-aged parents become targets of Korok for their negligence, lack of guiding, bad parenthood. In stating by compliant that, “it is unfortunate that in our country we cannot find any parents who have regularly watched over their children since their birth to their death”(1937c, 5), Korok wants to change something positively for the sake of new generation, and criticizes the wrong and incomplete education, bad upbringing and disorderly way of family life that they have experienced, and that make their lives painful and break their hearts (1937c, 9) And adds: “We should end the old way and give a chance to our children a life, which we have always desired” (1937c, 9).

5.3.1.3. Sexual Education of Girls

On the text devoted to the little girls until the age of 12, Korok elaborates on their physiological and psychological stages. Finding girls much cuter, more sympathetic, more emotional and clean than boys, Korok considers that girls are easily trained. In contrast to boys, girls' burden to their parents is limited. However, he states, their naturally given, gentle and sensitive souls should never be neglected. When girls arrive at the age of 5, at the most of 6, their psychological and emotional side becomes more significant than their material needs. Accordingly for Korok, girls are more prone to natural development and their sexual feelings are more prone to awakening. That is why girls rather than boys require precaution and safeguard (1937c, 14).

For this reason, parents should be very careful about their behaviors, and that they never expose their sexual intimacy to their children. Little girls should not be allowed to spend much time with older girls; they are not permitted to play with boys at their age, especially with physically and emotionally coarser ones. These are significant points, when neglected the result would be disastrous.

Informing children earlier might be considered as good and positive; however, giving some information before their development causes a timeless awakening and makes children undersized, dwarfish and infertile (1937c, 17).

According to Korok, the age of 8 is more spectacular as girls enter in a revolutionary period. Between 8 and 12 they begin to feel something sexual. In this period, they start walking toward womanhood and obtain the essence of femininity. At this period, it is necessary to give much attentive care for them. The first sign of heading to maturity appears in their tendency to “looking good and being adorned” (1937c, 22). These girls are “really very beautiful and to the same degree of their beauty that they are naturally frisky and hussy” he notes (1937, 23). There are other girls who are totally different from them, at this age they have a tendency to escape from people. These girls are somehow ugly girls and their ugliness implicitly or explicitly is told them. They love loneliness; they do not embellish themselves and they look slovenly and dirty. Here the duty of parents is to force these girls to be socialized with people. Although they escape from people, they generally have intimate friends. Such close friendship would become the starting point of major dangers. Parents should stop such friendship; it is better, however, to strictly and constantly watch them.

At the age of 12, girls should be observed carefully from all angles because children discover everything about femininity and masculinity in this age.⁸⁵ Parents should be educators in sexual matters. Otherwise, schools bring harm, instead of benefit to children (1937c, 26).

5.3.1.4 Sexual Education of Boys

Korok detects that Turkish society is directed to an unnatural path and to dirty, bad habits because of old morality and norms. He even claims that, “70 and even 80 percent of the beautiful bodies that created by the nature have become unnatural and abnormal.” Because the old mentality frightens the young to be named as immoral, many people seek to bury desires of the young, the demands of their

⁸⁵ Republican regime required the co-education of girls and boys at school. For a discussion among advocates and opponents to co-education in early republic please see Barak Salmoni (2003).

bodies and feelings. But this power, this sexual desire and lust is so undefeatable that it does not tolerate any obstacle.

The young generation and the republican young should not follow the principles of love and respect they have seen from their own families; instead, they should pursue for the morality idealized by the republic as the most noble racism and love (1936c, 15). The youth's adherence to the republican morality is crucial, because the whole nation, the republic, the Turkish community have great expectation from them. It is hoped in future that,

Those young and energetic bodies shall live the greatest and strongest sensations through digesting all powers and visions of love and passion. In the world of sensation, a thousand and one, a few million young shall be close and intimate and there will be the fire of pleasure, happiness, joy and love. Everything will be laughing and everything will be loving...Among these laughing, loving and kissing bodies...the sky full of stars will illuminate abundantly. And, the whole homeland, the whole nation will sing the song of young and sturdy Turkish children. The homeland is waiting for that, the nation is waiting for that (1936c, 19).

Coming to the analysis of republican boys who would be the young soon, Korok gives great attention to their puberty. He explains that boys arrive at puberty at the age of 12 to 15. However, early puberty is possible for two reasons. One is that naturally the bodies of some children are stronger, and the intense sexuality in their body makes their arrival quick to puberty. Those robust, having bodily strength and strong sexual instinct children arrive at puberty before the age of 12. This is the gift of nature. The other way arises in those children who are not gifted by nature, rather through the force and encouragement of their environment those children arrive at a timeless puberty, their bodies are unhealthy. (1937l, 3).

Both of these children arrive at puberty earlier, but their characters are totally different, because while the former arrives at puberty naturally, without any external force, he remains in a constant joy. Their bodies grow day-by-day, and they become beautiful and healthy as time passes. The former do not have bodily

development for puberty (adolescence) and they destroy their bodies by force and pressure. Their bodies remain feeble and are predisposed to ailment (1937l, 4).

Korok's most strong criticism goes to the sleeping habits of the Turkish society. He declares that in society almost no families could provide their sons with their own bedrooms, and their own beds. Even 13 and 14 years-old boys sleep in their parents' bedroom, or share the beds with their aunts, grandmothers, nursemaids and the young widows. Such behaviors have terrible effects on sexual training of children (1937l, 5). For Korok, it is very common to find such families including a-mother-in-law as a young widow, small brother-in-law and sisters-in-law, and a young couple live in the same room. This leads to many bad events. If it is analyzed, for each and every member of such a family, it would be seen that all of them slowly lose their sexual moral principles (1937l, 6).

Either due to the scarcity of room, or willingly, when parents allow their children to sleep in the same room with matures, then their children become as follows:

All of them for sure are sickly, weak and feeble. In a similar vein, to those passionate elderly, who get used to self-abuse, there exist purple rings around the eyes of these children. They slowly loose their intelligence and memory and an absent-mindedness and mental-confusion begin to appear. They always seem fractious, fastidious and aggressive (1937l, 9).

Whenever parents observe an early, timeless and unnatural sexual awakening and masturbation of their children, they should do everything to stop those bad habits. Otherwise these children will suffer from various faults and diseases. They will be prone to the diseases whenever they meet a psychological disorder. Apart from these, the reasons of dwarfishness, aggression and obsession would be explained by their bad habits. Children who are anemic, weak and thin, and their fragility in the changing climates, are nothing but the results of their bad habits (1937l, 15-16).

According to Korok, 89% of Turkish children are addicted to masturbating and they are exhausting day by day. The reason is the lack of proper sexual education

(1937f, 26). In addition, children should not be left alone with each other to share their poisoning misknowledge about sexuality. This leads to the bad habits in the young. Due to such habits, the dying and paling (solan) bodies are losing their power for building healthy families and of the chance to beget a new and vivid generation. As Korok explain, this matter demands great attention as threatening the nation. In line with the received wisdom of his time, Korok resorted to the West as a model in order for treating the sickly configurations of people in sexual matters. For Korok, even in the simplest family in Europe—he meant the family established by the peasant—one could find an order. This familial order positively affects the national order. As opposed to the Turkish families, from the lowest to the upper ones, children are cared for in Europe; children’s sexual health, which is crucial for society and morality are regular engagement of the Western parents (1936f, 13).

5.4. Conclusion

In the early republican era, the republican elite pedagogy, which aims at educating people in order to create new citizens in accordance with the Western civilization, had expressed a transformative dialectic logic in almost every sphere of life: the Ottoman-Islamic past was demonized, the civilized West was idolized, and between the inferiority of the former and the superiority of the latter, the peculiar Turkish path to be followed was discovered. Each discovery draws new lessons for Turkish people. Daniş Remzi Korok’ primers as well as other literature dealing with coupling in the early republican era trace the similar logic in sexual matters. While degrading the irregular and spontaneous sexual order of things during the Ottoman rule, sexual advice literature underlines the importance of policing sexual behaviors, educating sexual desires, and regulating the familial life in a similar vein to the Western European countries. Ayşe Durakbaşa argues that,

while sexuality is central to the meanings and values related to gender roles and relations, the traditional sexual morality was not ever radically questioned within the Kemalist ethic. Since the notion of “sexual virtue,” defined in terms of virginity of women before marriage, was preserved, the social conduct of women with men was controlled and

female sexuality was repressed without much direct intervention” (1998, 151).

My analyses on sexual advice literature in the early republican era, on the other hand, suggested differently. I have shown in this chapter that in the early republican era, both men’s as well as women’s sexuality was the target not for the repression and prohibition of the sexual desires, but for the regulation and channeling of sexual desires and energies for producing a better, a more crowded and happier Turkish nation. Sexual advice literature in the early republican era was another attempt for combining the rules of hygiene and health with that of republican morality in the making of virtuous, healthy and civilized Turkish citizens. In speaking of civilization process, Feher and Heller (1994) noted two main objectives of civility, that of “hygienic” and “ethical” objectives, and added that, “already in the Victorian heydays of the civilizing process, the trend toward merging the hygienic with the ethically commendable could be detected” (1994, 16). Manifestly then, Korok and others added a Victorian strand to pedagogical elite discourse in early republican era, where pedagogues and physicians were the significant interlocutors of the republican order of things. The path opened by Korok requires further investigation in order for a better understanding of the republican politics of intimacy. On the other hand, this chapter also has shown the importance of tracing the popular books in a society, where the rate of literacy was very low. However, there was a tradition of reading and listening as a communal activity. In the next chapter, I will trace another attempt of regulating sexuality through studying a sexually-transmitted disease, syphilis in the early republican era and I will show how a medical disease turns out to be an arena of power and morality.

CHAPTER 6

FROM SICK MAN OF EUROPE TO SYPHILITIC MAN OF EUROPE: TRACKING THE SYPHILITIC BODY IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

6.1. Introduction

A significant proportion of Europeans' knowledge about the Orient is legendary. These legends and superstitions are not confined to the knowledge of common people, but they spread to the science. As those who know the Orient from the Arabian Nights or from the movie scenes fabricated by the movie directors from Los Angeles city are disappointed after seeing us, those science men who imagine a different science for the Orient are also saddened as if they were disappointed when they are shown the most obvious truth (Mazhar Osman 1929,21).

This was stated by the famous psychiatry professor and the president of Turkish Society of Mental and Neurological Medicine, Mazhar Osman [Uzman], in January 1929, in the article "Neural Syphilis in the Orient." Among others, he stated, those who could not set themselves free from the Europeans' false inspirations were the very Orientals, who reiterate and support European prejudice in their own expressions and publications, most of which based on the limited investigation, limited material and limited knowledge. One of those legends, yet known as scientific stories surrounding the Orient and tempting certain Orientals revolves around a disease, namely syphilis. More specifically indeed, the fabulous knot of the story is stitched to a *lack*, "the lack of the general paralysis", or rather "the lack of the neural syphilis," which results in mental damage like the general paralysis and tabes dorsalis in the Orient.

"Orientalism," as Edward Said explains, "is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" The distinction between the Orient and the Occident is accepted and disseminated by various writers, including "poets, novelists,

philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators” (1979, 2). As Mazhar Osman shows, medical men also take the Orient/Occident divide as a starting point for diagnosing and treating a medical disease. Neither the objectivity of science nor seeing or unseeing the Orient would liberate scientific men from the meshes of Orientalist discourse.

Europeans, from Düring Pasha to those physicians who have never seen even the map of the Orient, assert that the rate of syphilis is overwhelmingly high. Nevertheless, the general neural diseases, like general paralysis and tabes are very few, if not none in the Orient, (1929,21)

stated Mazhar Osman disapprovingly. It is this European assertion that triggers Mazhar Osman to share his own knowledge and experience with his native colleagues, who might consider the problem otherwise.

In order to specify his statements, Mazhar Osman recalled a memory of twenty years back when he had accomplished his expertise in Munich and visited the barracks of the city. A colonel-ranked military doctor, after accompanying Mazhar Osman in barracks and informing him about the health issues and tasks in details, had said courtly, “I would like to visit Constantinapolis so much. It is on the Danube River, and I guess it is possible to travel by sea, is not it?” Having appalled with such an ignorance of that man, who was impressive with his medical knowledge at the time, Mazhar Osman later happened to appreciate his geographically-limited-lack of knowledge, especially after reading an article written by another German doctor, Düring Pasha, claiming in a German medical journal that in Turkey the rate of syphilis is 75%, whereas the general paralysis is very rare (1929, 22). For Mazhar Osman, such an exaggerated statement was nothing but slander, however his focus was rather on the rate of general paralyze. At this connection, he recollected another memory from the First World War period. In a speech organized by the *Beyoğlu Medical Society*, Professor Müller, who was directing *Bebek Clinic* in Istanbul, stated that, “I have been serving here in Turkey for four years and I have not come up with any general paralysis case” (1929, 23). What intensified his bother was that Mazhar Osman’s fellow-citizen-

colleagues who had served in Anatolia for years were supporting Prof. Müller's subjective judgments. In Mazhar Osman's account, Müller was defending a theory about syphilis, which was known within the medical literature as *syphilis a viruz nerveux*. Put it clearly, Müller supported the idea that syphilis has different viruses that affect different parts of body and in the Orient there was no syphilis virus that would affect the mental structure of people. Accordingly then, he verified his theoretical assumptions by not meeting any general paralysis case in Istanbul. Following the speech, Mazhar Osman invited him to Şişli Hospital to show people suffering from the general paralysis and the tabes dorsalis; Mazhar Osman stated, "When he heard that these patients were Turk and they have never been abroad, he looked, as it were, annoyed" (1945, 123).

For Mazhar Osman, although statistically obscure for some reason, there exist many general paralysis cases in Turkey and indeed the rate of the general paralysis among Turks is as high as that of among the Europeans, i.e. approximately 18%. Why is it so crucial for Mazhar Osman to prove that there are Turks suffering from the general paralysis? While the main agenda of the republican elite is to eliminate the image of Turks as the "sick men of Europe," to defeat viruses and effects paralyzing Turkish homeland and Anatolian people, why does he need to expose the sick and paralytic bodies in Turkey? Perhaps Richard von Krafft Ebing's widely welcome *civilisation et syphilisation theory* delivered at a medical conference in Moscow in 1897 would give us a clue. Krafft-Ebing associated the level of civility with the rate of general paralysis, and suggested that the more an organ of the body works, the easier it gets tired and sick. His theory led to the spread of the argument: "The frequency of G.P. is the gauge of civilization" among physicians (Gökay 1929,51). In specifying this claim, it is stated that when an Arab and a Jew having an equivalent life level, is infected with syphilis, the Arab would have the skin damage, the Jew the brain damage. All in all, in the civilized countries the diseases like general paralysis and tabes, the diseases arising from the mental tiredness, are frequent, whereas in the less civilized countries they are rare. In addition, women and peasants are less prone to general paralysis in contrast to men and the city dwellers. Of course, these words are quite

telling at another context, but they are partially important for Mazhar Osman's main concern. In challenging the claims of Krafft-Ebing and other European medical men, Mazhar Osman does not simply follow a way to prove that in Turkey people get mentally tired and are as civilized as the Europeans. I suggest that the social and civilizational hierarchies are clear in Mazhar Osman's mind. When proudly expressing the result of his scientific findings—"We have diagnosed G.P. (general paralysis) in woman, young, hodja, priest, the civilized and the barbarous, in one from Istanbul and from Anatolia, in religious one as well as in the drunk"—Mazhar Osman was very confident about his scientific contributions (1929, 31). He rather objected to the homogenization of Orientals, including himself as one of those proud Tibbiyeli, under the category of inferiority. For this reason he challenged the European medical men scientifically, tacitly following the idea that legends would differ contextually, but not the science; common people would foil inevitably, but not the scientists. His focus was a search of equality in the sphere of medical knowledge among the Europeans. According to him, the reason behind the opposite medical findings obtained by other physicians would be the underdeveloped and negligent investigation of the patients, the insufficient knowledge of the physicians in diagnosing the neural diseases and madness, and the indifferent attitudes of the pathologists towards psychiatry. He concludes by giving such a wish: "We wish to have beautiful Wassermann laboratories at every corner of our country, without which neither the diagnosis, nor the treatment of syphilis is possible" (Mazhar Osman 1929, 31). Manifestly then, for Mazhar Osman, the most challenging matter in the Orient was not the lack of general paralysis because it actually exists, but another lack, the lack of technology that would foil the most talented science men in diagnosing and curing syphilis.

Mazhar Osman's article is critical, not specifically because it underlines the Western fantasy about the "sick (syphilitic) man" in the Orient, or the Oriental medical men whose vision is obscured by the Western knowledge, but in general it discloses the power relations both saturating and inflicted by a disease namely syphilis in the making of modern Turkey. In this chapter, I investigate the plethoric

statements surrounding syphilis and explore how these statements were articulated into the republican politico-moral discourse to educate people in the 1930s.

6.2. 'Truth' about Syphilitics

In the *Sihhiye Mecmuası* article, Mazhar Osman, in challenging the rate expressed by a German physician as 75%, states that: "Although the patients resorting to a Mental Hospital everywhere are degenerates and syphilitics, in our institution the rate of syphilitics does not extend 20 percent. One can consider the extent of decrease in the rate of syphilitics among people. This 75 percent is a defamatory exaggeration about us" (1929, 22). By claiming so, Mazhar Osman clearly declares that the rate of the syphilitics is low in Turkey. A few years later, editing a sort of popular health book to offer a moderate history of the present of the republican medicine, namely, Health Almanac (*Sihat Almanacı*) that informs and advises people about the common diseases, Mazhar Osman again recalls something noteworthy:

I remember as if today that during the Hamidian era our teachers were stating everyday that three diseases would ruin this country: Malaria, syphilis, tuberculosis...The number of people, whose noses and throats were holed, eyes were blinded and bodies were full of sores because of syphilis, was countless. Since syphilitics were not conscripted to the military during the Hamidian era, people were contaminating syphilis to each other in order to save themselves from Yemen deserts, which were worse and more dreadful than syphilis (1933, 39-40).

How to construe this memory? Seemingly, for Mazhar Osman this time is incited by his republican soul, and this soul places this memory within the past/present and Ottoman/republican divisions and celebrates the republican health policies in diagnosing and curing the diseases nationwide. In doing so however, he inadvertently reiterates the very Orientalist statements he seeks to object that, "the rate of the syphilitics in the Orient is very high."

Another popular health book written by Doctor Reşit Galip (1929) with the support of Ministry of Education, as the fourth book of the popular book series, The Hygiene Knowledge does not mention syphilis in any alerting sense; the

pioneering peasantist and the coming minister devotes only a few sentences to syphilis. And, no statistic is given.

In evaluating and celebrating the efforts of the republican regime for the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic, a pamphlet gives certain numbers about the activities of the State Sanitary Organization. It mentions the fight against malaria, trachoma and syphilis; for malaria and trachoma, it gives a time span from 1925 to the end of 1936, but for syphilis, it uses the following statement: "until the end of 1936 (whether from the year 1925, from the 1934 when the institution is established or from the beginning of the year 1936 is totally unclear) The Organization Fighting Against Syphilis (Frengi ile Mücadele Teşkilatı, FMT) investigated 944.624 people, among whom the number of the syphilitics is 43.471, the number of the cured is 23.440 and the number of the continuing treatment is 20.031. And it is added that the number of the syphilitics in the cities that are excluded from the area of FMT is 211.952, among whom 78.715 people are cured." (Frik 1938, 8-9) Some numbers are given, some statistics would be received, yet still it is hard to say something about the exact rate of the syphilitics in Turkey.

Doctor Nuri Osman [Eren], the chief physician of Syphilis Hospital in Samsun in his article "Diagnosis of Syphilis Requires Great Solicitude and Tardiness" criticized exaggerated statements about syphilis, which led to the quick diagnosis of any symptoms on the outer body, or any sore as syphilis (1930, 762). He mentions three cases resembling many others that far too quickly and wrongly diagnosed syphilis. The first case was an aggressive, anemic and weak young man. He came to Doctor Eren with a report at hand. In this report, given by a licensed clinic, there was no proof of symptoms of syphilis; however, two physicians before Eren treated him as a syphilitic. The only reason was a white sore in patient's mouth. According to Eren, the patient was suffering from malaria and yet the patient was so much fixated on the idea that he was a syphilitic, and since the two other physicians resorted to the syphilitic treatment procedures, Osman Nuri felt obliged to continue the same treatment and made a few injections. After a week, the patient disappeared. When Eren met with his mother, he learnt that the

white sore in the patient's mouth relapsed. These sores went away in three days when the patient used a medical mouthwash offered by Eren. Doctor Eren was sure that the patient was not syphilitic, but he could not convince his patient otherwise.

The second case was a "pseudo-intellectual" in Eren's account. "During the WWI this soldier caused the emergence of a wound in his sexual organ through itching, irritation and the like [masturbation?], and he was also diagnosed as a syphilitic. In ten years nothing happened to the patient" said Eren, given the fact that syphilis is a disease pertaining to sight a ten-year-long dormant state is not typical (1930, 763). Generally speaking and many Turkish physicians explained in their pamphlets in the 1930s, syphilis develops in three stages. In the primary stage, syphilitic sore emerges at the spot where syphilis penetrates into the body. In this connection, the sore on the sexual organ of Doctor Eren's patient would be a syphilitic chancre. If that chancre is not treated in the first stage, it would disappear, however syphilis develops to a second stage: skin rashes appear on the body, sometimes fever, headaches, weight loss and fatigue are observed. Yet symptoms would not be noticed at all in either stage of syphilis. The late stage is the hidden stage where there are no signs and symptoms as in the first two stages; however, internal organs of the patient would be damaged; paralysis, numbness, blindness and dementia would be seen.

As a matter of fact, the aura of syphilis lies here: it is a dreadfully spectacular disease by marking the body with terrible sores, holes and rashes. As an example, one would refer Doctor Ali Rıza, who visualized a syphilitic baby in a popular health book in 1933: "A syphilitic new-born is undersized and thin, he appears as if a small elderly with his umber colored, wrinkled and loose skin" (1933, 255). However, syphilis would be very insidious: one could suffer from and spread this disease without noticing any sign. Physicians, moralists and sex educators all over the world referred to visibility and invisibility of syphilis in order for eradicating the spread of venereal disease, especially in the first decades of the twentieth century. At the International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden in 1911, Lutz D. H.

Sauterteig explains, many visitors were attracted by sensational and voyeuristic aspects of Venereal Disease exhibitions, and “sometimes wax models and film sequences were so realistic that some visitors fainted” (2001, 81). Not only in Germany, but also in the United States, Great Britain, France, as well as in Revolutionary Russia, the combat against venereal disease and prostitution included common visual images of the syphilitics to frighten people and inflict abstinence from casual sexual intercourses. Turkish literature had used the similar materials with Other European countries; however, this literature was selective about photographic images. In the health propaganda posters devoted to the syphilitics in Revolutionary Russia, one could see the sexual organ of a man or a woman with a chancre (Bernstein 2001, 94). In the Turkish versions of these health materials sores on the faces, especially on the noses and mouths, not the ones on sexual organs, were exhibited in the 1930s. The terrible look of syphilitics in these pamphlets and health museums were enough to lead patients to obsessions, fixations and fears.

In the second case of Eren, the patient was one of those fearful ones. Associating the sore appeared ten years ago with emerging headache, fever and distress, the soldier was fixated on the idea that he was syphilitic.⁸⁶ When Eren explained that he was not a syphilitic, the response was odd, as Doctor Eren narrated: “Instead of being happy, he got angry at me and left my office sadly. I strongly believe that he is still searching for medicine for his [imagined] syphilis” (1930, 763).

The third case was two young sisters from a small town of Kastamonu. Although Kastamonu was a well-known place for high rate of syphilitics,⁸⁷ Doctor Eren found out that these two girls did not suffer from syphilis. They were also hastily diagnosed as syphilis simply for having sores on their mouths. Eren argued that there exist many misdiagnosis cases as soon as syphilis is concerned because there

⁸⁶ One of the popular dailies of the republican era, *Son Posta* also mentioned how people would be fixated on syphilis in the 1930s. In the section, “Bir Doktorun Günlük Notlarından”, the physician recommended a reader not to worry about syphilis for a simple boil in his nose. Please see January 1930 *Son Posta* daily.

⁸⁷ İlber Ortaylı mentioned high rate of venereal diseases in Kastamonu because of its increasing importance as a seaport province in the 19th century (1977, 303).

was anarchy in healing syphilitics. All medical branches claimed to be entitled for curing syphilis: Neurologist treats neural syphilis; oculist has the right to heal syphilitic sores on eyes; internist treats syphilis of the stomach and so on (1930, 766). There were, of course, folk healers and unqualified pseudo-physicians. For eradicating this anarchy, Eren ended up with emancipating syphilis from its moral weight: Syphilis should not be considered a secret and shameful disease. This would help determining the exact number of syphilis and well-treatment of the syphilitics. But in any case, the rate of syphilitics, according to observance of the chief physician of Syphilis Hospital in Samsun, was low.

But it was not so, for Society for Fighting against Venereal Diseases in İzmir (*İzmir Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Cemiyeti*.) In 1932 their first speech was quite alerting:

The rate of acquired syphilitics was 20 percent among adult folk. If one adds this to hereditary syphilitics—the number of syphilitic children was approximately a hundred thousand— then one could see the rate of syphilitics was not exaggerated. In this regard, you would meet with syphilis at any moment and almost everyday in your life” (1932, 6-7).

Given the difficulty of deciphering the rate of the syphilitics in various medical articles, booklets and brochures, it is obvious that the legendary narratives about syphilis do not arise from Europe alone; in fact, the aura surrounding this disease maintains itself in the so-called Orient. If one naively asks the truth about the rate of the syphilitics, he/she receives an answer which is not statistically specific. The rate is statistically not known, but differentiates according to the context, according to one's agenda. It is not high, in fact low, to the extent that it would not frighten the people outside (read Europeans), but high enough to frighten the people inside the nation-state. It is this precarious and contextual knowledge about syphilis that makes it operative in constituting the politico-moral domain of the Kemalist rule. However, using syphilis for bringing about a new moral and social order was not unique to the patriotic republicans who worry about progress and prosperity of new nation. Considering the fact that modern nation-states are marked by their formal concern over family life and sexuality and that they moved

away the regulation of familial life and its alternatives, that of prostitution, fornication, adultery and the like, from church courts to secular authorities, it is not so surprising to observe that after the establishment of the Turkish nation-state, the Turkish elite searched for a niche to regulate the intimate life of people, to bring about a new moral and sexual order. No other disease than syphilis that could better fit for this aim. At another context, yet for the same period of history, Kristin Luker explained:

By virtue of their unique combination of ‘moral’ and ‘sanitary’ prophylaxis against syphilis the social hygienists were peculiarly well-suited to make social change: they could call upon seemingly-neutral ‘scientific’ and medical information in an era of public concern about a dreaded disease...to argue for a new moral, social and sexual order” (1998, 613).

6.3. A Brief History of Syphilis in Turkey

The genealogy of syphilis in Turkey, according to the republican historiography, goes back to the post-Tanzimat period, when the Ottoman relationship with Europe increased. Firstly, syphilis appeared in İstanbul, and later, it expanded slowly to the rest of “homeland.” After the entrance of syphilis through the contact with Europeans, for along period there was no attempt for fighting against syphilis, and thus it seriously attacked “innocent and ignorant people” (Sihhiye Mecmuası: Fevkalade Nüsha 1933, 57). Among Anatolian cities, the place of Kastamonu was noteworthy. The fight against syphilis became urgent there during the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, and von Düring Pasha had led the syphilis hospital (1933, 57). Interestingly enough, while syphilis began to appear within the regions where the connection with Europe was intensifying, Düring Pasha’s observation in these regions led him to come to the conclusion that the rate of the syphilitics in the Orient is very high. There existed a paradox here in the case of syphilis. The more the republican nationalists attempted to be connected to the Western civilization, the more their people get vulnerable to syphilis; the more people they are getting as syphilitic, the more syphilis becomes labeled as an Oriental disease. Thus, the more syphilis marks the Orient, the more one needs to be westernized and civilized to get rid of it.

It is significant note that fighting against syphilis, regulating sexuality and prostitution, issuing decrees for pre-marital inspections in line with the requirements of modern states were not launched by the republican elite. In the 19th century, especially after the Crimean War, thanks to the populations movements and especially in the regions where connection with Europeans were intense, syphilis epidemiology was begun to spell out within the borders of Ottoman lands. Registering prostitutes, controlling brothels, offering free medical treatments for patients were seen as the first remedy for eradicating the spread of this dreadful disease (Hot 2004; Kalkan 2004). Despite the fact that Ottoman efforts were limited and mostly confined to Istanbul, time-span was very crucial because the Western fantasy about the syphilitic Anatolian people emerged in era. In 1883, a German Commander Baron Von der Goltz in the Ottoman army had offered a report to Ottoman Sultan about increasing number of syphilitics among new conscripted soldiers. After that, another German Pasha had been invited to the Military Medical School to teach Ottoman students about dermatology and syphilis. Ernest von Düring Pasha (1858-1944) had lived in the Ottoman lands from 1889 to 1902. In the meantime, he had directed a health commission, investigated syphilis and prepared a report for combating against syphilis nationwide. The Ottoman-Turkish medical elite appreciated him for his pedagogical as well as medical work; and yet, they claimed that he damaged Turkish people as much as he contributed. At a conference organized by the Republican People's Party in 1936, Doctor Hulusi Behçet, who was a famous dermatologist for coining the Behçet disease, stated reproachfully:

About the prevalence of syphilis, Düring [sic] described our country very heartbreakingly. Those who read his studies would be hurt. His papers appeared in many journals between 1895 and 1916 were full of exaggerations. I repeatedly rejoined his publication in Hamburg in 1916 and his conferences he delivered after the end of war... Yet still in 1934 he made another publication maintaining his original arguments (1935/1936, 258).

The reason behind reproach toward Düring Pasha was expressed elsewhere by Mazhar Osman as follows: "He had lived among us for fifteen years" (1945, 121). Despite his stay among us, and despite his close inspection of Turkish syphilitics,

it seems, During Pasha was sharing Krafft-Ebing's "civilization et syphilisation" theory and applied it into Turkish context. The followers of Krafft-Ebing studied syphilitics in Bosnia, Iran, Algeria, Java, Ethiopia, and they all claimed that there was no G.P case in these underdeveloped countries. For Ethiopia, it was argued that 80 percent of population was syphilitics, though none of whom suffered from general paralysis. Among the natives of Algeria similar arguments were repeated (Gökay 1929, 75-76). And it was During Pasha who equated Turkish people with Ethiopian, Algerian natives and other "underdeveloped people." Mazhar Osman explained that when During Pasha was invited Kastamonu to fight against syphilis, in his reports and scientific articles During Pasha kept distributing the image of ugly Turks: "...During Pasha talks about villages folks all of whom have no noses, no roof of the mouth, no lips" (1945, 116). Gökay further noted in a critical tone how During Pasha discriminated against non-Europeans: "When a European comes to those [eastern, uncivilized] countries he would get G.P. but this was not the case for a native of those lands, because their (natives') brains were not exhausted by the effects of civilization" (1929, 78).

Although republican physicians' patriotic feeling was injured by the arguments of European medical men, their basic strategy to challenge Western arguments was to prove that there is no connection between racial origin, civility level and economic condition for suffering from G.P. Yet they kept using the frightening effects of syphilis in educating civility and morality of Turkish people. In the following part, I study how syphilis was operated for eradicating ignorance in Turkish lands.

6.4. Syphilis, Morality and Civility

At the very beginning of 1930, a widespread flow of information about health, especially that of sexual health appeared. Health museum exhibitions, leaflets, brochures, conferences, radio speeches, newspaper articles were devoted in order for saving Turkish people from the harms of venereal diseases. Syphilis constituted a significant place of course. Since the ignorance of people was extensive and since knowledge saves one from many dark sides of life, including

diseases, superstitions and poverty, many republican intellectuals underlined why knowledge is power and ignorance is disaster.

As being proud in terms of his extensive medical knowledge, Mazhar Osman (1945) criticizes the common lack of knowledge about syphilis, and adds that, “not only adults, but also children should know this disease.” Because the age was a different stage in human life, movies are full of obscene scenes. Mazhar Osman founded it hypocrisy while nobody criticized obscene movie scenes, love-making and kissing scenes of cinemas, everyone considered talking about and knowing about syphilis as shame. The only way for saving the Turkish youth from syphilis is to teach them about the disasters of lust” (1945, 114). For him, syphilis was such a disease that not only adults but also children have to know it in detail. However, remembering the widespread arguments about syphilis as a sexually transmitted disease, Mazhar Osman took the attention from sexual connotations of syphilis to the obscene scenes of Hollywood movies and asks: “Is not that hypocrisy while accepting movies, kissing and love-making scenes of those movies that increasing lust and desire as the great entertainment of our age, talking about syphilis is deemed shameful” (1945, 114). For removing hypocritical judgments and conducts, Mazhar Osman called for a widespread education about syphilis. Knowledge is the safest way for eliminating syphilis, because if a young learn the meaning of syphilis at an early age, then he would not be enslaved by the harms of lust and would act cautiously and wisely. Educating self-control through increasing knowledge about syphilis must be the fundamental task. While many novels, poetry, plays and movies animating sexuality and lust were not considered shameful, the flirts in the streets were not shameful, but spelling out the name of syphilis and gonorrhoea, which were the inevitable results of lustful lectures, were deemed disgraceful. This seemed insincere to Mazhar Osman. Yet the problems created by syphilis are beyond sincerity. Given that, “it is not knowledge, but the lack of knowledge is an indefinite disaster,” not knowing syphilis, not knowing its harms to the person, family, generation, race and the nation can no longer be tolerated. The best way of fighting against syphilis is not avoiding from the spell of its name, but teaching it very well (1945, 114). However, Mazhar Osman was

aware of the fact that in some cases, knowledge does not guarantee abstaining from immoral sexual attitudes, those who could not control their lust and couple with their home servants or with bad women whose sexual health are suspect, are deemed as mentally sick and immoral by Mazhar Osman (1947, 326).

Unraveling moral entanglement associated to syphilis was also a task of Prof. Hulusi Behçet. From Istanbul radio, he addressed to people, especially the young, of course, on February 15, 1935. Later his speech turned out to be a pamphlet by Istanbul Halkevi. Behçet's concerns revolved around the questions such as, "Why do we consider syphilis shameful?" "Why do people hide syphilis?" "Is there any shameful disease in the nature?" In answering these questions, political and moral semantics surrounding syphilis became visible. As being insidious and miming the symptoms of various diseases, syphilis extends being a simple, temporal sickness, Behçet states: "What it exactly meant is that syphilis has serious social, familial and racial effects. It would damage any organ. It is the most significant reason of scarcity of population" (1935, 3). Fighting against syphilis is a matter of increasing the number of population: "To combat against syphilis meant to help make a nation healthy and strong" (1935, 3). What syphilis can do but other diseases cannot do is that it threatens generations terribly. It is argued that in spite of the efforts to eliminate syphilis, the result is not satisfactory because of the shame surrounding it; shame buries it and maintains its secrecy. Hiding syphilis is nothing but ignorance, if not infidelity to the nation. He states: "We are looking at the appearance and are afraid of the visible wounds. Such fears are nothing considering the main disasters syphilis causes. The biggest disaster is that it diminishes the ability to work and destroys generations" (1935, 9).

Hulusi Behçet demands a proper sexual education for the young. "We should animate the education of the young from the primary school. Then we keep giving them a fundamental sexual education during the intermediary and high schools, and the undergraduate level. The crucial point, Behçet reminds us is that the point of sexual education is not teaching how to save young from venereal disease after they are indulged in debauchery. Rather, the aim is to teach importance of sexual

duty. To inform the young about the probable material, moral, social harms of sexual life and sexual intercourse. The main point is to serve the making of future generation as robust (1935, 10).

For Hulusi Behçet, the matter is not simply the health of a person when syphilis concerned, rather it is happiness of the family and the future of the nation. If a person regulates and controls his sexual duties naturally, then he will keep his own self, his family, his offspring and eventually the society he belongs to and his beloved nation. Saving one's nation is only possible by a complete healthiness and vividness. The nations that lack the potential of work are destined to slavery (1935, 11).

In a similar vein to Prof. Behçet, Doctor Saim Suner translates a book, namely *Sexual Education of the Young* (Gençliğin Cinsi Terbiyesi) by Sicard de Plaujoles in 1935, which is published by İstanbul Halkevi. In this book, the sexual education of the young is considered as a requirement to be organized systematically since primary school (1935, 3). Sexual education courses must be given in a similar vein to other courses. Natural Sciences, Hygiene Knowledge and Morality teachers would teach sexual education courses. It would include sexual organs, hereditary laws, physical and moral beauty of generations, child-care, sexual hygiene and sexual morality. The knowledge on sexuality must be given as natural as any other knowledge. It must be given in time without inflicting excitement, without arousing any feeling apart from providing some scientific help (1935, 13-14).

The republican medical elite, presumably, aim to break the shameful circle surrounding syphilis, so that they could remove the moral content of this circle and give a disease its scientific status and cure it. For them, it is the common mind that connects syphilis to shame, not the scientific one. Ironically, however, the morality surrounding syphilis is sedimented within the discourse of the medical pundits: let alone removing the value-laden belief “Syphilis is shameful,” by morally and politically investing it with national ideals and duties, these pundits further saturated the moral content of it. Syphilis is shame, but not knowing and not

speaking about it is shame as well. The republican elite's will-to-know and desire to educate position syphilis and the syphilitics quite uniquely within the politico-moral domain of the Kemalist power. Policing syphilis seems the most legitimate way of policing the intimate and the secret in general. To know syphilis means to know the very passions, desires and energies of the people that would be used for the national salvation and civilizational shift toward the West. Arbitrary, timeless and unnatural use of carnal appetites is not only inimical to the nation's politico-moral discourse, but is dangerous in terms of politico-economic calculations. That is why it is required to educate the children and the young properly—to the extent that they could learn a sort of sexual self-mastery—without inciting their lust, as their lust later will be used for yielding healthy, robust and strong children for the sake of the nation.

6.5. The Public Hygiene Law and Intimacy-Oriented Policies

As I have studied in the second chapter, the Turkish nationalist discourse since its inception articulated significant elements concerning physical health and the strength of people. Despite the fact that the nationalist discourse kept centralizing hygiene and hygiene knowledge for exalting Turkish nation, it was only with the Public Hygiene Law (Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu, UHK) of 1930 that the republican regime could direct a significant amount of energy for eliminating sickly image of Turks. The UHK indicated an extensive concern over the intimate sphere: pre-marital inspection, prostitution, venereal diseases as well as hygiene knowledge and application of scientific and useful knowledge in public as well as the private life of citizens were included in hygiene policies of the republican government. The very first article defining the aim of UHK specified improving sanitary conditions and fighting against all diseases, as well as detrimental factors defeating national health and ensuring health of prospective generation as major public services (Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu). Eradicating all diseases was of significance; however, malaria, tuberculosis and syphilis were the triple diseases that worried the republicans the most. Venereal diseases in general and syphilis in particular expressed novelty for their obvious connection with the common

republican ideal, that is, raising healthy and virtuous generations for catching up with Western civilization.

Given that preventing a disease is easier, cheaper and more useful in the long-term than treating it;⁸⁸ republican physicians spent much time for developing hygiene knowledge and teaching citizens how to appreciate science and physicians instead of resorting to superstitious treatment. It was not just citizens who were in need of knowledge and enlightenment, the new republic was also in need of learning about citizens for accomplishing a better administration. In this regard, venereal diseases were a golden opportunity to infiltrate in the private domain and to gain knowledge of intimate life.

According to Article 103 of UHK, it was mandatory for people who suffer from venereal diseases, namely syphilis, gonorrhea and soft chancre to be consulted by a physician who has a license to work in Turkey. Physicians also were urged to register their patients to their registration book. As defined by the laws in details, registration books cover names and ages of patients. The stage of diseases and previous consultations and treatments of patients, if any, were required to be stated clearly. Physicians had to prepare a report, which was secret: if any official publicizes this notification, he would be tried as denouncing a state secret, including the results of their own inspections about patients to submit the directorate of health in their own regions.

Physicians were also entitled to inspect all prospective mates according to Article 122. Citizens who suffered from syphilis, gonorrhea, soft chancre, leprosy and mental diseases were prohibited to marry. This prohibition continued until a complete recovery report was offered by a physician. Since prostitution was considered as the main reason of venereal diseases as well as that of moral and sanitary degeneration, Articles from 128 to 132 were devoted to prostitution and prostitutes. A more detailed requirements for fighting against prostitution were

⁸⁸ Vaccination, for instance, was an important vehicle for preventing diseases; however, things did not go well for the republican physicians who believe in the strength of medical science in cultivating Turkish people. Please see İdare no. 58 for a strange event between a police chief and a physician, who vaccinated police officers without permission (1933, 9).

declared in the statute, “Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi” in 1933. In line with this statute, the Commission Fighting against Venereal Diseases and Prostitution were established. In addition to assist these commissions, charity and philanthropic societies were invited to perform their duty. The commissions for “Fighting against Syphilis and Prostitution” were asked to determine and register prostitutes and brothel houses, explore clandestine prostitutes and brothels, find out people who need medical consultation and treatment because of sexually transmitted diseases, and to help closure of unregistered prostitution places.

The most difficult task of these commissions was determining and registering a woman as a prostitute. The republican government and elite were underlining the importance of encouraging the Turkish women, who were deemed as the captives of traditional order, to participate in new modern life. Yet if commissions monitor women strictly, then this would delay female participation, thus delay a truly civilized national order, where women and men equally share public places. For this reason, the statute urged commission members to be very scrupulous in registration. If a commission recognized a woman as a suspect prostitute, it first determined whether that woman was engaged in prostitution repeatedly and with different men. This determination should be based on a secret investigation and commission and it needed proof. Only after the members of the commissions were completely sure about women’s engagement with prostitution, then they would begin to search for the reasons leading women to immoral life. While investigating social and other factors, commissions should try to open a path for women’s entrance into a decent life. If these efforts remained futile, then the commissions had the right to register women as prostitutes. The registered prostitutes were obliged to be consulted by a licensed physician twice a month. In a registration card to be kept by the prostitute, there is a picture, name, nickname and date and place of birth. The physicians’ book contains fortnightly information about prostitutes; this information was also filled into prostitutes’ registration card.

In 1934, the Organization Fighting against Syphilis (*Frenge ile Mücadele Teşkilatı, FMT*) was established for deepening the ongoing fights against syphilis. Except from official departments and physicians, certain voluntary associations and people operated for enlightening and frightening people against this disease. The statute defining the missions and duties of FMT passed on December 22, 1934. It was mandatory for FMTs to organize a scrupulous health inspection in the areas where combating against syphilis was considered urgent. While inspecting villages, first of all the number of population and the name-list of peasants were to be received. Only after inscribing the names of peasants to the Registration and Consultation Book for Village, physicians would start consulting peasants. It was mandatory to inspect all populace, men and women, children and elderly. After an initial health scan, a report, a map and graphics were to be sent to the Ministry of Health. Village Councils were responsible for notifying the one who detected as syphilis in the first-step health inspection to the directorates of health in each region.

The statute on fighting against syphilis defined in detail how to fill each registration books that of *Tesbit ve Muayene Defteri; Frenge Tedavi Esas Defteri; Frenge İlaçları Varidat ve Sarfiyat Defteri*. The first book was of significance. Before launching medical treatment, health officers were urged to visit villages and neighborhoods and prepare name-lists. Apart from names, the profession of head of family had to be noted. In noting age, the date of birth was required to be mentioned. For each village and neighborhood a separate numbering was applied. In addition, the number of each house was also registered. Registrars were obliged to apply the Law for Surnames in registering names. The example given in the statute was as follows: “For instance: the name of the person is Hasan and his surname is Şahin, then he is registered as Hasan Şahin. The man who is the head of a family is always inscribed first. After that, the name and surname of his wife is written. For instance, if wife’s name is Fatma, it is stated as Fatma Şahin.”⁸⁹ The members of FMT were warned about not hurting the feeling of people while

⁸⁹ T.C. Sıhhat ve İctimai Muavenet Vekaleti *Frenge Mücadele Teşkilatının Vazifelerini Gösterir Talimatname* (22.12.1934) (1935, 19).

conducting medical inspection; especially, the committee should be very careful while inspecting women. Apart from registering people, diagnosing their diseases and offering free medicine were novel tasks, educating people about the harms of syphilis seemed more crucial.⁹⁰ For this reason, in the areas known as the zone of syphilis people were informed through conferences, health movies, brochures and health posters. In the 7th National Medical Congress in 1938, Mazhar Osman once again objected to the exaggerated number of syphilitics in Turkey and noted according to the records of the Ministry of Health, the number of syphilitics in Turkey as 160,000, and further claimed that: today we can announce that the rate of syphilis in Turkey is lowest. The gravity of fighting against in Turkey is unique compared to other countries. There is no unique characteristic of syphilis in Turkey: syphilis is the same everywhere (Mazhar Osman 1939a, 16). However, venereal diseases became a more significant part of the republican pedagogy in educating morality and civility to people nationwide.

6.6. Venereal Diseases and Republican Morality

Since the beginning of the 1930s, various conferences were launched all over the country in order to increase public knowledge on venereal diseases. Apart from leaflets freely circulated by the Ministry of Health, many physicians in different regions of Turkey published recommendatory and informatory booklets about how to save republican citizen's health and decency as against the threats of prostitution and venereal diseases. Even the Bayer Company hailed to the young generation as "The Idealist Generation of the Strong Turkey," and recommended the young to be away from the syphilis because a good mannered and well-trained human being could not fall into the bad environment, where syphilis would be caught (BAYER 1933, 53). Whether prepared by the Ministry of Health, or written by a free-lancing physician, the literature on venereal diseases shared a common sermonizing tone. For this reason, some of the pamphlets were dull. Most of them, however, were very creative by citing anecdotes, giving statistics, making analogies and showing pictorial images. Turkish venereal disease literature was

⁹⁰ T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekaleti *Frenji Mücadele Teşkilatının Vazifelerini Gösterir Talimatname* (22.12.1934) (1935, 6).

nurtured by contemporary European sources, which were frequently paraphrased and occasionally copied by native authors. Yet still, the Turkish authors created their own style thanks to their political, national and moral concerns and duties. Their message was clear: control your sexual desires, keep your physical health, and devote yourself to the national cause. So that it was believed that the Turkish nation could arrive at the level of contemporary civilization.

Zührevi Hastalıklar Müptelalarına Nasihatler ve Tavsiyeler (1931) was the first leaflet published in 1931. This was republished in 1940 with an enlarged volume consisting of pictorial images of family members who suffer from gonorrhea and syphilis. Blind children, crying mothers, regretful fathers. This leaflet was addressing the patients suffering from venereal disease, rather than a wider populace. It was asked for a careful reading because serious recommendations to save the family and nation were awaiting patriotic patients. Patients were invited to help the state, which launched a strong combat against venereal diseases. Each and every citizen was deemed responsible for helping the state. The citizens who were already infected with venereal diseases would help the state and the nation through informing health officials about the location where they got the disease. Another big responsibility of the patient was to apply for medical consultation from physicians who have official license to treat venereal diseases. Patients were invited to listen to the voice of their conscience for notifying the location of disease, because other citizens would get diseases in the same places. The point in this notification was that it should include the name, signature and address of the patient: “Do not hesitate to give your name, do not be afraid of it. State officials will save your secret as the secret of state” (1931, 2). That “Physicians have told the name of your disease; only these physicians would be a remedy,” was a repeatedly given advice (1931, 2). Patients were assured that all venereal diseases were curable. And only medical science would provide proper treatment for each disease and for different stages of a disease. The leaflet informed the patients that gonorrhea, a very painful disease, makes sexual organs dysfunctional, and makes one infertile; soft chancre is also awful; however, it was noted, even the most ignorant people know the terrible results of syphilis. Everybody knows that

without a proper treatment, syphilis paralyzes one, it stigmatizes body and it affects one's offspring (1931, 2).

Despite the recommendatory tone of the leaflet, it was stated that the *reason* itself would tell anyone the right way to follow, yet still the *law* also obliges one to do the right thing. Put it differently, it was clearly stated that if one could not find the right thing by his own reason, advice and warning would be helpful. If the reason and advice had no help, then the force of law would discipline one. The Public Hygiene Law forced citizens to be consulted by physicians, and the Penal Code required a three-month-long imprisonment for the escapees. After resorting to conscience, reason and the law, the leaflet lastly referred to human honor and dignity by stating:

The most essential task of an honest person who knows human dignity is to save his circle of friends and associates. Without recovering [from syphilis] you would never have sexual intercourse with your wife and with other women. In fact, if you have such an intercourse this would be harmful to you, because your illness would become worse and the time of your recovery would prolong. On the other hand, you would cause the infection of another person and makes her life disaster. No conscience would tolerate such a murder (1931, 3).

The pamphlets, other than official ones, were addressed to a wider public and reflected worries, fears and demands more passionately. Instead of referring to laws, they were prepared with the desire of offering a complete life guide for people and especially for the young generation. In what follows, I examine various speeches and pamphlets delivered in different regions of Turkey for exploring how venereal diseases were articulated into the republican pedagogy.

6.6.1. Abstaining Like a Pastor: Advices to the Public in Mersin

Doctor Remzi Gönenç, as the Health Director of Mersin, an activist of Mersin People's House, and as a contributor to *Ülkü*, gave great significance to illuminate people about "health," for he frequently suggested "health is happiness" for an individual as well as for a nation (1936, 48).⁹¹ One major matter which combines

⁹¹ Please also see (1934a; 1934b; 1934c; 1939). Doctor Gönenç was also the husband of one of the first female MPs, Mebrure Gönenç.

an individual happiness with that of nation is sexual health of the republican citizens. In this respect, Doctor Gönenç wrote a detailed book for eliminating venereal diseases. His first concern was the concealment of venereal disease. He explained that they are known as bad diseases, because they are taken from bad women. That is why everybody is ashamed of confessing their trouble. They even do not consult a medical doctor (1934c, 1) Gönenç complains in this manner:

Although everybody knows its harms, because of shame and hesitation, nobody would tell about his illness to someone else, would talk about his trouble. After being too late, when his body is filled with open sore and pus, and after his wife, mother and children get infected, he asks for healing (1934c, 2).

He informed people that the reason behind disease is a germ, as opposed to widely welcomed superstitious idea that passionate love and pain would lead to syphilis. As a science man, he assured that the body does not create any disease by itself (1934c, 3). Given the lack of knowledge about syphilis, Doctor Gönenç explained that ignorant and disorderly people who could not manage their own behaviors generally would get venereal diseases from bad women; however, many innocent children, pitiful women who spend their time at home waiting for their husbands would be contaminated and would be the victim of ignorance of their environment. “Without sexual contact and coupling” the doctor underlined, one could get syphilis, “sharing a spoon and eating from the same dishes, drinking from the same glasses, kissing, touching sores would lead to infection” (1934c, 4). In speaking so, Doctor Gönenç was trying to get attention of people about how syphilis requires a transformation in daily habits in line with hygiene knowledge.

Another significant point to keep in mind was that, “the germ does not look at one’s feeling, one’s position: a peasant, a fallen person, the poor, the rich, the educated, the unlearned would get VD” (1934c, 4). The doctor’s reflection on syphilis was quite egalitarian: everybody is equal in front of the common enemy, that of microbes. Even the most learned people, physicians and nurses were under threat: microbes do not tolerate any clumsy and careless behavior. Clearly then, although ignorant people would be infected easily, the knowledge does not

guarantee immunity: everybody should keep utmost attention: “This is what national population policy requires: Since saving country from enemies depends on the number of population, everybody would understand the importance of health and strength of future generation for the nation” (1934c, 5).

In Gönenç’s account, there were virgin lands in Turkey where venereal diseases have no access; there were also places where venereal diseases came from big cities where peasants go for work. Comparing Turkey with other countries, venereal diseases were very few. Despite the limited number of syphilitics, the Doctor complained that, certain unlearned and ignorant peasants got infected with syphilis—especially during the Balkan wars and the Great war—and then spread their diseases among their people, thus all of village folk became syphilitic (1934c, 6). The easy contamination of syphilis urged the Turkish citizens to perform a common civil duty: to confess their trouble to physicians. If one fails to realize his national duties by catching syphilis, he could at least be a good citizen by consulting a physician and fighting against his own disease.

Inspiring republican and patriotic duties into the hearth of young seemed very crucial to Gönenç. He considered their bodies as the wealth of the nation. He specifically underlined the importance of their sexual potentials, which in turn would create the future of the Turkish nation. He addressed the young for reminding them that their sexual organs were immature. Without reaching maturity, which meant arriving at 20 to 23 years old, young should control their sexual instincts; otherwise, they would lose their sexual power (1934c, 9-10)

Given the difficulty of controlling sexual desires, Gönenç referred to an anecdote about an abstinent pastor to draw a safe path for Turkish young. In the story, the Sultan wonders how that pastor would manage to resist his sexual instincts. The reply of the pastor to the Sultan’s delegate is this: pastor opens his book, reads it silently, without uttering any word. What he meant by devoting himself to reading without noticing and responding the Sultan’s man, the Doctor explained to the young, was that “when my sexual organ erects, when my sexual feeling arouses, I

forget and repress it by reading books” (1934c, 10). Concomitantly then, in the age of republican pedagogy, Doctor Gönenç’s advice to the republican young for eliminating the vices of early sexuality was to read useful books, play sports, go trekking, and play football (1934c, 10). According to him, the pleasure of early sexuality was like the pleasure of raw fruits. Paying money for such tasteless intercourse was also puzzling, because only an insane would pay for poisoning his young and fresh body. He further added that, “if young animals are mounted and forced to carry heavy goods, they would be scrub and skinny.” Likewise, “the young men would suffer from troubles and diseases if they exhaust their bodies earlier” (1934c, 10). The doctor lastly suggested his public to spread the knowledge they have learnt about diseases and to increase philanthropic and charity work for educating and saving the unlearned about results of casual sexualities and venereal diseases.

It is clear that Doctor Gönenç’s “people” meant “men” young and mature alike, but he disregards women and children as the primary target of venereal diseases. Yet still, they would be the victim through indirect contagion. For this reason, it is better for everyone to learn about scientific reasons of diseases, that of microbes. This knowledge would help them to create a hygienic environment, which would eliminate all other diseases and unhealthy results and to inculcate good and healthy habits such as reading and trekking. What is more crucial in Gönenç’s account is that syphilis does not discriminate among people, the poor, the rich, the man, the woman, and the educated and the ignorant, because it has various mechanisms to spread. For this reason, an individual effort is not enough to save oneself as well as the nation: all responsible citizens should act harmoniously to eliminate sickness, and to develop more civilized and self-control-based attitudes to create a healthy and strong nation.

6.6.2. Know your Enemy, Save your Nation: Advice for High School Boys in İstanbul

“In order to protect oneself from an enemy, one should know the enemy,” declared to boys who were listening to him: the enemy, in this regard, was venereal

diseases, which threaten “us, our offspring and our race” (Eren 1935, 1). According to Doctor Nuri Osman Eren, a dermatologist and an expert in syphilis, who led the Samsun Syphilitic Hospital, became the chief of dermatology service at Haseki Hospital in the 1930s, and who was one of the founding members of Society for Dermatological and Venereal Diseases in 1930, venereal diseases were disaster, leading “us” to calamity, misery, disability, even to insanity and blindness; causing the decline of our generation and making our offspring handicapped and weak (1935, 1). Among venereal diseases, syphilis seemed the most devastating enemy for its ability to hide itself completely. It was unique because its microbes invade the body in silence and cruelty; destroy the bodies inside, which look quite healthy outside. Syphilis, in Doctor Eren’s narration, would mask itself in a seemingly spectacular body while spreading all parts of it, while its poison circulating inside the vessels. It imitates the symptoms of other diseases; results in very many different diseases. Syphilis is unique and incomparable (1935, 2).

Despite its intricate character, Doctor Eren gave some statistical knowledge for removing mystery of the enemy: 50 percent of those who died due to neural and cerebral disease, 50 percent of those who died because of heart and vascular disease, 30 percent of people dying for respiratory disease, 33 percent of people dying for digestive disease, 33 percent of people dying for renal diseases, 50 percent of instantaneous death were attached to syphilis. Harms of syphilis were not confined to these deaths; it inflicts further damages: 60 percent of epilepsy and imbecility; 25 percent of blindness were explained with syphilis (1935, 6-7).

Doctor Eren assured that human beings are essentially beautiful and good. What makes them ugly, formless and bad is poison, infiltrating in their bodies. No other poison could live longer and pass generations to generations than that of syphilis: “Most of the children who lack some organs, who have cleft palate; who have ill-shaped heads are syphilitics” (1935, 5) Eren added: “Most of the young murderers are congenital syphilitics” (1935, 7). Given that 95 percent of syphilis was infected through sexual relation, regulating marital life seemed very important. He equated

the act of marital union of syphilitics with the act of homicide. “With his dirty body,” Eren wrote, “the sick man gives his innocent family (wife) and prospective children a terrible disease.” A moral, conscientious and sanitary purity was the remedy of syphilis. In addition, one should know well the point of marriage: it was not satisfying one’s needs and receiving pleasures, rather establishing a family, raising children and jollifying the nation with healthy and robust children. After clarifying the strong tie between marriage, familial life and the national power, Doctor Eren finished his words by noting that the most important capital for a nation is human capital. If a citizen saves his own health, saves his children’s health, then he means to save the wealth of his family and the wealth and strength of his nation. The most sacred duty of a Turk to Turkey and to humanity is combating against social diseases, against syphilis and gonorrhea (1935, 8).

Osman Nuri Eren’s referring to the metaphor of enemy in speaking with young men is significant in a country, which is proud of being a soldier nation (Altınay 2005). In this regard, high school boys are considered as the potential soldiers of the homeland, who would shed their blood and fight with enemies. But their sacred duties are not confined to the battlefield. Given that the republican regime argues for “peace” inside and outside of the nation, young bodies, who are still potential soldiers as being Turks, should devote their energies for fighting in a more peaceful battlefield, where the enemies are microbes and diseases. This fight is also a sacred duty on the ground that it would save the future of the nation, would increase the number of population, and would make Turkey a strong nation, which would then becomes powerful in case of real battles and against the enemies other than microbes.

6.6.3. Syphilis Would Defeat an Empire, Let Alone a Nation

As the diseases, microbes, and especially syphilis constituted new enemies of the nation, the retired Health Inspector, Şükrü Kamil Talımcıoğlu, maintained these arguments through underlining that syphilis would be more arduous than real enemies: “One of the reasons turning the Roman Empire—which once had dominated the world—into a small kingdom was syphilis; perhaps the basic reason

was syphilis” (1939, 3).⁹² Syphilis was already equated with enemy, but very few would know that syphilis defeated an empire. Talimcioğlu was not concerned with threatening people, instead, he wanted to “remove superstition and bring the truth about syphilis” (1939, 5). In fact, in the 1930s he produced many popular health books for enlarging the medical knowledge of common people, such as, *How to Look After Children and Young (Çocuklara ve Gençlere Nasıl Bakmalı?)* (1932a); *How to Look After Pregnant Women? (Gebe Kadınlara Nasıl Bakmalı?)* (1932b) and *Be Your Own Physician (Kendi Kendinin Doktoru)* (1932c) to inculcate the idea that diseases are not enigma and one would be his/her won physician and fight against diseases once one would emancipate his/her mind from superstition and folkways in the field of medicine. Ironically, the truth explored by the health inspector about syphilis was quite enigmatic: “It is wrong to consider syphilis as disease which has an obvious symptom...The symptoms of syphilis are so differentiating that even the most talented professors are surprised and sometimes fail to notice syphilis” (1939, 38). Despite difficulty of diagnosing syphilis, Doctor Şükrü Kamil gave detailed scientific information about syphilis and recommends people to save themselves from it. Since syphilis makes a “human being lazy, immoral and characterless” and since a syphilitic “has no benefit for himself, no help to his family and society,” a national awakening was mandatory to defeat syphilis before it would defeat “us.”

Prof. Dr. Cevat Kerim İncedayı explained in his advice book: “The diseases whose harms extend the power of an individual are concerned with national existence” (1942, 84).⁹³ Syphilis was of course a consummate case of the diseases requiring a national campaign. The diseases like syphilis would ruin the qualitative values of a nation and create “holes in the national body.” Put it another way, such diseases

⁹² Tefeyyüz Kitaphanesi published many health primers written by Talimcioğlu (1932a; 1932b; 1932c; 1938a; 1938b).

⁹³ Cevat Kerem İncedayı’s speech entitled *Frenjinin Tehlikelerine Dair Umumi Bilgiler ve Bu Hastalıkla Mücadelede Halka Nasihatler ve Tembihler* was given in Diyarbakır People’s House conference room, on June 6, 1941. Cevat Kerim İncedayı is the brother of republican MP and Minister Cevdet Kerim İncedayı. Please see also Cevat Kerem İncedayı (1936; 1939; 1949).

would decrease the number of population. To save the nation then, one should eliminate any cause leading to syphilis and similar diseases.

“Do not suppose that we exaggerate about these diseases. Do not think that we try to inflict a syphiliphobia,” (1942, 86) said İncedayı, by assuring that he was telling the most obvious truth about danger of syphilis. “Telling the obvious truth” was the safest way to educate people about the evil. Warnings and advices, calling for reason, good judgment and conscience, clearly defining dangers and harms, were critical for eliminating the intense ignorance. However, as many physicians also noted in the 1930s, efforts of state organizations were not enough for a truly combat against syphilis; mandatory and legal acts were not the guarantor of health. To be a more healthy and strong nation, citizens in a similar vein to Western people, should help health and sexual hygiene education, should learn about the harms of syphilis, and help stop spreading diseases.

In the 1930s of Turkey, the Ministry of Health established an extensive campaign against the triple diseases, namely syphilis, tuberculosis and malaria, for they threatened national existence. According to İncedayı, syphilis was different from other diseases that attracted national attention. There was no immunity from syphilis; everyone could be infected with it. The rich or poor, women or men, the new-born or the elderly, decent or the immoral, Oriental or European, would suffer from syphilis. In this sense, it was not the same with tuberculosis, which infects the weak and poor. It also differed from malaria, which arises in a certain climate and environmental conditions. It found its victims in any place, any climate. It was wrong to consider syphilis as the disease of those who lead a disorderly life through seeking endless pleasure, said İncedayı, because “syphilis would find the most disciplined and responsible human beings” (1942, 92).

What İncedayı tried to emphasize is that syphilis requires a nationwide attention and education. Knowing the importance of pedagogy in the republican era, İncedayı underlined one point for achieving more benefit in national life: “If you teach a child how to eat, how to drink, how to be clean, how to study hard, how to

respect elderly....then your education could only serve to individual improvement” (1942, 94). A proper education must cover the aims of saving generation; improving race and betterment of breed. It should target social life. A complete national education should retain sexual education. And this education should not aim the gratification of individual needs. Instead, sexual education also should target social and national needs. After receiving a proper sexual education, the young would learn how to appreciate and keep a healthy and strong body, follow national causes, and would help increase the Turkish populace.

6.6.4. Bad Women, Good Girls and Syphilis

As I explained in Chapter 4, in the early republican era, women are invested with their potential for reproduction, for increasing the number of the Turkish nation, and for raising good and healthy Turks; and on the other hand, they are elevated to the status of virtuous mothers of the new nation, the literature on syphilis gave utmost importance to separate an unbridgeable gap between the virtuous Turkish women and the fallen women who cause and disseminate venereal diseases among the Turkish nation. Yet still, most of the physicians and sermonizers concerning sexual education of the republican generations gave their attention not to the wickedness of the prostitutes, but to the unlearned public on how and why one should curb and control bodily appetites. As an exception, one would refer to the physician of Edirne Teacher’s School for Girls, İsmail Hakkı Kutkam, who argued: “Syphilis is the most dangerous disease...It is caught from bad women who give pleasure” (1937, 3). For Kutkam, however, the prostitutes, especially the clandestine ones, were the real threat. In odd corners of big cities and towns, there were many bad women selling pleasure. Bad women gave their disease to the “unfortunate, drunk and the fool” (1937, 7). Kutkam’s message is clear: the problem was not the adultery of men, but prostitution of women. “The most disastrous diseases are caught when one is drunk,” he added, because “drunk tolerates everything. Even the dirty (unhealthy) woman seems to the drunk as the most beautiful woman on earth. Without knowing the truth, he is engaged with the disgusting” (1937, 20).

In Kutkam's account, the most foible ones, who would easily be hooked by bad women, were peasants. The peasants were pitiful if they spent their money with bad women, because they both lost their livelihood earned, thanks to exhausting work in fields, and brought trouble and disaster to their village, nation and home. In addition, syphilis was a social stigma; syphilitics were disgusting in Kutkam's understanding: "only death would purify their dirt" (1937, 12). He finished his words as follows: "Syphilis is a terrible disease that destroys ourselves, weakens our power and corrodes our generation. Run away!" (1937, 22).

6.6.5. Toward a Philanthropic Nation: Unite Against Syphilis

Accordingly, when a new, voluntary society, the Society for Fighting against Venereal Diseases in İzmir (*İzmir Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Cemiyeti*) in 1932 addressed young girls and mothers as the first target to raise their consciousness and knowledge about syphilis, this was not a simple coincidence. Aiming at shaping women in terms of the republican ideals, the speech was started with repeating dominant republican themes. The past was evaluated as unfortunate and vulnerable especially in terms of fighting against unending triple diseases, malaria, tuberculosis and syphilis; the republican government was appreciated for its successful, powerful and resolute efforts against syphilis—such efforts were considered as civilized efforts. The significance of syphilis was tied to the fact that it directly threatens the race and the population of the nation, though "our nation needs healthy and strong generation" (1932, 3). For such a sacred task, efforts of the government alone are not enough: "People, each individual, and especially ladies should know about syphilis, about its contagion mechanisms, its symptoms and its destructions, so that they could help fighters (those state officials working in FMT)" (1932, 3).

In their account, women had a special position in society because their main function was nursing and educating. Educating the educators (mothers) would help much about sanitary enlightenment in society. If women know well about syphilis, they would help cure, prevent its infectivity and more importantly, they would save their own health and body. Women were invited to be alert everywhere, and

all the time that syphilis is everywhere and would meet them anytime. “Ladies!” they said anxiously, “...syphilis is watching you insidiously and watching from each and every corner, at unexpected places” (1932, 20). Their arguments on omnipresence of syphilis despite its invisibility were also disseminated by popular press in the 1930s. Doctor Emin Rıza, for instance, in *Yeni Gün* on March 31, 1931 informed and warned his readers from his column “Tıbbi Bahisler.” Once he argued in his article entitled, “Frengi Nasıl Geçer, İnsan Farkında Olmadan, Bilmeden Frengi Alabilir mi?” (How does Syphilis Contaminate? Can One Catch Syphilis unknowingly?), that the answer of this question was an unhesitant “yes” (1931a, 10). The conditions of contamination of syphilis without the knowledge of the contaminated were enumerated as follows: the contaminated would receive syphilis by birth, he (she) would receive it when he (she) is not mature (as a child), and finally one would receive syphilis through extraordinary way where no one would consider the possibility of syphilis. Doctor Emin Rıza further noted how some wrongly assume that such unconscious contamination would only occur among families, like working class families who do not watch the rules of hygiene and health. Instead, the doctor warned the readers that one would be contaminated with syphilis unknowingly even in the most civilized environment. Yet still, he considered the resource of sickness as lower classes by naming wet-nurses, mürebbi (hired educators) and servants. In his account, it is almost impossible to stop these people in their threatening activities while engaging with “our” children, embracing them, kissing them, using their own spoon when feeding them (1931a, 14).

On April 11, 1931 Doctor Emin Rıza in another article informing his readers about the contamination of syphilis, answered the difficulty of women in recognizing their contamination with syphilis. He explained the main reason of women’s unknowing about their syphilis is that syphilis is misleadingly considered as a disease, contaminated through sexual organs, and thus it appears first in the sexual organs. But reality, as Doctor explained, is not that simple: syphilis would enter into a body from any part. In addition, the complexity of female sexual organ defers women’s noticing their contamination with syphilis (1931b, 11).

Given the frequency of syphilis, the İzmir Society urged women to transform all their established habits, such as kissing. “Indirect contagion of syphilis generally results from a kiss,” and added for not questioning their addressees’ chastity: “This kiss is not necessarily one of love-kisses (aşk buseleri)” (1932, 12). Kisses as the expression of sincerity, friendly love and respect would contaminate syphilis. “Even if they are innocent, kisses are mordant. Try to not kiss and not to be kissed as soon as possible. Do not kiss even the most intimate friends and relatives and be awake,” they insisted (1932, 12).

Another established habit, which was seriously challenged by *Society*, was the use of common utensils. In public domains as well as at home, Turkish people shared their glasses, mugs, forks, knives and dishes: this was an unacceptable behavior in a civilized nation.⁹⁴

In the European literature on venereal diseases, it is very common to blame working class members as the main cause and spreader of diseases. In Turkish literature, on the other hand, lower classes were not directly turned into scapegoats of contagious diseases. It was only *İzmir Society* that mentioned and judged cooks, home-servants and wet-nurses as dangerous classes.⁹⁵ Concomitantly then, they advised women to choose their cooks, especially servants caring for children carefully. Monitoring servants responsible from child-care seemed as a requirement for the health of family and nation. Kisses, hugs, and the way they feed children must be done according to hygiene rules and civility manners. *İzmir Society* complained about legal void in hiring home-servants.⁹⁶ Their anxiety

⁹⁴ As Engelstein explained the contagion of syphilis through the “shared cup, the casula hug, the dirty razor blade, the unwashed towel” was first popularized by an American physician L. Duncan Bulkley in *Syphilis in the Innocent* in 1894. Since then in different contexts physicians disseminated the idea that syphilis would contaminate by non-sexual ways. Please see for a discussion in Russia, Laura Engelstein (1986, 169).

⁹⁵ Hilmi Adnan Malik [Evrenol] explained the high rate of home-servants in the house of state officials and most of the home-servants in the 1930s were peasant girls. Hilmi Malik Evrenol (1932, 50).

⁹⁶ Despite the complaints arose from the Society, Belediye Kanunu made it compulsory to register home-servants. In June 1, 1931, Yeni Gün daily announced for İstanbul that home servants were started to be registered.

increased given indifferent attitude of family heads: neither state, nor family members investigate foreigners infiltrating into the intimate sphere in Turkey. “Servants are not subject to medical investigation,” they explained to the audience, however the thing was that “This disorderliness would cause great tragedies.” (1932, 15-17).

The so-called dangerous classes, offering and threatening the comfort of the upper classes were not just servants and cooks to be watched and medically consulted as the potential syphilitics, but others that of “the prisoners including murderers, criminals, thieves, hashish smokers, morphine and cocaine-addicts, prostitutes, morally-defected ones” (1932, 27). *İzmir Society* claimed more: if these people were investigated well, it would be found out that in most cases they were victims of hereditary syphilis. In their account, syphilitics were condemned to death, that is to say, death was inevitable, and in fact, the desirable final for the syphilitics. However, they explained, if syphilitics do not die, the newly born syphilitic children would be misshapen, flat-footed and handicapped. Generally speaking, the stupid, lame, cross-eyed, epileptic, and dwarfs were syphilitics. This was in the standard frightening explanation on syphilitics (1932, 27).

After overtly marking lower classes as the main transmitters of syphilis, evaluating the prisoners, prostitutes and the handicapped as the syphilitics and the offspring of syphilitics,⁹⁷ the speech concluded by urging everyone to confess syphilis: “We should speak out explicitly and everywhere (about syphilis). That is to say, we should not conceal that we are infected with syphilis” (1932, 29-30). Repetitively stating that syphilis was not shame—in fact transferring its shame to the lower classes—the *İzmir Society* directed their energy and knowledge at the disposal of the republican ideals, acted as nationalist pedagogues in teaching the basics of syphilis, and wished for “the happiness of ourselves, our offspring and our nation” (1932, 30).

⁹⁷ For a similar understanding, which associated syphilis with lower classes, please see Baltacıoğlu (1998, 23).

6.6.6. Peasants and Syphilis

Three Disaster: Syphilis, Prostitution, Alcohol (Üç Bela: Frengi, Fuhuş, İçki), was written by Doctor İhsan Özgen in 1935. These pamphlets were generally based upon previous public speeches, thus they reflected a speaking tone, instead of a more formal tone of typical written material. Doctor Özgen's pamphlet began as follows:

Peasant Brother! Syphilis is a terrible disease. It utterly destroys your generation. It makes a man sick and handicapped, deprives him of fecundity. It makes a man mad and a prisoner. It destroys your manliness, humanity; makes you disgraced. That is why you should learn well what syphilis is, how it is transmitted and cured (1935, 1).

He further explained by posing the following question: "Do you know what exist inside the people who cannot be successful at school, who are not useful to handicraft, murderers, thieves and those unfortunate prisoners? And replied: "Syphilis" (1935, 16).

Syphilis is mainly transmitted through coupling, sleeping of a man and a woman together, Doctor Özgen stated clearly (1935, 1). Prohibition of kissing also seemed crucial to him. Even parents were rejected to kiss their children as it happened, since various diseases destroying generations, such as syphilis and tuberculosis, were transmitted through kissing. Kissing would seemed simple and harmless, but Doctor Özgen clarified that "sore on the throat of someone whom you do not know at all, or of some other one whom you know very well and see everyday, such as your neighbor or your relative would be a syphilis-sore: you do not know and 'he' cannot know either" (1935, 2). According to him, the only way for avoiding from this insidious disease was a complete self-mastery and transformation of daily conducts. Changing manners and daily habits were critically important; "There are disasters that are caught pleasantly, by kissing and their pain and sores are not recovered in life-time. That is why kissing, quenching with kisses are bad; in some cases they cost a life, cost a generation" (1935, 8).

Apart from prohibition on kissing, Doctor Özgen repeated the same advice about the use of spoon, plate, fork, knife, mug, glass, toothbrush, comb, and barber's equipment: these materials must be separated and sterilized as they transmit syphilis.

As far as syphilis was concerned, the republican elite had to fight against another established attitude, that is, concealment of syphilis. Doctor Özgen assured the peasants that it was meaningless to hide syphilis, because it was no longer deemed as a shameful disease: "in life everything, even the greatest trouble... even the most terrible disease would find a human being. There is no *shame* or *sin* here" (1935, 8). Doctor Özgen was the first physician spelling out a religious metaphor in explaining syphilis. Would this be related to his addressees? For him, real shame and "sin" lies in escaping from medical consultation. Medical inspection and treatment would save a person and the whole nation. Doctor Özgen assured peasants that if they see a physician, it was a guarantee to find health, to establish a family, and thus get children. The task, the debt of honor of a syphilitic was "to run to doctors, to the free public sanatoriums immediately, and to follow doctors' counsels and gets well and healthy!" (1935, 8).

Then Doctor Özgen hailed to young peasants who completed their military service and said: "Do not stop your continuing treatment, when you come back to your village, tell your disease to the doctor!" (1935, 10). Given that syphilis treatment in 1930s required a long-lasting medical control and injection, it created great difficulty for physicians to watch over syphilitics until their recovery: patients were expected to follow up their own treatment procedures. Doctor Özgen reminded the young that "syphilis cannot be cured with pills, or with a few injection, it cannot get well in one or two years" (1935, 10). He also remembered one basic truth: only a physician would tell about recovery, only a blood test [Wasserman test] would tell about the result. If young believe judgments of others, Doctor Özgen said: "You would make a sin" (1935, 10). Before being assured by a physician, a proper citizen would not marry.

Continuously, “Dear Citizen,” the doctor said, and invited the young to consideration in not marrying and reminded them that they had no right to poison an innocent girl with whom they were supposed to make a very intimate friendship in life. Syphilitics should not transfer their irrationality and imprudence to someone else. This was the reason why the republican government compelled pre-medical investigation before marriage. Criticizing some peasants' search for receiving health report without consultation, Dr Özgen asked: “Now do you understand how dangerous and bad this act is, and how well the act of the government is?”, and designated: “These are our debt of conscience, debt of honor and debt of citizenship to our nation and country” (1935, 12).

Later Doctor Özgen gave his focus on fathers, instead of young peasants. He explained the duties of good fathers as “raising healthy, strong and proper children.” In raising healthy children, peasants were expected to watch their children’s sexual desire and attitudes. Dr. Özgen clarified to father-peasants that when arriving at puberty, a natural desire arises in the body of your children: desire for a woman. In his account, this desire was irresistible and normal, but required regulation. Teenage years were burning years, many troubles would find the young if they were left alone. At this time, Doctor Özgen warned the young peasants: “Be very careful. In the cities there exist certain houses where common women sell their bodies” (1935, 20). A young peasant, for being uncultivated and ignorant, fell into brothels, namely health traps, and the result would be severe. Whoever went there, would eventually found trouble. The least severe of those troubles was gonorrhoea, said the Doctor, but even gonorrhoea would exhaust fecundity, if not treated. Coupling with common women would cause sores on genitals, lips and various parts of body. Ashamed of the wound on their penis, as Doctor Özgen witnessed, the young do not tell what happened to them to anyone else; they do not see even doctors, the state physicians; instead, they spend their days and nights in dirt and their blood becomes poisoned. Doctor Özgen insisted that there was no way out from syphilis except consulting to the state physicians and getting medical injection: the wound on the outer body seems to be recovered with someone else's drugs or without any medication, the sore inside, however,

does not find recovery. For this reason, the young should be very attentive and clever, they should open their eyes wide, otherwise, harms would destroy both the person and the country and nation (1935, 22).

Opening eyes wide meant sexual education, which was not an immoral act according to Doctor Özgen; on the contrary, it would improve the young. As syphilis was considered beyond the personal issues, the ignorant young would be “harmful to their fathers and mothers, even to the neighbors and even to all of us, all of the citizens” (1935, 24). As not getting syphilis was a national task, Doctor Özgen demanded from the young peasants going to towns and cities that their resort must not be poisonous places. In narrating what a young peasant would do in the city after completing the shopping, perhaps seeing a movie, and resting at a coffeehouse, Doctor Özgen at once implied and prohibited their visit to brothel houses: “Tomorrow, when you marry, it would be sad and disaster to shorten your life; to exhaust your fecundity because of your fault, your disease you got in the young age. If you follow the Satan and go to such places, you will suffer for years and your offspring will be so” (1935, 28).

The fact that “a man has certain rights by birth, one of which is to live, to live strong, clean and a good life, to live with people's admiration and love, to live as being useful to all,” (1935, 28) was announced to the peasant folk. Peasants were reminded that they should express their difference from the wild, useless and even poisonous grass at the mountain; it was not their business to play in the coffeehouses instead of working in the field. The place of the young was the hillside, entertainment in the open air, ball games, wrestling and swimming (1935, 28). “Oğuz brother, Dear Village Young!” hailed the Doctor, “woman should not be a thing in your night dream; woman must not be cunning you in the daytime,” (1935, 30) by assuring that they would marry sooner or later, which meant they would satisfy their sexual desires. But timing was crucial, since timeless and enforced thing was tasteless. What young peasants should do was to “be patient, do not touch any woman before marriage.” Since all women and girls in their village are considered as the sisters and aunts of them, peasants are allowed to

choose only one of the girls as life friend and soul mate; for the rest, they should stop looking awry. And lastly stated, “love is an exalting emotion,”(1935, 30) but apparently love and exalting was not possible without following the republican ethics of conduct.

In scrutinizing these recommendatory pamphlets addressing young, men, women and peasants, there appear some commonalties as well as certain crucial differences. In these pamphlets some words are simply copied, others are paraphrased; however, certain words are peculiar to the context and the targets of the speeches. All are the same in prohibiting kissing, and advising cleanliness and modern table manners; in others, slightly different points are suggested for the realization of a civilized conduct of life, which is demanded by the republican regime. Furthermore, these speeches associate syphilis with the ones who are other-ed by the republican morality. Generally speaking, syphilitic marks what is different and abnormal in various senses; what is left out in this marking, what is emptied, is filled with the citizen proper of the republican regime. Who is this other then? The cooks, the servants, the prostitutes, the thieves, the murderers, the prisoners, the immoral, the squints, the dwarfs, the lames, the handicapped, the epileptics, the idiots, the retarded and failed school-children, the ones who do not know the cleanliness, who do not use the separate spoons, knives, plates, glasses on the table, who do consult to the sorcerers, instead of the medical experts.

In spite of commonalties, something very crucial is radically different in these pamphlets: the attitude towards the target of speeches. In the *İzmir Society* booklet, the young girls and mothers are in no sense considered, or hailed as the most probable syphilitics, of course, it is incessantly underscored that they would get this disease easily as syphilis is everywhere. Although they are never positioned as the dangerous source and the transmitter of this disease, their servants could easily be marked as such. It seems syphilis is painted with a class color in the discourse of voluntary medical experts. This text also aims at educating its target not in terms of the sexual and moral concerns, as the chastity and grace of the mothers and the coming mothers of the republic are secured. It is pre-given that this

sexually transmitted disease cannot find proper republican women sexually. Accordingly, the teaching of the medical pedagogues is limited to increasing medical knowledge about syphilis as the neglect and lack of knowledge about the details of syphilis that would make them syphilitics. Then, the speech is about hygiene, not about morality or sexuality in the first place. Consequently, the criticisms towards syphilitics are quite severe. On the other hand, this text is painted with a gender-color: no word is uttered for the sake of the sexual education of young girls and mothers, as if they had no sexual desires and sexual activities.

Whenever pamphlets target peasants, one would notice how peasants are deemed remarkable by their childish innocence, rather than their ultimate wickedness in the risk of contaminating with venereal diseases. If one reads between the lines of Doctor Özgen's pamphlet, one can observe that peasants and syphilitics are considered together, as if peasants were potentially more prone to syphilis. This text's criticisms go severely to syphilis, not to the syphilitics; sometimes, it becomes hard to decipher if this talk is given to a group of the syphilitics or to the peasants: the medical expert is full of mercy and pity. This gentle vocabulary also desires to convince peasants to confide syphilis, and demands from the peasants to recourse to the republican hospitals. In repeatedly explaining that syphilis is sexually transmitted and that the young peasants would easily get it from the brothel houses of cities, the pamphlet concentrates on educating the sexual desire of the young male peasants, makes fathers responsible for the sexual self-mastery of their sons, and remains completely silent about the female sexuality in villages.

6.7. Conclusion

In the early republican era, although eradicating all diseases was the ultimate goal of the republican government, a government which foundationally aimed at eliminating the European image of Turks as the sick man of Europe, it was the triple diseases, malaria, tuberculosis and syphilis that worried the republicans most. In fact, these three diseases have shaped the republican politics of health and population on the ground that they were widespread, they affected generations, they had spectacular effects on body, and they absorbed all powers and strength of

Turks. They were also directly connected to the rate of population which was deemed very low by the republican regime. Given that the number of population assigned great importance for both external (foreign) as well as for internal politics, the republican elite exerted a significant amount of energy, time and resource for fighting against the triple diseases. Unfortunately, there was no scholarly work on the social and political histories of these diseases. As an exception, one would notice a recent work of Tekeli and İlkin who have studied the republican politics of malaria during the early republican era. In their account, the republican fighting against malaria was a story of success. They have even claimed that one would read the republican fight against malaria as a fight of human being against the nature, against controlling nature and converting the nature to the benefit of human being. Put it differently, they have suggested reading republican politics of malaria in the early republican years as the materialization of the Enlightenment and modernist thought, as the work of human reason and will. It was, as it were, a story of human reason, which with the help of scientific knowledge dissolves the puzzles and enigma of nature and uses nature for the happiness of humanity. The fight of malaria, in their argument, reflected how the early republicans were committed to the ideals of the Enlightenment and modernity (Tekeli and İlkin 2004, 107).

As opposed to Tekeli and İlkin's arguments revolving around human reason, the objectivity of scientific knowledge, progress and human happiness, a truly modernist narrative revolving around malaria, the history of syphilis in Turkey suggested quite a different story. The very entrance of syphilis into Ottoman-Turkish context expressed a power relation, rather than a scientific objectivity. The truth produced by Western physicians about the rate of syphilitics and the kind of syphilis seen in the Ottoman lands was far from being a neutral and free act of human reason, but reflected an Orientalist perspective drawing an unbridgeable gap between Europeans and the so-called Orientals. The republican physicians objected the Western power in the medical sphere by claiming that some European science men's knowledge was obscured by the legends about the Orientals. Fighting against syphilis in the republican time went hand-in-hand to the fight

against European prejudice about Turks. This is not to suggest, however, that republican physicians were freer and more neutral than Europeans. They were also internalized the European prejudice about other non-Europeans in challenging European arguments which equate the people of Turkey with that of Iran, Algeria, Java, Ethiopia. For recovering demeaning image of Turks in the European mind, the Turkish physicians worked hard to eliminate syphilis as well as for proving that general paralyses also existed among Turks.

On the other hand, syphilis concerned the republicans for developing a sound population politics. Given that syphilis is a sexually-transmitted disease, it passes through generations to generations, and it causes miscarriages and degeneration, the republican elite in the 1930s invested it for bringing about a truly worldly morality among the ignorant and sick population. As I have shown in this chapter, the history of syphilis was not an objective arena of science and medicine, but from the beginning, it was an arena where power and morality have operated for cultivating strong, healthy and virtuous Turkish citizens.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

*A homeland, whose children are healthy and robust
is a paradise inside and a castle out of steel outside.*

Doctor Reşit Galip

In this dissertation, I have aimed at mapping out the relationship between body, nationality, and modernity in the early republican era. More specifically, I have studied the republican politico-moral pedagogy, briefly the national pedagogy in the 1930s of Turkey, for uncovering how the concrete personae of citizens have been constructed in line with the Eurocentric and nationalist aim of the republican regime, which imagined a strong nation for Turks. As a starting point, I have claimed that in the early republican era, basic themes of the republican grammar reflect elite anxieties about the “sickly”—in both literal and metaphorical sense—configuration of the people and the nation. Given that elite anxieties were mainly shaped by the Western image of the Turks as the “sick man of Europe,” and the solution of the modernizing elite was to adopt a Westernist discourse to eliminate the Ottoman imprint over the emerging new Turkey, and that Turkey has never been a colonized country, I proposed to use the concept “cultural self-colonization” to elaborate on the elite efforts for removing this “sickly” configuration and bringing back the legendary image, that of “strong as a Turk,” though colonizing the bodies of the national subjects and internal colonization of the countryside by an extensive social and sanitary investigations. I have argued that the Turkish modernization project, especially in the 1930s, was based upon an imagination for having a “Western Body,” which becomes a regulatory ideal and norm in the construction of the national and the individual-citizen bodies as coherent and unambivalent unities. In other words, the so-called Western Body as opposed to the weak and unhealthy Eastern (Ottoman) body becomes a “soul” in

the formation of the Turkish national and individual bodies. Considering the Western body as the new “soul” for Turks, one should also take into account the paradoxical convergence of westernism and nationalism in the elite mind, and the materialization, or to use Butler’s (1993) phrase, “sedimentation” of nationalist sentiment within the anticipated “Western Body.”

In speaking of body, my aim was to bring the observations of a poststructuralist theory about the body, embodiment and materialization into conversation with the virtue-based politics of the Turkish republican tradition. This requires our attention to the assemblage of power relations through which bodies come to be virtuous and healthy Turkish citizens. Here, while the explicit reference was given to the individual-citizen body, an implicit reference was being made to the fact that national and/or political communities as well constitute themselves as bodies. Considering the Turkish nation and the Turkish citizen as bodies, this study sought at one level to fill a void in previous studies on Turkish modernization, virtually all of which take these two bodies exclusively in the “public sphere,” and fail to explore how power is disseminated into the bare life of people, and into the intimate and affective domain of life, and therefore, fail to recognize the centrality of the private sphere in the transformation of Turkish people and the nation during the early republican period.

In his significant work entitled *The Concept of the Political*, Carl Schmitt observes how political is, in one way or another, juxtaposed to the state (1996, 19). This observation is quite accurate in the Turkish context. Many political analyses in Turkey start from the state and more particularly, from the “strength” of it. Although this is not problematic in itself, because studying the state, the state formation and state/society relation contributes much to understand how power is monopolized as well as disseminated in any specific national or social context. In many cases however, overemphasizing the role of Turkish state as the beholder of all powers in political analysis precludes seeing different paths of power, different infiltration and dissemination of power, and thus it masks different faces of the political intrinsic to the Turkish context. On the other hand, the state-oriented

analysis in many occasions considers the political as a rational activity and confines it to the public sphere. In this dissertation, I have searched for different faces of the political in the making of modern Turkey. As opposed to the Schmittian understanding which conceives of the political and the state as two sides of the same coin, I have traced the political in the most invisible, most intimate and most “apolitical” domains of life. I have suggested that these domains have been widely neglected because of the exaggerated emphasis on the state and the comprehension of modernity as the modernization of the state itself. Instead, I have claimed that Turkish experience in modernity retains at least two different “political” which, in one way or another concerns itself with the body, morality, and intimacy of people.

One of my main inspirations undertaking this dissertation on different meaning of the political and different operation of power intrinsic to Turkish modernity dates back to the 1980 coup d’etat when my father, as the owner of a coffee-house, frequented mainly by university students, felt obliged to close down our means of livelihood and moved to a very tiny village where my mother was born to take shelter from the political arrest of the September 12 regime. My father’s coffee-house—a public sphere *par excellence* to use a Habermasian phrase, for its frequenters act neither “like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy”—harbored hotly discussions as well as bloody fights over the political concerns of the country, or over “the matters of general interest” (Habermas 1974, 49). Theoretically speaking a coffee-house would be a political public sphere engendering freedom of speech, public opinion and political legitimacy, however, in the 1980 Turkish context, it practically meant a nest for betrayal to the national unity and peace. Carl Schmitt convincingly explains the intimate relation between the state and the political by noting: “In one way or another ‘political’ is generally juxtaposed to ‘state’ or at least is brought into relation with it. The state thus appears as something political, the political as something pertaining to the state” (1996, 19). Schmitt’s view converges with the genealogy of the political in the Turkish context: scholars of Turkish political

culture have repeatedly underlined the primacy of the state in defining the political. Those who criticized the Turkish state as the holder of all powers even claim the lack of the political because of the state.

Either in Habermasian or Schmidian sense, our move from the city to the village was an escape from the political and/or the state. This period was a tragedy for many people as well as for my parents. Three of my siblings had to stay at the houses of different, grumbling relatives to continue their education in the city: the family was severed and threatened by absolute poverty. It would have been worse though if my father had been imprisoned, which was the most threatening possibility at the time. Would the intimacy of a tiny village constitute a safe refuge from the state/political?

For a seven year-old child, however, village life was marvelous. Apart from easily accessing a teacher's pet status in a one-room-village school, leaving the rules of manners and hygiene behind, strolling all over places without regarding the dust, mud and animals' excretion meant happiness, though now I know that if a republican village inspector had met me, he would have cried for that pitiful, snotty girl who would give birth healthy children for the nation, but instead was vulnerable before countless microbes and dirt.

If I ask my father whether the intimacy of the village saved us from the political and the state, his answer would be an unflinching yes. In a short time, however, one faces of the political, or one "faces of the state," to use Navaro's (2002) statement, that appeared in our village in the guise of a governmental official. A village inspector—a historical figure fitting well to the 1930s—would have been an anachronistic expectation, a gendarme—albeit the strongest possibility—would have been the hard luck story. Instead, a population registrar came to inspect all of us: there was the census. The schoolteacher accompanied the population registrar so that the village folk were easily counted. According to the general census held on 12 October 1980, the rate of population in the city was approximately 43 % and that of in the village was 57 %. Apart from us, there was another family having

three politically-concerned (left-wing) young university students playing “hide and seek” with the state. At one time, Eric Hobsbawm claimed: “Only one peasant stronghold remained in or around neighborhood of Europe and the Middle East—Turkey where the peasantry declined, but in the mid-1980s still remained absolute majority” (1994, 291). Hobsbawm’s statement is quite touching for a country committed to catch up with the Western European countries. Did we increase the number of population in the village? Were we engaging in another betrayal to our country for strengthening much odious reality, that of peasantry of our country, lagging us behind the Middle Eastern countries?

In his thought-provoking, enriched anthropological study on Turkey, entitled *The Pedagogical State*, Sam Kaplan started his words by asking: “What does it mean for children to be pedagogical wards or educated citizens of a state?” (2006, 1) For Sam Kaplan, the Turkish state through monopolizing formal education has become the everyday reality of citizens. Kaplan’s observation is not relevant for my grandmother, who was born at the end of the 1920s. There was no school in her village or in neighbor villages. She had no chance to be a pedagogical ward for the Turkish state, yet she gave twelve healthy children to the republic. Did not she deserve a double republican medallion for her service to the nation? There was no school for her children—for my mother—either. Despite the mythical narratives about the women (or daughters) of the Republic, I could not help but ask by revising the famous question of bell hooks (1990), “Ain’t they women?” Some Turkish women are emancipated but not liberated to use Kandiyoti’s (1987) words, but my grandmother and mother, like many other women were neither emancipated nor liberated. Instead of them, I had a chance to be schooled in the one-room-village school, although I already knew how to read and write, which was all asset one would expect from such a school: none of my classmates at that time maintained their education after primary school. Schooling is very expensive, time-consuming and demanding unceasing efforts and encouragements for the poor peasant, not an emotional but, an economical sense of the term, to ladder up in the hierarchical order of things. But this is a matter of another “political,” which I have not focused within the confines of this dissertation.

During our short stay in the village, the political/the state in conventional sense of the term could not have found us; however, apart from inspecting the number of the population, government officials arrived several times mainly for bringing about the health cartography of the village folk: our blood was tested for malaria, free quinines were delivered, advices was given for birth control, and peasant children were vaccinated. One last memory entrenched into my mind was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's framed pictures some peasants were encouraged to hang on their walls. We have been accustomed to see Atatürk pictures in the school walls as well as in governmental buildings, but what about in our most intimate domains, in the disorderly, mud-bricked and dark village houses? What has the political got to do with all that?

One meaning of the political I have sought derives from the republican tradition, which underlines civic virtues, public duties and ardent dedication of citizens to the national ideals or to the issues concerning general interests. As Burt explains: "Within the republican tradition, especially, the qualities praised as virtuous are those that enable or dispose the citizen to privilege the public, political realm over private, personal desires and ambitions" (1993, 361). Although it is obvious that in the republican tradition as well as its expression in the Turkish context, there are strict moral and political qualities that make a citizen good and proper; and that these qualities suggest a complete division between the public and private issues. In line with feminist arguments, which underline shifting boundaries of the public and the private and take our attention to the citizenship in the private sphere, I have shown the private repercussions of these virtues, duties and interests which are predominantly conceived as "public." I have explored how the civic republican virtues were connected to the home, family and the remote villages, that personal efforts and private conducts were tied to the national causes and general interests, that mothering or child rearing, for instance, was deemed as a national duty. I underlined how the republican politico-moral pedagogy targeted the intimate/private sphere, because it was a political sphere where the seeds of

decency, civility, healthiness and strength as the qualifications of the “good and proper” republican citizens were implanted.

The other meaning of the political appears in the governmental concerns over the population and the body of the citizens. I have explored how censuses, health cartographies, governmental reports, investigation notes, travel accounts were all proliferated in the early republican era. Investigative efforts of the modern governments have aimed at revealing the “‘condition’—a term that denoted health or physical comfort as well as moral stature” of the populations (Frankel 1998). In the same manner, the republican government in the 1930s attempted to uncover the “conditions” and thus the numbers, health behaviors, corporeal stricture, manners as well as moral dispositions of people. But more importantly, the republican government aimed at transforming these conditions through educating the body as well as morality of people.

My inquiry on different faces of the political demonstrates the pedagogical character of Turkish experience in modernity, in line with the larger argument, that is, the Age of Modernity is the Age of Pedagogy. Concomitantly then, in this dissertation, I have focused on the “cultivation of the modern Turkish citizen” in a moral as well as a material sense specifically in the early republican era by analyzing the materials which were remarkable by their advisory tone. This reflected the efforts of the republican elite for educating popular consent by underlining how a good health and a hygienic habitat, for instance, would be the benefit of the subjects as well as of the nation. This also gave us an opportunity to emancipate from the power analysis stamped with the Euro-centric Oriental Despot conceptualization. This does not suggest, however, that the pedagogical character was the sole and unique character of the republican regime. Rather, this was only one of the main characteristics of the republican regime, neglecting of which would preclude to understand our own subjectivities as the citizens who have been shaped and constructed by it since the formative years of modern Turkey.

Beginning with the first dissection ceremony made in the 19th century Ottoman Empire, the Introductory Chapter presented the initiation of the modern secular governing mentality via which the Ottoman-Turkish people were constructed as modern subjects. In this regard, the Oriental despot conceptualization was questioned on the ground that it not only defines political authority as irrational and arbitrary, but also conceives of people as passive victims and irresponsible objects. Instead, this chapter underlined the necessity to observe the transformation of the governing mentality and thus to consider new power relations and to understand modernity as a coeval process without disregarding contextual differences that may occur in different regions. It showed the manner to which bodies and population were begun to be cared for in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire parallel to the requirement of the modern states before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. It also explored how the Ottomans were constructed as the first “other” of Europe, and how they were affected by and resisted to this Euro-centric construction. This chapter was also a theoretical introduction about modernity, nationness, power and citizenship relations drawing mainly upon the literature, which centralizes the concrete personae of the citizen in his/her corporeal and sentimental structures.

Chapter 2 “The National Pedagogy” presented the sentimental structure of the Kemalist elite as the inheritor of a ruined Empire before the Western powers. Not only the superiority of the West, but more importantly indifference and ignorance of the native people in front of the national cause terribly injured the feeling of the Kemalist elite. From this injury, that pedagogical character of Turkish nationalism emerged: an extensive dissemination of the national pedagogy (*milli terbiye*) for accomplishing the national ideal (*milli mefkure*) was deemed as the ultimate republican project. Here, instead of conceiving Kemalism as a scientist, rationalist and positivist discourse, this chapter underlined the importance of the sentimental and moral education of the republican regime sought for, and here the love of country appeared as the ultimate sentiment to be inculcated into the people. Chapter 2 also revealed that pedagogical operation of the republican regime was not a one-dimensional flow of information from the elite to the people. Rather, in

line with the modern character of the rule, that is “to know to govern,” the republican elite aimed at collecting knowledge about the people, about the nationalist object of love. As the Erzincan Governor noted for initiating his investigation about the Turkish people in the remotest corners of Erzincan in the 1930s, “Statistics is both a genius mirror of life and the sole means of knowing oneself.” This was also what—the republican elite proudly expressed—“separates” the new, modern and civilized manner of governing of the republican regime from the “traditional” rule of the Ottoman Empire, which according to republican account, demanded much, offered nothing to people; it abused extensively, but knew nothing about Turks.

In separating their own rule from that of the Ottomans, the republicans gave great significance to peasants and women, who were also constructed as the most ignorant part of the population, and who had no responsibility for being ignorant though. In Chapter 3 “Body of the Turk, Body of the Peasant: National Pedagogy in the Countryside” and Chapter 4 “Feminine Body in the Early Republic: Entangled in National Sentiment, Maternal Affection and Republican Virtues”, I analyzed these two major icons as the target of the republican politico-moral pedagogy. Chapter 3 traced republican elite’s steps in the countryside. Here, the countryside appeared as an intimate domain intrusion into which it was quite difficult, because the peasants considered the republican elite as “strangers” whose penetration into the intimate was precluded by indifferent peasants. This indifference perpetuated the republican idea of disseminating the national pedagogy in the countryside: only after peasants were passionately attached to the Turkishness and the republican ideals that a homogeneous and strong Turkish nation would be achieved. Although the “peasant question” has many dimensions, including especially the economic one, I concentrated on mostly the sanitary and sentimental ones via which the politico-moral pedagogy would be traced over the body and moral structure of peasants. In this regard, I have explored how the republican elite in line with the modern will to investigate, reported about the countryside and prepared advisory documents for transforming the “conditions,” that is particularly conditions of health, hygiene, and civility of the peasants.

Despite the romantic construction of the countryside as a pure and unmarred substance of the Turkish nation, as a domain where the legendary image of Turkish race would be found intact, in the republican investigations and travelogues, the countryside appeared as unhygienic, unhealthy and disorderly domain, where the truly Turks could not inhabit. For educating the peasants as truly Turk and inculcating the love of country into the mind of the people, Doctor İsmail Hakkı's question, posed to the peasants, was quite emblematic: "Does a human being spit out to his homeland?" to express how the republican elite recommended the ways to act as a civilized man and create a hygienic habitat. This chapter showed how mainly through legislation and recommendations, through educating schoolteachers, headmen and village reporters as the interlocutors of the republican ideals and nationalist sentiments, that the republican regime aimed at transforming the countryside.

In Chapter 4, I have studied the relationship between the feminine body, nationality, and republican virtues. The contested boundary between the private and the public became more visible when I traced how the republican politico-moral pedagogy invested maternity as the primary emotion of women, which is defined in the private and attempted to educate the morality, bodily energies, and sexual desires of women for the sake of the strength and the future of Turkish nation. As Reşit Galip clarified: "For a Turkish woman the most beautiful ornament, the shiniest diamond is her child. The Turkish woman would only be proud of the number of her children and their strength and longevity." Given that if women were not patriotic, republican and truly Turk, their children would not be so; then, not only the members of the public institutions such as the state physicians and pedagogues, but also the columnists in dailies and journals extended the women's citizenship into the "private" and recommended women about the tricks of finding proper partners for marrying and coupling, knowing the ways of healthy pregnancy, and raising robust babies, as well as turning their home into modern, hygienic, and cheerful nest.

Chapter 5 “A Victorian Supplement to National Pedagogy: Primers on a Healthy and Moral Sexuality” and Chapter 6 “From Sick Man of Europe to Syphilitic Man of Europe: Tracking the Syphilitic Body in the Early Republic” presented two different yet connected monographs on the intimacy-oriented moral politics during the early republican era. In line with the larger aim of the republican regime for “cultivating healthy and virtuous nation,” the monographs on sexual advice literature and syphilis showed how the very details of life and body of people became the target for a new nation which aimed at catching up with the West. Despite the arguments concerning the lack of modern intention and capacity of the republican rule for infiltrating into the bare life, these two chapters explored the infiltration attempts of modern power into the intimate and sexual life of people during the early republican era and revealed the importance of regulating and controlling the desires and conducts of people for the national cause. These chapters also clarified how conventionally apolitical issues, such as sexual desire and medical disease, became the arena of a modern power play. They also expressed how the worldly morality was aimed to penetrate into the daily life of people whose new life was no longer be dominated by a religious vision.

In Chapter 5 I analyzed sexual advice literature which recommended people the ways of healthy, moral and happy sexual relations in their new republican life. Sexual health and sexual fertility advice went hand in hand with the public hygiene and population politics of the republican regime. As the republican politico-moral pedagogy repeatedly underlined the necessity to educate Turkish people in terms of various dimensions of modern and civilized life, sexual primers in this regard concerned with eliminating sexual illiteracy, for which as expectedly Ottoman regime and traditional moral rules and values, were accused. As the West, instead of the East was the new direction for the Turks, the sexual advice literature was either copied or imitated the similar literature produced in the West; however, it nationalized the Western literature, and for this reason one would observe that the republican politico-moral framework imprinted between the lines, that it expects Turks as strong and virtuous in their—to use Daniş Remzi Korok’s words—“secret life.” Put it differently, what the republican regime expected from its citizens, men

and women, as we would read between the lines of the sexual advice literature was that sexual lust is also a national resource, which should not be wasted carelessly because this would lead to sexual infertility and population scarcity. In such a context the wedding-night advice in the early republican era would be that: *Lie healthy and think of the Republic!* This literature also attempted to eliminate the secrecy of intimate life and criticized the old morals, burying sexual life into darkness and prohibiting a complete illumination of Turkish people about their sensual and sexual truths.

In Chapter 6, I dealt with a “secret disease,” namely syphilis, that the republican physicians mostly tackled with in the 1930s. As is well-known, the triple diseases including tuberculosis, malaria and syphilis were the most threatening disasters for damaging the body of the nation. Syphilis was unique in terms of its spectacular effects not only on bodies, but also on the moral qualities of the people. Another characterizing feature of syphilis was its articulated meanings given through the West/East divide, within which the nationalist physicians had to fight against the image of Turks swaying from the sick man of Europe to the syphilitic man of Europe thanks to the discourse produced by Western physicians, who claimed a specific syphilis marking the outer body of the Anatolian (Eastern) people, most of whom were labeled as syphilitic (sick) bodies. As opposed to the neural syphilis attacking the civilized people of the West, Western physicians, especially those residing in the Ottoman-Turkish lands, claimed that syphilis did not assault the brain and neural structure of Turks, which meant Turks were not civilized, or Western. All these connotations revolving around syphilis gave the republican elite an opportunity to penetrate into privacies of people on the ground for fighting against syphilis, which also meant fighting for the creation of a new Turk, whose body is as healthy and beautiful as the Western Body, to use Afet İnan’s phrase, as “European’s great white race.”

In this dissertation, I aimed at contributing to make eligible nations and national subjects through analyzing different faces of the political intrinsic to modern times, through centralizing sentiments and virtues as well as their materialization

over bodies and over national territories. This dissertation was less about the popular feeling and experience than about how the nationalist elite operated for inculcating, motivating and educating the emotional, moral and sensual part of the people. It was less about how people were apathetic before the national cause, while for being enthusiastic about, say, religious values; but it was about the ways the elite attempted to convert people's "assumed" or "observed" apathy to a passionate attachment to the republican ideals. It was not about the "hidden injuries" of people in front of the authoritarian republican regime, but it was about how the elite aimed at recovering their own obvious injury in front of the West. Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation and despite many scholarly attentions to the early republican era, we still need to know about people's feeling and reactions to the republican elite when they attempted to infiltrate into their daily life and to shape their bodies as healthy citizens through producing laws, bringing about new responsibilities, and recommending new ways of home design, animal husbandry, child-rearing or body building. To conclude combining "virtue" as a public good of a political community with "body" as a site of materialization of power offers us opportunities to consider the politics and citizenship in a new way, where morality and health, soul and flesh, sentiment and reason, character and strength, public and private life of the citizens are not set apart, and to comprehend the concrete personae of the citizens, which was not only constructed in the public, but more importantly in the "private."

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Periodicals Surveyed for the 1930s

Altan
Ana
Çığır
Demiryolları Mecmuası
Dıranaz
Ev-İş
İdare
Muhit
Sıhhiye Mecmuası
Taşpınar
Türkspor
Türk Yurdu
Ülkü
Yeni Adam
Yeni Türk Mecmuası
Yurt

APPENDICES

APPENDIX-A

TURKISH SUMMARY

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ TÜRKİYE’İNDE MİLLİ TERBİYE

Descartes “Her yerde anlaşılabilsin diye felsefemi hiç kimseyi şoke etmemek üzere düzenledim, hatta Türkleri bile” dediği zaman aklında “doğruyu aramak üzere çıkılacak kişisel yolculuğun” yalnızca belli bir kişinin (Avrupalı bir erkeğin) belirli bir zamanda (Avrupa’nın modern zamanlarında) çıkabileceği türden bir yolculuk değil, herhangi bir düşünürün isimsiz ve zamansız bir aracı olarak adım atmayı arzuladığı ve felsefi bir tefekkür içinde bulunduğu bir hakikati keşif yolculuğu vardı. Açıkçası Descartes çok özgün bir insani özelliğin, yani bilişsel kapasite ya da rasyonel bir ruhun, Türkler dahil bütün bir insanlıkta mevcut olduğuna inanmış görünüyordu. Descartes’ın düalist felsefesinde düşünen bir töz olarak rasyonel ruh, gövdesel tözden, yani bedenden üstündür. Böylesi bir üstünlük anlayışı ünlü “Düşünüyorum, öyleyse varım” felsefi ifadesinde de tekrarlanarak, adeta insana hakikat yolunu açar, çünkü Descartes için “insan öznesinin kendisini, kendi kendisinin nesnesi olarak ele alabilmesi tamamen sağlam bilginin kaynağıdır.” Burada insan, bilinebilecek ya da kontrol altına alınabilecek bir “nesne” karşısında “bilen bir özne” olarak kurgulanmıştır.

Şayet kimi Avrupalı seyyahların tanıklıklarına başvurursak, Cartezyen bilen öznelerin ayak izlerini, 19 yüzyıl ortasında İstanbul’da sürebiliriz. 1841’de Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliyyeyi Şahaneyi ziyaret eden Charles MacFarlane, Avusturya’dan davetle getirilmiş, genç anatomi hocası Doktor Spitzer’in

gözetiminden uzak, siyahi bir ölünün bedenini kesmekle meşgul olan birkaç Müslüman tıbbiyeliden hiç beklemediği bir anatomi dersi alır. MacFarlane için bu anatomik manzarayı daha ilginç kılan şey tıbbiyeli öğrencilerin tavırlarıdır: İnsan bedenini oldukça sıradan bir etkinlik içindeymişçesine, sanki her şey her zamanki gibiymişçesine kesmektedirler. Ne korku, ne endişe, ne de şok vardır. Descartes'in Türkler dahil bütün insanların rasyonel kapasitesine duyduğu iyimserliğe karşın, MacFarlane'nin kötümserlik ve kuşkuvarı, o zamanın Osmanlı topraklarında insan bedenine yapılan bu saldırı, bu disseksiyon ve otopsi törenleri karşısında şaşırıp kalmasına neden olur, ve tıbbiyelilere, yaptıklarının dine halel getirip getirmediğini sormadan edemez. Ve aldığı cevap apaçık modern, seküler bir terminolojinin dillendirilişidir: "Eh Beyefendi!, herhalde dini aramak için gelinecek yer Galatasaray Tıp hanesi değildir." (Berkes 2002)

Benzer bir hikayeyi, Müslüman öğrencilerin anatomik yolculuğunu hayli sorunlu bulan bir başka Avrupalı seyyah, Charles White'tan da dinlemek mümkün. Müslüman ya da İslam uzmanı olmamakla birlikte, belli ki hevesli bir bilen özne olan White, tıbbiyelilere bir hadisi hatırlatır: "Başkasına ait en değerli inciye bile yutmuş olsa, ölü bir bedeni kesmeyeceksin" (Kahya 1979, 757). Bilim tarihçisi Esin Kahya bu hadisin doğruluğuna ya da yanlışlığına ilişkin herhangi bir veriye ulaşamadığını söyler, ama White'ın tıbbın alanına giren bir konuda bir hadise başvurma fikri hiç de yabana atılır bir durum değildir: White aslında böyle bir ifadeyi, kendi kafasında, İslami topraklarda nelerin yapıldığı ve nelerin yapılamayacağına dair yargılarını desteklemek için kullanmak istemiştir.

Birkaç yıl sonra Osmanlı topraklarında seyahat eden Henry Christy günlüğüne, annesine iletmek üzere şu satırları karalar: "Şu, herhangi bir millet için model olabilecek büyük askeri hastane dışında buradaki her şey Hıristiyan Avrupa'daki en karanlık ve en geri devletten bile oldukça geridir." (Ebrehimnejad 2004)

Avrupalı seyyahların şaşkınlıklarına rağmen, Müslüman öğrenciler tarafından bir Müslüman'ın cesedinin dissekte edilmesi, Weber'ci bir terminoloji ile söylersek, Osmanlı'da dünyanın büyüünün bozulmasına ve bilimle din arasında kapatılması

mümkün olamayacak bir uçurumun açılmasına işaret eder. Ayrıca bu olay, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda modernlik öncesi şeylerin düzeninden kopmuş, yani dini yaptırımlara göre düzenlenmiş epistemolojilerden kurtulmuş Osmanlı öznelerin modern ayak izlerini göstermek adına oldukça dikkat çekicidir. Kısaca söylersek, Osmanlı-Türk topraklarında doğmakta olan modern özneleri gösteren daha iyi bir işaret olamaz.

Tüm bu anlatıların ışığında bu çalışma genel olarak öznel, milliyet ve modernlik arasındaki ilişkiyi ve özel olarak da halkın münasip Türk vatandaşlarına dönüştürülmek üzere hangi yollarla terbiye edildiğini açığa çıkarmak amacıyla modern Türkiye'nin oluşumunda milli terbiye nosyonunu incelemektedir. Halkın, büyümesi bozulmuş Osmanlı dünyasından sonra kurulan modern Türkiye'de, nasıl da Kemalist elitin modern, Avrupa merkezci, milliyetçi ve cumhuriyetçi programıyla yeniden büyülenmeye çalışıldığını göstermektedir. Bu programa “cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagoji” adını veriyorum ve cumhuriyet rejiminin 1930'larda halka didaktik bir tonla seslendiğini iddia ediyorum. Cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagoji ya da kısa bir tabiri yeğleyerek söylersem “cumhuriyetçi moralite” yalnızca kamusal alanı, kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarını, bu manada özellikle devlet okullarını, okul müfredatını ya da ders kitaplarını hedef almaz. Böylesi bir siyasi-moral pedagoji, taşıyıcısı olduğu bütüncül modern arzu dolayısıyla, en mahrem alanlara girmek, bedenleri sömürgeleştirmek ve gündelik yaşama sızmak ister. Erken cumhuriyet dönemi seçkinleri “vatani”, okul çağındaki çocukların değil, “halkın”, özellikle, formel eğitime ulaşma imkanları olmadığı için ama daha ziyade milli dava ve cumhuriyet idealleri karşısındaki cehaletleri dolayısıyla köylülerin ve kadınların, okul çocukları addedildikleri bir “cumhuriyet dersliği” gibi tahayyül eder. Bu derslikte verilen kurslar, nasihatler ve tavsiyeler sınırsızdır çünkü halkın cehaletinin sınırsız olduğu varsayılır. Halkta bir cevher olduğu kabul edilse bile, bu cevher işlenmedikçe, yani terbiye edilmedikçe işe yaramazdır. Ben çalışmamı, halkı, cinsellik, sağlık, hijyen ve medenilik gibi gündelik hayatın sıradan ayrıntıları konusunda terbiye etmeyi amaçlayan dersler, nasihatler ve tembihlerle sınırladım. Bu itibarla, çalışmamda kullandığım malzeme, halk için, çoğunlukla küçük ebat ve kolay anlaşılabilir bir içerikte yazılmış çeşitli popüler risaleler, nasihat kitapları,

kişisel bakım ve gelişime dair rehber kitapçıklar, ve günlük gazete ve dergilerin benzer nitelikteki köşe yazılarıdır. Bu metinler, yeni bir anayasanın, yeni yasa ve kuralların ve dolayısıyla yeni haklarla birlikte yeni yükümlülüklerin mevcut bulunduğu yeni bir hayatta halkı aydınlatmak; hukuk, tıp, halk sağlığı ve adab-ı muâşeret konularındaki uzmanlık bilgilerini popülerleştirmek yani halka yaymak kaygısıyla yazılmıştır. Bu metinleri ortak kılan, nasihatçi ve bilgilendirici özelliklerinin yanı sıra yazılış tarzlarıdır da: Basit, kısa ve konuşmuş gibi kurulan cümleler, duygulara hitap eden ve yazanın da duygularını yansıtan bir enformel dil, bazen arkadaşça ve şefkat dolu, bazen de kızgın ve tehditkar bir tarz. Bu metinlerin bir kısmının yazarı bellidir, bir kısmı ise anonimdir. Ne var ki, kimi metinleri yazarlar hakkında herhangi bir bilgiye ulaşmak mümkün değildir. Yazarların bir kısmı belli ki takma isimler kullanmaktadır. Birtakım yazarlar ise dönemin ünlü, az bilinen ya da pek bilinmeyen pedagog veya tabipleridir. Ayrıca Eğitim ve Sağlık Bakanlıkları'nın, Halkevleri ve Köy Büroları'nın çıkardığı sayısız nasihat kitabını da yabana atmamak gerekir. Devlet tarafından çıkarılmış olsun ya da olmasın tüm bu metinler, “cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagoji”nin izlerini taşırlar; cumhuriyet iktidarını, kamusal ile özelin çatışmalı ve geçişken alanlarının kesişme noktalarında ifşa etmemize yararlar ve elbette, erken cumhuriyet dönemi seçkinlerinin, kamusal ve cumhuriyetçi bir söylem kullanarak, “medeni, sağlıklı ve erdemli kuşaklar” yetiştirmek için, mahrem denilen alana dikkate değer bir enerji ve kaynak aktardıklarını ortaya koymamıza katkıda bulunurlar. İşte, 1930'lu yıllar Türkiye'sinde üretilen pedagojik nitelikteki metinlere dayanan bu çalışma, kurgulanmış ve edimsel bir alan olan mahrem alanda, cumhuriyet moralitesinin soy kütüğünü araştırır; ve bir milli terbiye programı adı altında halkın, bedensel ve duygusal anlamda terbiye edilerek “erdemli ve güçlü Türklere” dönüştürülmek üzere nasıl pedagojik nesnelere dönüştürülmeye çalışıldığını ortaya çıkarır.

Erken cumhuriyet döneminde, fiziksel ve moral anlamda “güçlü Türklere” yaratma tutkusu, seçkinlerin, halkın “marazi” hali karşısındaki hissettikleri endişelerden kaynaklanır. Burada marazilik hem literal hem de metaforik bir mana taşır. Marazilik bir yandan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun küllerinden doğan ve birçok

cephede savaşmış olan bir milletin görünen gerçeğini, diğer yandan ise cumhuriyet seçkinlerinin, Türk'ün Batılılarca, "Avrupa'nın hasta adamı", zayıf ve iktidarsız olduğu biçimindeki imajından duydukları rahatsızlığı yansıtır. Bir de elbette marazilik, halkın karakteri, kimliği ve bedeni hakkındaki cehaletinin seçkinler nezdindeki ifadesidir. Aslında bunlara benzeyen kaygılar modern ulus-devletlerin oluşumunda, Batı Avrupa ülkelerini model almış seçkinlerin ortak sorunlarıdır. Ben bu kaygıların Türkiye bağlamında güçlü, medeni ve homojen bir millet yaratmayı mümkün kılacak tarzdaki pedagojik müdahale arzusunu kamçıldığını iddia ediyorum. Homojen bir millet yaratma arzusu temelde yeni teritoryal birime, yeni bir bağla bağlanmayı; ortak bir Türk kimliği, özgün bir milli karakter ve güçlü bir vatan aşkı oluşturmayı gerektirir. Böyle bir homojenlik, yani Türk'e güçlü ve muktedir olmak yolunu açacak olan, tek bir vücut olarak birleşme arzusu, vatan aşkı ile birlikte dünyeviliğe duyulacak bir aşk ve bağlanmayı da talep eder. Ama aynı zamanda, temelde dinden ve Doğu medeniyetinden beslenen eski aidiyet ve hissiyat biçiminin geride bırakılmasını zorunlu kılar.

Güçlü ve bir vücut gibi tek ve bütünlüklü bir millet yaratmak için gerekli olan bu koşullar aslında Raymond Williams'ın (1977) ifadesiyle söylersek, duygu yapısında bir dönüşümün gerekliliğinin altını çizer. Cumhuriyet seçkinlerinin peşine düştüğü bu yeni duygu yapısı, sekülerleşme arzusuna göbekten bağlıdır. Zaten birçok araştırmacı sekülerleşmenin Türk modernleşmesinin kalbinde yattığını söyler (Berkes 2002; Yavuz 2000a; Toprak 2005). Ayrıca erken cumhuriyet döneminde sekülerleşmenin, İslamı kamusal alandan silme projesi olduğunu iddia edenler de vardır. Cumhuriyet dönemine ilişkin çalışmalarda, gündelik yaşama ilişkin, özellikle şapka ve giyim kuşam, boş zaman etkinlikleri, müzik ve adab-ı muâşeretle ilgili müdahaleler sekülerleşmenin önemli sembolleri olarak kabul edilir (Tunçay 1992; Göle 1997; Bozdoğan 2001; Cantek 2003; Atasoy 2005). Cumhuriyet döneminde sekülerleşmenin anlamı "İslam'ı ortadan kaldırmak değil" toplumsal dokuda İslam'ın düzenleyici gücüne son vererek, "onu yerinden etmek" (Brown 1998) olduğu için, cumhuriyet seçkinleri dinsel inançları, dünyevilik ve vatanseverlikle değiştirmeye ve dini, yeni cumhuriyet moralitesini destekleyici bir şekilde yeniden düzenlemeye çabalamıştır. 1930'larda, din

görevlileri din dersi kitaplarını ve popüler dini risaleleri, “iyi vatandaşlık hem bir erdem hem de dinen yaptırımı olan ahlaki bir ödevdir” fikrinden hareketle yeniden kaleme almışlardır. Bu yeni dini metinlerde, iyi Müslüman “vatanını seven, cumhuriyet yasalarına saygılı, devlet görevlilerinin ilerlemeci rehberliğine boyun eğen, modern teknikleri öğrenmek için elinden gelenin en iyisini yapan, hijyen kurallarını özenle uygulayan, hastalandığında herhangi bir salgına yol açmamak için doktora görünen ve memleketinin gelişmesi için canla başla çalışan” (Dumont 1987) biridir. Ama genelde cumhuriyet seçkinleri dinin şekillendirdiği ahlaki normları alaşağı etmek niyetindedir, çünkü onlar için cumhuriyet rejiminin yeni dini, medeni ve modern bir moraliteye tekabül eden, milliyetçi moralitedir; bu itibarla da vatan aşkı, dini hislerin ve ruhani aşkların yerini almalıdır. Ruşeni Barkur’un 1926’da ifade ettiği gibi, cumhuriyet felsefesinde dinin tam karşılığı milliyettir. Bu yüzden de, milletini seven, yücelten ve onun yanında yer alan herkes güçlü, dürüst ve onur sahibi olmayı garantilemiştir. Demek ki vatanseverlik, kişinin fiziksel gücünün ve ahlaki yüceliğinin kaynağıdır. Aksi taktirde, eğer kişi bu yeni milli dinselliğe baş koymazsa, tıpkı cumhuriyet öncesi zamanlarda Türk halkının düştüğü kadercilik, pasiflik ve zayıflık yüzünden Batı karşısında yok olup giden Osmanlı Devleti zamanlarına geri döner. Açıkça ifade edilirse, cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagoji, yaşamın ne moral ne de maddi yanını ihmal etmek niyetindedir.

Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde duygu yapısında meydana getirilmek istenen değişim halkın kamusal görünümüyle sınırlı kalmamıştır. Aksine, yaşama daha derinden bir müdahaleyi çağırır: Halkın en mahrem alanlarına girilmeli, mahremiyet dönüştürülmelidir. Demek ki cumhuriyet seçkinlerinin pedagojik operasyonları, iyi ve muteber cumhuriyet vatandaşının niteliklerinin, yani terbiye ve adap kurallarının, medeniliğin, sağlıklı ve güçlü olmanın tohumlarının atıldığı bir alan olarak özel alanı hedef almıştır.

Bu çalışmada “özel alan” ifadesi, özel ile kamusal alan arasındaki ayrımı özsel bir biçimde nitelemek yerine analitik bir ayırım olarak kullanılır. Susan Gal’in haklı olarak belirttiği gibi, “19. yüzyılda ayrı alanlar doktrininin ortaya çıkmasından

itibaren, Avrupa ve Amerika'daki toplumsal analizciler toplumsal dünyanın, cemaat ve birey, rasyonellik ve duygu, para ve aşk, dayanışma ve kişisel çıkar gibi sırasıyla geleneksel olarak ya kamusal ya da özele bağlanan ve birbiriyle çatışmalı ve uyumsuz olan moral ilkeler etrafında örgütlendiği varsayımını tekrarlayıp durdular” (Gal 2002). Esra Özyürek (2006) de “özel ile kamusal arasında dört başı mamur bir ayrımı” sorgularken, Türkiye bağlamında siyasi olanın iyice anlaşılabilmesi için, bu iki alan arasındaki kaygan ve geçişken sınırların altını çizer. Gal ve Özyürek'in sorgulamalarını takip eden bu çalışma erken cumhuriyet döneminde cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagojinin, aynymış gibi görünen kamusal ve özel alanları nasıl eklemlediğini araştırmaktadır. Bir diğer deyişle bu çalışma, cumhuriyetçi moral terbiyenin kurucu bir parçası olarak, öznelerin milli hislere, medenilik kurallarına ve hijyenik düzenlemelere göre nasıl kuruluşa terbiye edildiklerine odaklanır. Fazlasıyla ihmal edilmiş mahrem alana yönelik müdahale ve düzenlemelere dayanan bu çalışma, “dışsal” ya da “kamusal” olanın “içsel” ya da “özel” olanla nasıl birleştiğini, cumhuriyet erdemlerinin ev, aile ve uzak köylere nasıl uzandığını, kişisel gayretlerin ve özel edimlerin milli davalara nasıl bağlandığını, örneğin çocuk bakımı ve terbiyesinin nasıl da milli bir ödev addedildiğini ortaya koyar.

“Cumhuriyet moralitesi” derken amacım, bu moraliteyi ahlak felsefesinin sınırlarına giren normatif ahlak teorileri ya da evrensel ahlak ilkeleri açısından kavramak ve değerlendirmek değildir. Cumhuriyet moralitesinin, bazı iyi ve kötü davranışları tanımladığına, belli erdemleri vazettiğine ve evrensellik iddiası olan bazı değerleri zorunlu kıldığına kuşku duyulamaz ve bu itibarla, felsefi bir sorgulama gereklidir. Ama benim bakış açımın siyasi bir niteliği vardır, bu yüzden de temelde cumhuriyet iktidarının, seküler, Batı-merkezci, ve modern siyasi programı çerçevesinde ahlaki alanı nasıl kurduğu, manipüle ettiği ve neyle doldurduğu ile ilgilenmektedir. Siyaseti moralite ile bağlantılı olarak kavrayan anlayışlar genellikle, kamusal alana katılan siyasi-moral öznelere atfedilen siyasi moralite, siyasi adalet ve vatandaşlığa ait erdem ve ödevlerle haşır neşir olurlar. Benim moraliteye ilişkin merakım ise kamusal alanla ve vatandaş-öznelere kamusal alandaki siyasi edimleriyle sınırlı kalmamakta, özel alana taşmaktan,

insanların kamusal yaşamdaki tavır ve görünümünü ihmal etmeksizin mahremiyeti olan, kişisel alanda saklı olan hal ve hareketleri ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Çünkü, çalışmamın erken cumhuriyet Türkiye'si örneğinde üzerinde durduğu argüman şudur: Her ne kadar sınırları tartışmalı, geçişken ve muğlak bile olsa “özel” varsayılan alandaki tutum ve davranışlar, alışkanlıklar, hisler ve inanışların hem kendiliklerinden siyasi nitelikleri vardır, hem de vatandaşların kamusal alandaki görünüş ve tavırlarını temellendirdikleri ve besledikleri için büyük önem taşırlar.

Cumhuriyet rejiminin özel alana ilişkin moralite ile bağlantılı siyasetinin haritasını çıkarmayı amaçlarken, feminist teorisyenlerin, siyasi analize, siyasi değilmiş gibi görünenin, özel ve mahrem siyasilğini göstermek suretiyle yaptıkları katkılarla şekillenen araştırmam, cumhuriyetçi siyasi düşünce geleneğinin “iyi vatandaş”ın siyasi ve moral niteliklerine ilişkin gözlemleri ile, vatandaş-öznel bedenlerinin ve yaşamlarındaki sıradan ayrıntıların siyasileşmesi biçimindeki modern iktidarın yeni görünümü hakkındaki teorik literatürü diyaloga sokmak niyetindedir. Son zamanlarda beden, gövdeselleşme ve maddilik üzerine felsefi (Butler 1993; Zita 1998; Donn 1998), tarihsel (Adelson 1993; Canning 1999), sosyolojik (Turner 1992, 1996; Shilling 1993) ve/ya feminist (Grosz 1994; Bikre 1999; Arthurs ve Grimshaw 1999; Witz 2000) nitelikli ciddi bir ilgi oluşmuştur. Bedenin farklı anlamlarına ilişkin sürmekte olan mücadeleye rağmen, benim araştırmam, bedeni biyolojik, sosyolojik ya da fenomenolojik bir kavramsallaştırma olarak incelemeyi; diyet ve beden ilişkisine, kişisel ya da toplumsal anlamda sancı ve acıyı deneyimleme biçimlerine ya da yaşlılığın fenomenolojisine odaklanmaz. Ne de Türkiye bağlamına, önemli siyasal ve kişisel sorunların beden üzerinden sorunsallaştırıldığı ve beden yoluyla ifşa edildiği “somatik toplum” nosyonu getirmek niyetindedir. Daha ziyade, Michel Foucault (1977, 1990) ve özellikle Judith Butler'ı (1999, 1993) takip ederek, halkın erken cumhuriyet döneminde gündelik yaşamlarında tabi oldukları (cumhuriyet moralitesinden kaynaklanan) normatif süreçlerin ve ideallerin gücünü ifşa etmek niyetiyle, bedeni, çatışmalı bir kurgu ve anlamların tortulaşması olarak kavramaya gayret eder. Bu anlayış bizi Agamben'in (1998) yaşamın siyasileşmesi ya da Foucault'nun biyopolitik dediği

üreme, doğum, ölüm, sağlık, ömür gibi biyolojik süreçler açısından nüfusun düzenlenmesi ve bireyin faydasının ve uysallığının artırılması, ve bedensel yetilerinin en yüksek düzeye çıkarılması için disipline edilmesine ilişkin argümanlara götürür. Bu iki farklı teorik geleneği bir araya getiren bu çalışma, her iki geleneğin zayıf yönlerini aşmaya çalışır. İlki, iyi vatandaşların, sayısı, sağlığı, yaşam süresi ve üretkenliğini ya da özel alandaki alışkanlık ve davranışlarının ahlak ve siyaset açısından sonuçlarını göz ardı eder. İkincisi de bedenlerin düzenlenişindeki duygusal ve normatif anlamları dikkate almaz. Gerçi öznelerin iktidar teknolojileri tarafından normalleştirilmesinin altını çizer ama, öznelerin yeni, modern bir milli cemaat yaratma ideallerine bağlı olarak nasıl terbiye edildikleriyle ilgilenmez.

Bir başka ifadeyle söylersem, siyasi bir cemaatin kamusal iyisi olarak “erdem” iktidarın maddileştiği bir mevzi olan “beden”le birleştirmek, siyaseti ve vatandaşlığı, moralitenin sağlıktan, ruhun bedenden, duygunun akıldan, karakterin fiziksel güçten, vatandaşların özel ve kamusal yaşamlarının birbirinden ayrılmadığı, yeni bir düşünme fırsatı verir. Böylesi bir siyaset anlayışı, siyasi olanla siyasi olmayan, yani kültürel, moral ve toplumsal olanın siyasetin ve iktidarın dışında bırakıldığı Schmittçi ayrımına da karşı çıkar. İktidarın makro ve mikro düzeylerini birleştiren, yönetimin normatifiğine ve rasyonalitelerine eşit derecede önem veren, modern öznelerin oluşumundaki disipline edici ve aynı zamanda özgürleştirici boyutları bir arada düşünebilen bir siyaset, moralite ve vatandaşlık anlayışı için erken cumhuriyet dönemi ilginç bir çalışma konusudur.

Çağdaş siyaset felsefesinde vatandaşlığın önemli bir tema olarak adeta yeniden doğduğunu anımsatan Burchell, vatandaşlığın liberal ve cemaatçi yorumlarının, “vatandaşlık için gerekli somut niteliklerin neler olduğu ve vatandaşların sorumlu vatandaş duyarlılığı olan bireyler olarak bu nitelikleri tarihsel anlamda nasıl kazandıkları” ile ilgili temel soruları görmezden geldiğini ortaya koyar. (1995, 540). Vatandaşlık antik ya da klasik vatandaşlık geleneğine atıfla nostaljik bir bağlanma biçimi gibi kavranmamalıdır. Aslında vatandaşlığın modern yüzü Aristotelesçi anlamda tanrı vergisi bir formasyona değil, daha ziyade, “insan

topluma doğal olarak değil eğitimle [disiplinle] uyumlu hale gelir” diyen Hobbes’çu bir duruma işaret eder (1995, 543). Bu bağlamda, modern taabiyeti araştıran biri, yalnızca siyaset felsefesinin soyut bir figürü olan vatandaşla ilgilenmemeli, aynı zamanda vatandaşların somut kişiliklerini dikkate almalıdır. Modern vatandaşların somut kişilikleri “belirli bir zaman ve mekanda hem yönetim tarafından dışsal olarak uygulanan toplumsal disiplin etkinlikleri ve “içsel” olarak da öz-disiplin ve kendilik teknolojileri” dolayısıyla gelişir (1995, 549). Bu bize vatandaşa a priori moral bir özne gibi odaklanmanın ötesine gidip, kişilerin iyi vatandaş niteliklerini kazandıkları, etik ve aynı zamanda (örneğin muaşeret ya da sağlıkla ilgili zorunluluklar adı altında) seküler teknikleri gözlemlene imkanı sunar. Ve kişiler bir kez iyi vatandaşlar olarak terbiye edilince, homojenlik peşindeki modern milletler için bulunmaz bir kaynak haline gelirler.

Bu çalışma, erken cumhuriyet dönemindeki cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagoji dolayısıyla, vatandaşların somut kişiliklerinin “erdemli, sağlıklı ve güçlü Türk” olarak nasıl terbiye edilmeye çalışıldığını ortaya koymaktadır. Başlangıç noktası olarak, cumhuriyetçi grammerin temel kavramlarının, halkın literal ve metaforik anlamda marazi konfigürasyonu karşısında seçkinlerin hissettikleri endişeleri yansıttığı iddiasına dayanmaktadır. Erken cumhuriyet dönemi seçkinlerini endişeye sevk eden temel etmen, Türklerin Batı’daki “Avrupa’nın hasta adamı” biçimindeki imajıdır. Buna çözüm olarak da Batıcı bir söylemle yeni Türkiye üzerindeki Osmanlı izini silmeyi, ayrıca da Türkiye’nin hiçbir zaman bir sömürge olmadığı gerçeğini göz önünde bulundurarak, halkın hastalıklı halini ortadan kaldırmak ve efsanevi “Türk gibi güçlü” imajını yeniden canlandırmaya, milli öznelerin bedenlerini sömürgeleştirerek, milli teritorinin ve nüfusunun yaygın nitelikteki toplumsal ve sağlık araştırmalarıyla içsel bir sömürgeleştirmeye tabi tutulmasına çalışmışlardır. Ben de erken cumhuriyet dönemi seçkinlerinin bu çabalarına “kültürel anlamda kendi kendini sömürgeleştirme” adını veriyorum. Türk modernleşme projesinde, özellikle 1930lu yıllarda, milli beden ve vatandaş-bireyin bedeninin, bütüncül ve homojen bir biçimde kuruluşunda, tahayyül edilen bir “Batılı Beden”e sahip olma arzusunun yer aldığını iddia ediyorum. Bir başka deyişle, “Batılı Beden”, zayıf, hastalıklı ve iktidarsız “Doğulu

Beden” karşısında Türk milli bedeninin ve vatandaş bedeninin yaratılmasında adeta, Foucault’nun tanımladığı anlamda bir “ruh” haline gelmiştir. Ama Batılı Bedeni, Türkler için yeni bir “ruh” olarak ele alırken, cumhuriyet elitlerinin zihnindeki batıcılık ile milliyetçilik arasındaki gerilimleri göz ardı etmemek, milli hislerin, bu muhayyel Batılı Beden’in oluşumunda, Butler’in ifadesini kullanarak söylersem, tortulaşarak maddilik kazandığını da hesaba katmak gerekir.

Türk milletini ve Türk vatandaşını beden olarak ele alıp inceleyen bu çalışma, daha önce yapılmış, bu iki bedeni de kamusal alanda tasavvur eden, bu yüzden de iktidarın çıplak yaşamı nasıl siyasileştirdiğini, öznelerin özel alanlarına ve duygusal yapılarına nasıl nüfuz ettiğini ve dolayısıyla halkın cumhuriyet vatandaşlarına dönüşümünde mahrem alanının merkeziliğini ihmal eden, Türk modernleşmesine ilişkin diğer çalışmalardaki bir boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlıyor.

The Concept of the Political adını taşıyan önemli çalışmasında Carl Schmitt, siyasal olanın şu ya da bu şekilde devlet nosyonunu çağrıştırdığını, siyaset ve devletin yan yana durduğunu ortaya koyar. Türkiye bağlamında yapılan çalışmalarda, bu argümanın büyük bir geçerliliği vardır. Türkiye üzerine yapılan birçok siyasi analiz, devletten, daha doğrusu devletin “gücünden” başlar. Bence bu kendi içinde sorunlu bir analiz biçimi değildir. Çünkü devlet nosyonunu, devletin formasyonunu, ve devlet-toplum ilişkilerini incelemek, belli bir milli ya da toplumsal bağlamda iktidarın nasıl tekelleştiği ya da nasıl dağıldığını anlamamıza katkıda bulunur. Ama, siyasi analizlerde, Türkiye’de tüm iktidarın toplandığı bir merkez olarak devlete yapılan aşırı vurgu, iktidarın farklı patikalarını, dağıldığı ve yayıldığı başka düzeylerini kavramamıza engel oluyor ve siyasal olanın Türkiye bağlamına içkin, farklı yüzlerini maskeleyip, gölgede bırakıyor. Öte yandan, devlet merkezli analizlerin çoğu siyasal olanı rasyonel ve kamusal alanla sınırlı bir etkinlik olarak ele alıyor. Bu çalışma, devlet merkezli çalışmalara alternatif olarak, modern Türkiye’nin oluşumunda siyasalın farklı yüzlerini araştırıyor ve siyasal olanla devleti aynı madalyonun iki yüzü gibi gören Schmittçi anlayışa karşı, siyasal olanın izlerini en “apolitik” en mahrem ve en görünmez alanlarda sürüyor. Bu alanların ihmal edilmesinin nedeni olarak, devletin rolüne yapılan aşırı vurgu

ve Türk modernleşmesinin devletin modernleşmesi olarak kavranmasından kaynaklandığı iddiasındaki bu çalışma, Türkiye'nin modernlik deneyimine içkin en azından iki farklı siyasallığın mevcut olduğunu ve bunların da şu ya da bu şekilde beden, moralite ve mahremiyetle bağlantılı olduğunu belirtiyor.

Siyasal olanın farklı anlamları ve Türk modernleşmesinde iktidarın farklı dağılım biçimleri üzerine böyle bir çalışmayı yapmamda ilham kaynağı olan nedenlerden birisi, 1980 darbesi sürecinde babamın, ailenin geçim kaynağı olan ve çoğunlukla üniversite öğrencilerinin müdavimi olduğu kahvehaneyi kapatıp, 12 Eylül rejiminin siyasi kovuşturmalarından uzaklaşmak için annemin doğduğu küçük bir köye sığındığımız günlere gider. Babamın kahvehanesi, Habermas'ın tabirini takip edersem, kelimenin tam anlamıyla bir kamusal alandır, çünkü müdavimler işadamları ya da profesyoneller gibi ne kendi özel işlerinin peşinden koşan kişilerdir; ne de devlet bürokrasisinin yasal yaptırımlarına tabi üyelerdir. Aksine müdavimler, memleketin siyasi meselelerine ya da “genel çıkarlara” dair ateşli tartışmalar, zaman zaman da kanlı kavgalar yapmaktadırlar. Teorik olarak söylendiğinde bir kahvehane, kamuoyunun, toplumsal meşruiyetin ve düşünce ve ifade özgürlüğünün meydana geldiği siyasi bir kamusal alandır, ama 1980'ler Türkiye'sinde milli birlik ve beraberliğe ve toplumsal barışa ihanetin yuvası olarak algılanmaktadır.

Gerek Habermasçı anlamda gerekse Schmittçi anlamda, kentten köye gidişimiz siyasetten ve/ya devletten kaçmak demektir. Bu dönem Türkiye'de birçok kişi için olduğu gibi benim ebeveynlerim için de bir trajediydi: Kardeşlerimden üçü, okula devam etmek için, homurdanıp duran akrabaların yanında kalmak zorundaydı; aile dağılmış ve mutlak bir yoksullukla yüz yüze kalınmıştı. Üstelik babam tutuklansaydı, ki oldukça muhtemel bir durumdu, manzara daha vahim bir hal alabilirdi. Küçük bir köyün sunduğu mahremiyet, siyaset ve devletten koruyacak kadar güvenli miydi?

Yedi yaşında bir çocuk için ise köy yaşamı olağanüstüdür. Tek sınıflı köy okulunda, öğretmenin gözdesi olmak oldukça kolayken, tüm adab-ı muâşeret ve

hijyen kurallarını askıya alıp, çıplak ayaklarla çamurdu, hayvan dışkıydı demeyip köy meydanında ve yollarda oradan oraya koşuşturmak, mutluluk demektir. Şimdi biliyorum ki eğer köyü teftişle görevli bir cumhuriyetçi müfettiş beni görseydi, muhtemelen Türk vatanına sağlıklı ve gülbüz nesiller yetiştirebilecekken, sayısız mikrop ve pisliğin içinde debelenen, o küçük sümüklü kız için kaygı duyardı.

Eğer babama o küçük köyün mahrem alanı bizi siyasetten ve devletten korudu mu diye sorsam, vereceği cevap tereddütsüz bir “Hayır” olurdu. Ama, taşınmamızdan kısa bir süre sonra, siyasal olmanın, ya da Yashın’ın ifadesiyle devletin yüzlerinden biri, hükümet görevlisi kisvesi altında görünüyordu. Köy müfettişi—tarihsel olarak erken cumhuriyet dönemine ait biri—anakronik bir beklentiydi, jandarma—gerçi en muhtemel kişiydi ama bu da—bir kör talih hikayesi olurdu. Gelen nüfus memuruydu, hepimizi kayıt altına almak istiyordu, nüfus sayımı vardı. Köy öğretmeni nüfus memuruna yardım etti, köy halkının nüfusu kolayca tespit edildi. 12 Ekim 1980 tarihindeki nüfus sayımına göre, kentte yaşayanları oranı yüzde 43 ve köyde yaşayanların oranı ise yüzde 57 idi. Köyde bizden başka devletle “saklambaç” oynayan bir aile ve bu ailenin siyasete bulaşmış üç oğlu vardı. Eric Hobsbawm, bir zamanlar, Avrupa ve Ortadoğu’da köyün kalan tek kalesi olarak Türkiye’yi göstermiş, ve köylülük oranının azalmasına rağmen, hala 1980ler Türkiye’sinde mutlak çoğunluğu köylülerin oluşturduğunu söylemişti. Hobsbawm’ın sözleri Batı medeniyetini yakalamaya ahdetmiş bir memleket için oldukça dokunaklıdır. Peki biz köye kaçarak, memleketimizi Ortadoğu’dakilerden bile geride bıraktıran köylülük oranını arttırmış mıydık? Vatana karşı bir diğer ihanet içinde miydik?

Sam Kaplan *The Pedagogical State* isimli, antropolojik çalışmasında, çocukların devletin pedagojik bekçileri ya da eğitilmiş vatandaşları olmalarının ne anlama geldiğini sorar ve Türk devletinin formel eğitimi tekel altına almakla, vatandaşların güncel bir hakikati halini aldığı söyler. Kaplan’ın bu devlet merkezli görüşlerini abartılı buluyorum, ayrıntıya pek girmemekle birlikte en azından 1920’lerin sonlarında doğan anneannem için Kaplan’ın gözlemlerinin geçersiz olduğunu söyleyebilirim. Anneannemin köyünde ya da komşu köylerde

okul yoktu, yani Türk devletinin eğitimli vatandaşı olamadı, bu manada devlet de onun gündelik yaşamının bir hakikati değildi, ama cumhuriyete on iki sağlıklı evlat verdi, sırf bu yüzden aslında çifte bir Cumhuriyet madalyasını hak etmiyor muydu? Madalya almak bir yana, kendi çocuklarının, yani annemin, gidebileceği bir okul bile açılmadı köyünde. Şu efsanevi Cumhuriyet Kadınına (kızlarına) ait efsanevi anlatılar karşısında, Bell hooks'un başka bir bağlamda sorduğu soruyu biraz değiştirerek sormaktan kendimi alamıyorum: “Onlar kadın değil mi?” Kandiyoti'den ödünç aldığım ifadelerle belirtirsem, bazı Türk kadınları “kurtulmuş ama özgürleşememiştir”, anneannem ve annemin de dahil olduğu birçok kadın ise ne kurtulmuş ne de özgürleşmiştir. Onlar gidemese de, o küçük köyde çok sonradan açılan tek odalı okula ben gittim. Gerçi okuma yazmayı zaten kentteki okulda öğrenmiştim, ve ne yazık ki okuma yazma öğretmek de böyle bir köy okulunun sunabileceği tek şeydi: o zamanki sınıf arkadaşlarımdan hiçbiri eğitimine devam etmedi. Okula gitmek, şeylerin hiyerarşik düzeninde basamak atlamak isteyen yoksul köylüler için oldukça pahalı, zaman alıcı ve sürekli emek ve mücadele gerektiren bir iştir. Benim bu çalışmada izini sürdüğüm siyaset anlayışı ne yazık ki böylesi bir durumu, yok saymamakla birlikte araştırma dışı bırakıyor.

Köyde geçirdiğimiz kısa zaman dilimi içinde kelimenin geleneksel anlamındaki siyaset ya da devlet bizi bulamadı; ama nüfus memurundan başka, birçok hükümet görevlisi köyümüze uğradı: Köy halkının sağlık haritasını çıkarmak, sıtma testi yapmak, kinin dağıtmak, verem aşısı yapmak, doğum kontrolü konusunda köylüyü aydınlatmak için. Anımsadığım bir başka ilginç olay ise ödeyebilecek durumda olan kimi köylülerin evlerine asılmak üzere verilen çerçeveli Atatürk resimleriydi. Okullarda ya da hükümet binalarının duvarlarında bu resimleri görmeye alışkındık ama en mahrem alanlarımıza, kerpiçten yapılmış, doğru düzgün aydınlatması olmayan, derme çatma köy evlerine giren Atatürk resimlerini nasıl yorumlamalıydık? Siyasetin tüm bunlarla bir ilişkisi var mıydı?

Bu çalışmada izini sürdüğüm siyaset anlayışlarından birisi, vatandaşlık erdemleri, kamusal ödevleri, vatandaşların milli ideallere ve genel çıkarlara kendilerini coşkuyla adanmalarının önemini vurgulayan cumhuriyetçi siyaset geleneğine

dayanır. Burt'tun da söylediği gibi “Cumhuriyetçi gelenekte erdem kabul edilerek övülen nitelikler, özellikle, vatandaşların kamusal, siyasal alanı, kişisel arzuları ve hırsları karşısında ayrıcalıklı kılmalarını sağlayan niteliklerdir.” (1993, 361) Gerçekten de cumhuriyetçi gelenekte ve bunun Türkiye deneyiminin de gösterdiği biçimde, vatandaşları iyi ve muteber yapan moral ve siyasi nitelikler mevcuttur ve bu nitelikler temelde kamusal alanla özel alan arasında keskin bir ayrımı öngörür. Ama ben, cumhuriyetçi geleneğin vatandaşlık anlayışıyla ilgilenirken, kamusal ve özel alanın geçişken sınırlarını vurgulayan feminist argümanlardan yararlanıyor, özel alandaki vatandaşlık erdem ve sorumluluklarına dikkat çekmek istiyorum. Çoğunlukla “kamusal” olarak addedilen cumhuriyetçi erdemlerin, ödevlerin ve genel çıkarların özel alana uzanımlarına bakıyorum. Bu bakış açısı sayesinde de erken cumhuriyet döneminde vatandaşlık erdemlerinin nasıl, eve, aileye ve uzak köylere, kişisel gayret ve davranışların milli ideallere ve genel çıkarlara bağlandığını; ve annelik ya da çocuk yetiştirmenin milli bir ödev addedildiğini ortaya koyuyorum. Ve cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagojinin mahrem ya da özel alanı hedef aldığını, çünkü bu alanın, iyi ve erdemli cumhuriyet vatandaşlarının böylesi niteliklerinin tohumlarının atıldığı bir alan olduğu için siyasal bir alan olduğunu gösteriyorum.

Bu çalışmanın izini sürdüğü bir diğer siyaset anlayışı, yönetimin vatandaşın bedeni ve nüfusuna ilişkin ilgisi ile ortaya çıkar. Erken cumhuriyet döneminde nüfus sayımları, sağlık haritaları, hükümet görevlilerinin raporları, araştırma ve gezi notları ile nüfus hakkındaki bilgide inanılmaz bir artış meydana gelmiştir. Modern iktidarların araştırmacı çabaları, Frankel'in ifadesiyle, nüfusun sağlık, fiziksel konfor ve ahlaki faziletine gönderme yapan “koşulları” ifşa etmek amacındadır. Benzer bir biçimde, 1930'lu yıllarda cumhuriyetçi iktidar, halkın “koşullarını” yani, sayısını, sağlık konusundaki alışkanlıklarını, bedensel yapılarını, görgülerini ve ahlaki temayüllerini açığa çıkarmaya çabalamıştır. Dahası cumhuriyetçi iktidar, bedeni ve hisleri terbiye etmek suretiyle bu koşulları değiştirmeye çalışmıştır.

Siyasal olanın farklı yüzlerine ilişkin arařtırman, erken cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinin yařadığı modernlik deneyiminin, modern zamanların aynı zamanda pedagojik zamanlar olduđuna dair argümanlarla uyumlu bir biçimde, pedagojik bir nitelik arz ettiđini gösterir. Yani, erken cumhuriyet döneminde, seçkinler modern Türk vatandaşının ahlaki ve fiziksel olarak terbiye ederken nasihat ve tembih dolu metinlere başvurmuşlar, örneđin, sađ ve salim olmanın, hijyen kurallarına uymanın, yere tükürmemenin hem öznelerin kendileri için hem de bir parçası oldukları millet için ne kadar faydalı olduđunu anlatarak, popüler rızayı da eğitmeye çalışmışlardır.

19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yapılan disseksiyon seremonileriyle başlayan bu çalışmanın ilk bölümü, modern ve seküler yönetme zihniyetinin Osmanlı topraklarına girişine ve bu manada Osmanlı-Türk halkının modern özneler olarak kurgulanmaya başlayışına yer vermektedir. Bu bağlamda Doğulu Despot kavramsallaştırması, yalnızca siyasi otoriteyi irrasyonel ve keyfi addetmekle kalmayıp, halkı da pasif kurbanlar ve sorumsuz nesnelere kabul ettiđi için sorgulanmaktadır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki yönetme zihniyetindeki dönüşümün fark edilmesini, ve dolayısıyla da yeni iktidar ilişkilerini anlamayı ve modernliđi eşzamanlı bir süreç olarak kavramayı önermektedir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan önce Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son zamanlarında beden ve nüfusun nasıl önem kazandığına dikkat çekmektedir. Dahası, Osmanlılar'ın Avrupa'nın ilk "öteki"si oluşları karşısında hissettikleri endişelere yer vermektedir. Bu tarihsel konumlanmanın yanı sıra, teorik anlamda da modernlik, millilik, iktidar ve vatandaşlık konusunda açılımlar sunmaktadır.

İkinci bölüm, Batı karşısında yenilmiş Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun varisi olan cumhuriyet seçkinlerinin duygusal yapısına odaklanır. Yalnızca Batı'nın üstünlüğü değil, daha önemlisi, yerli halkın milli dava karşısındaki kayıtsızlık ve cehaleti seçkinleri derinden etkiler ve kalplerini kırar. İşte bu kalp kırıklığından erken cumhuriyet dönemi Türk milliyetçiliđinin pedagojik karakteri ortaya çıkar: Milli mefkureyi gerçekleřtirmek için, milli terbiyenin yaygın bir hal alması en temel cumhuriyetçi proje olur. Burada, Kemalizm'i bilimci, rasyonel ve pozitivist olarak

kavramak yerine, cumhuriyet seçkinlerinin peşine düştüğü duygusal ve halkı terbiyenin altı çizilir ve vatan aşkının insanların kalplerine yerleştirilmesinin en temel duygu olduğu belirtilir. Erken cumhuriyet döneminde bilgi akışı yalnızca seçkinlerden halka doğru değildir. İktidarın modern yapısı gereği, yani “yönetmek için bilmek gerekir” argümanının da yansıttığı gibi, cumhuriyet seçkinleri halk hakkında, milletin aşk nesnesi hakkında bilgi toplamayı amaçlamıştır. Dönemin Erzincan valilerinden Ali Kemali Bey’in de belirttiği gibi “istatistik, hem hayatın hakiki aynası hem kendini bilmenin yegane çaresidir” (1932, 371).

Cumhuriyetçiler kendi iktidarlarını Osmanlılar’dan ayırmak için, söylemlerinde nüfusun en cahil kalmış, ne var ki cehaletlerinde kendi sorumlulukları olmayan kesimine, köylü ve kadına büyük önem verirler. “Türk’ün Bedeni, Köylünün Bedeni: Köyde Milli Terbiye” başlıklı üçüncü bölüm ve “Erken Cumhuriyette Milli His, Anelik Duygusu ve Cumhuriyet Erdemlerine Dolanmış Dışil Beden”, başlıklı dördüncü bölüm cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagojinin hedef aldığı bu iki konuyu incelemektedir. Üçüncü bölüm cumhuriyet seçkinlerinin köydeki adımlarını takip ediyor. Burada köy, seçkinlerin “yaban” addedildikleri ve bu yüzden de nüfuz edilmesi hayli güç bir mahrem alan olarak beliriyor. Ama köylülerin seçkinlere karşı kayıtsızlığı milli terbiyenin köylerde yayılması gerektiği fikrini güçlendiriyor. Ancak köylüler Türklüğe ve cumhuriyet ideallerine tutkuyla bağlanırlarsa, homojen ve güçlü bir Türk milletinden söz edilir diyen seçkinler ortaya çıkıyor. Bu bölüm, cumhuriyet dönemi “köy sorununu” ele almamakta, daha ziyade, sıhhat ve hissiyata ilişkin sorunlara odaklanmaktadır. Bu itibarla, cumhuriyet seçkinlerinin modern araştırma istemi ile kırsal alanın haritasını çıkarmaya çabaladığını, nasihat verici risaleler hazırladığını ortaya koyuyor. Köyün romantik bir biçimde saf ve bozulmamış bir Türk özünün mekanı gibi dile getirildiği durumlar yok değilse de, bu çalışma, seçkinlerin araştırma seyahat notlarında köyün, hakiki Türk’ün barınamayacağı kadar sağlıklı ve pis bir mekan olarak keşfedildiğini göstermektedir. Köylüyü gerçek bir Türk gibi terbiye etmek için yazılan ve dağıtılan materyallerde tıpkı Doktor İsmail Hakkı’nın kullandığı gibi bir terminolojiyle karşılaşırız: “İnsan hiç vatanına tükürür mü?”

Dördüncü bölümde dişil beden, Türklük ve cumhuriyet erdemleri arasındaki ilişki ele alınmaktadır. Aslında cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagojinin anneliğe, kadınların özel alanına ait mahrem bir duygu olarak önem verip bir yandan da kadınların ahlaklarını, bedensel enerjilerini ve cinsel arzularını, annelik duygusu üzerinden terbiye etmeye uğraşmaları, çünkü böyle bir terbiyenin Türk milletinin gücü ve geleceği için elzem olduğunu belirtmeleri, kamusal ile özelin tartışmalı sınırlarını erken cumhuriyet dönemi örneğinde bir kez daha göstermektedir. Eğer kadınlar hakiki anlamda vatansever, cumhuriyetçi ve Türk olamazlarsa, çocukların böyle olması mümkün değildir diye düşünenler yalnızca devlet hizmetindeki hekimler ve öğretmenler değildir. Aslında dönemin birçok gazete ve mecmualarında kadınların vatandaşlığını özel alana kadar genişletip, onlara, evlenip çoluk çocuğa karışılacak münasip eşler bulmak, sağlıklı bir şekilde hamile kalmak ya da gülbüz çocuk yetiştirmek konusunda öğütler veren akıl insanlara rastlamak mümkün.

“Milli Terbiyeye Viktoryen Bir Ek: Sıhhi ve Ahlaki Bir Cinsellik İçin Nasihatler” başlıklı beşinci bölüm ve “Avrupa’nın Marazi Adamından, Frengili Adamına: Erken Cumhuriyet’te Frengili Beden” başlıklı altıncı bölüm, erken cumhuriyet döneminin mahremiyet odaklı siyasi moralitesi üzerine, birbiriyle bağlantılı iki monografiye yer vermektedir. Dönemin “sağlıklı ve erdemli Türkler yetiştirmek” biçimindeki genel amacıyla paralel olan cinsel öğüt literatürü ve cinsel yolla bulaşan bir hastalık olarak frengi üzerine yazdığım monografiler Batı medeniyetini yakalamaya çalışan yeni bir millet için beden ve çıplak yaşamın nasıl yeni bir hedef olduğunu ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Halkı terbiye etmek, cehaletini gidermek gibi geniş bir modern arzu, cinsel cehaleti de yerinden etmek isteğini yansıtmaktadır. Her türlü cehalet konusunda olduğu gibi cinsel cehalet konusunda da yine Osmanlı’nın, ya da doğunun eski kafası, karanlık yüzü ve modası geçmiş bin bir türlü kuralı suçlu bulunmaktadır. Artık Doğu değil de Batı Türklerin yeni rotası olduğu için, erken cumhuriyet döneminde kaleme alınan cinsel öğüt kitapları Batı’da, özellikle Fransa’da ortaya çıkan benzer içerikteki literatürü bazen aynen kopyalamakta, bazen yorum farkıyla tekrarlamaktadır. Ama bu literatürün satır aralarını okuduğumuzda, cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagojinin buralara sızdığını

ve Batı literatürünün millileştirildiğini görebiliriz: Yani, cinsel öğüt kitapları da güçlü ve erdemli Türk'ü yaratmak istemektedir. Bir diğer ifadeyle, cinsel öğüt literatürü halka, özellikle gençlere cismani şehvetin de milli bir kaynak olduğunu ve boşa harcanmaması, heba edilmemesi gerektiğini söylemektedir. Cinsel potansiyelin heba edilmesi, kısırlığa ve kısırlık da zaten düşük olan Türk nüfusunun daha da azalmasına yol açabilir. Bu durumda, spekülatif bir biçimde söylersek, erken cumhuriyet döneminde zifaf gecesi gençlere verilen öğüt şudur: “Sıhhatli bir biçimde yat ve Cumhuriyet’i düşün!”

Altıncı bölümde, erken cumhuriyet seçkinlerinden özellikle hekimlerin “gizli” bir hastalık olan frengiyle nasıl mücadele ettikleri incelenmektedir. Bilindiği gibi, 1930’lu yıllarda milli bünyeyi en çok tehdit eden hastalıklar verem, sıtma ve frengiydi. Ancak bunlar arasında frenginin bedende bıraktığı korkunç izler dolayısıyla ve elbette ahlaklı bir insanın frengi olmayacağı fikrinin yaygınlığı dolayısıyla, Türk’ün bedensel ve moral anlamda terbiyesinde özel bir önemi vardır. Frenginin bir başka özelliği de Batı/Doğu farkına ilişkin anlamlandırmalarda ilginç bir işlevinin olmasıdır. Adı üzerinde Frengi, Frenklerden, yani Batılılardan gelen bir hastalık olarak bilinir. Ama, özellikle Osmanlı’nın son dönemlerinde davet edilen kimi Alman cildiyesi ve frengi uzmanlarının Oryantalist argümanları yüzünden, Anadolu halkının yüzde yetmiş beşinin frengili olduğuna dair yazılar çıkmaya başlamıştır. Üstelik, Anadolu halkındaki frengi, medeni insanlarda görülen frengi türü olan, Mazhar Osman’ın tabiriyle “sinir frengisi” de değildir, çünkü sinir frengisi zihin yorgunluğu çok olan milletlerde ortaya çıkar. Batılı hekimlerin bu tür “iftiralarına” karşı, cumhuriyet elitleri bir yandan, bedeni felce uğratan sinir frengisinin Türkler arasında mevcut olduğunu ispat etmeye, bir yandan da aslında o kadar da çok frengili olmadığını göstermeye çalışmışlar ve bir yandan da frengiyle mücadele adı altında cumhuriyetçi siyasi-moral pedagojinin mahrem alanlara nüfuz etmesine yardım etmişlerdir.

Bu çalışma, siyasal olanın modern zamanlara özgü farklı yüzlerini araştırmış, duyguları, erdemleri ve bunların bedenler ve milli sınırlar dolayısıyla

maddileşmelerine odaklanarak milletlerin ve milli öznelerin anlaşılabilir kılınmasına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamıştır. Halkın duygu, deneyim ve tepkileri hakkında konuşmak yerine, ki bu yabana atılır bir uğraş değildir, erken cumhuriyet dönemi seçkinlerinin halkın hissi, ahlaki ve şehvi yanını terbiye etme gayretlerine yer vermiştir. Kısacası, modern zamanlarda vatandaş terbiyesi kamusal olduğu kadar özel alana yönelik müdahaleleri içermektedir ve erken cumhuriyet dönemi böyle bir siyasi-moral analiz için hala çalışılmayı bekleyen kaynaklarla doludur.

APPENDIX B
CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Tütüncü, Fatma

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Date and Place of Birth: 15 March 1973, Adana.

Marital Status: Married

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU	1998
BA	METU	1995
High School	İzmir Maliye High School	1990

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
1990-1996	Ministry of Finance	Civil Servant
1996-1999	AİBÜ Department of Public Administration	Research Assistant
1999-2001	METU Department of Political Science and Public Administration	Research Assistant
2001-2002	University of Michigan	Visiting Scholar
2002-Present	METU Department of Political Science and Public Administration	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

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