TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ITS OTHERS:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN NOVELS


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


BY


ÖZNUR AKCALI YILMAZ


IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS


OCTOBER 2022

Approval of the thesis:

## TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ITS OTHERS:
## AN ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN NOVELS

submitted by **ÖZNUR AKCALI YILMAZ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences                        _____

Prof. Dr. Ebru BOYAR
Head of Department
Department of International Relations                      _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sevilay KAHRAMAN
Supervisor
Department of International Relations                      _____

Prof. Dr. Faruk YALVAÇ
Co-Supervisor
Atılım University
Department of International Relations                      _____

**Examining Committee Members:**

Prof. Dr. A. Nuri YURDUSEV (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of International Relations                      _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sevilay KAHRAMAN (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of International Relations                      _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Işık KUŞÇU BONNENFANT
Middle East Technical University
Department of International Relations                      _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burak Bilgehan ÖZPEK
TOBB University of Economics and Technology
Department of Political Science and International Relations _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jale ÖZATA DİRLİKYAPAN
Ankara University
Department of Public Relations and Advertising            _____

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

**Name, Last Name:** Öznur AKCALI YILMAZ

**Signature:**

# ABSTRACT

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AKCALI YILMAZ, Öznur

Ph.D., Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sevilay KAHRAMAN

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Faruk YALVAÇ

October 2022, 228 pages

This thesis discusses the Turkish national identity building process in the early Republican period and just before, through the others of Turkish national identity. While doing this, three basic others of Turkish national identity were selected, namely the Western other, the Ottoman other, and the "non-Turkified others", which is the concept developed in this thesis. The narratives about the selected others were analyzed on the novels written by Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Peyami Safa, who were popular writers of the early Republican period, until 1950. First of all, it has been evaluated that literature can be a productive field of study in terms of international relations due to the many social and political narratives it contains. In addition, the concept of the other was considered as one of the constitutive elements of identity. In this thesis, which is based on a comprehensive text analysis and discourse analysis, it was emphasized that there were changes, contradictions and variations in the narrative of both Turkish national identity and others in the novels, even in the early Republican period. It is considered that instead of a homogeneous narration of the national identity construction the contradictions, diversity and changes in the narration of Turkish national identity and its others can provide a different understanding.

**Keywords:** Turkish national identity building, other, identity, Turkish literature

# ÖZ

TÜRK ULUS KİMLİK İNŞA SÜRECİ VE ÖTEKİLERİ:
ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ ROMANLARININ İNCELENMESİ

AKCALI YILMAZ, Öznur

Doktora, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Sevilay KAHRAMAN
Ortak Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Faruk YALVAÇ

Ekim 2022, 228 sayfa

Bu tez, erken Cumhuriyet dönemi ve hemen öncesinde, Türk ulus kimlik inşa sürecini, Türk ulus kimliğinin ötekileri üzerinden tartışır. Bunu yaparken Batı ötekisi, Osmanlı ötekisi ve bu tezde geliştirilen kavramlardan biri olan Türkleştirilmemiş ötekiler olmak üzere, Türk ulus kimliğinin üç temel ötekisi seçilmiştir. Seçilen ötekilere dair anlatılar, erken Cumhuriyet döneminin popüler yazarları olan Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Reşat Nuri Güntekin ve Peyami Safa'nın 1950'ye kadar yazdıkları romanlar üzerinde incelemiştir. Öncelikle, edebiyatın içerdiği pek çok toplumsal ve siyasal anlatı nedeniyle uluslararası ilişkiler bakımından verimli bir çalışma alanı olabileceği değerlendirilmiştir. Bunun yanında öteki kavramı, kimliğin kurucu unsurlarından biri olarak ele alınmıştır. Geniş kapsamlı bir metin incelemesine ve söylem analizine dayalı olan bu tezde hem Türk ulus kimliğinin hem de ötekilerin romanlardaki anlatısında erken Cumhuriyet döneminde bile değişimler, çelişkiler ve çeşitlilikler barındırdığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Homojen bir ulus kimlik inşası anlatısı yerine Türk ulus kimliği ve ötekilerinin anlatımındaki çelişkiler, çeşitlilikler ve değişimlerin farklı bir anlayış sağlayabileceği düşünülmüştür.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türk ulus kimlik inşası, öteki, kimlik, Türk edebiyatı

*To my beloved husband, Yunus*

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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**CHAPTER 1**



**INTRODUCTION**



The end of the First World War brought forth a dramatic change in world politics with empires collapsing and paving the way for the emergence of new nation states in Europe. This transformation inevitably affected Turkish history and society. It resulted in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of a new successor state. Different from the Ottoman Empire, the newly emerged Republic of Turkey was a nation state in accordance with the modern international system. However, the transition from the empire to the nation state was not only a political transformation but also a social one which entailed many dimensions for Turkey.

One of the most significant social and political consequences of this transformation was "identity". The transition from the empire to the nation state required the transformation of people's identity into a national identity. In other words, citizens of the new nation-state should be "Turkish" rather than the previous "Ottoman" identity. This transformation process would be the main concern of the new state in the early Republican Period. Even though a nation state was officially declared in 1923, the creation of national identity would take a long and comprehensive process before and after declaration.

Considering the major concern of Turkish elites was to build a national identity in the early republican period, we need to discuss what identity is. While identity has been generally defined with reference to the "self", it is equally imperative to examine the "other" when defining identity. In this sense, Hegel stands as one of the most prominent proponents of this conceptualisation of identity. Hegel relates identity

formation to self/other dichotomy.[1] Berenson clarifies Hegel's approach by using the notion of reciprocity: "Self-consciousness is dependent on reciprocity between the Self and the Other; reciprocity which is lacking in consciousness of objects".[2] This reciprocity between self and other forms the basis of identity formation. In this regard, the "others" of Turkish national identity have a significant place in the national identity formation process as well.

After the question of what the national identity and "other" is, we also need to understand how a new national identity could be created. Considering that national identity creation as a process is neither simple nor sudden, the new state would require a lot of instruments in bringing the society/public into the identity formation process. One of such instruments employed by the Turkish state was via works of literature. Indeed, it is not uncommon to see contents relating to the building of national identity in the novels of the early republican period. Such content has motivated this research in that this thesis attempts to achieve an understanding of the depiction of national identity in early Republican Turkish Literature. In doing so, defining "the other" will be the main concern and focus of this study. Turkish national identity as "self" and its "others" can be unraveled in the works of popular authorsof that time.

## 1.1.    Research Question

While creating a national identity based on a nationalist ideology, states have to deal with "the other" since defining the "other" is as important as defining "self". Turkish national identity building process also includes efforts of creating "others" as well as "self". Both self and the other manifest themselves in politics, arts and every aspect of daily life. Turkish literature is one of the areas that national identity and the boundaries of self and the other are defined. The authors of the early Republican period were parts of the national identity building process. This however should not be mistakenly implied as the authors undertaking the role officially, most of the time, they voluntarily

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[1] Iver Neumann, *Uses of the Other* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999). p.3.

[2] Frances Berenson, "Hegel on Others and the Self," *Philosophy* 57, no. 219 (1982): 77–90. p.89.

contributed to the national identity building process.[3] While this contribution is obvious in non-fiction books, it is more implicit in fiction books. In fictional works, Turkishness as "self" and its "others" are narrated by a character, or portrayed via story or a scene: sometimes directly but most of the time implicitly. Thus, fiction books, especially novels of the early Republican period, provide fruitful sources for understanding Turkishness and its "others" despite these novels not being political writings.

With this starting point, the thesis tries to answer following questions: In the early Republican period, how were Turkishness and its "others" narrated in the novels of popular authors of that period, namely Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Peyami Safa? Was the narration consistent? Was there a convergence or divergence between their narratives? What are the contributions of the narration of "others" to Turkish national identity?

Answering these critical questions makes it possible to understand the roots of Turkishness as a national identity and the role of the "others" in formation of this identity in the fictive books. In this respect, we can have a better understanding of one of the major ideological traditions, nationalism, in modern Turkish history. Additionally, this dissertation contributes to the literature by providing an example of how different identities are othered in a fictional context using the Turkish case.

In a more specific context, this dissertation also helps to understand Turkey's international position vis-a-vis its identity and international world order in the interwar period. Thus, this research entails Turkey's identity perceptions about itself which are shaped by its foreign policy choices. This study also paves the way for the studies analyzing whether the ambiguity that has existed from the very beginning in the concept of self and other definitions of Turkish national identity has an effect on the fluctuations of Turkey's foreign policy preferences even today.

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[3] Kadir Dede, *Ulusun Edebiyatı Edebiyatın Ulusu* (Ankara: Nika Yayınevi, 2021).p.174.

This thesis hypothesizes that in the early Republican period, there was an attempt to create a Turkish national identity using "others" and the novels assisted in conveying the nationalist ideology to the public of the period. However, with the same ideology and all of the similarities between authors, it is impossible to find the same narrative on the others and the same discourses shaped by the same understanding. Instead, there were contradictions, diversity and heterogeneity in the other narratives – and it shapes the perception of the self. It is assumed that there are three main "others" in Turkish national identity in early republican Turkish literature: the Western other, the Ottoman other and (as conceptualized in this study) "non-Turkified others". Each of these "others" of Turkish national identity will be analyzed from the standpoint of the early Republican novels and their dilemmas will be depicted throughout the thesis.

## 1.2.    Literature Review

Literature has always been a subject of sociological and political matters, Turkish literature as well. Many academic works explore Turkish literature in order to seek understandings of social transformations in Turkey. Kadir Dede explores the roles of the novels in the process of the construction of the Turkish national identity between 1923 and 1938.[4] He analyzes the content of the definitions and descriptions of Turkishness, the features that make the Turkish nation different from others, geographical and historical connotations of Turkishness, the effects of religion and old-nations on national identity and the self and other dilemma in the novels between 1923 and 1938.[5]

Like national identity building, other historical cases which affect society have been studied using literary works. For instance, since war periods bring forth significant transformations in society, some works have analyzed the Turkish War of Independence through Turkish Literature. Köroğlu studies Turkish Literature during

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[4]  Kadir Dede, *Ulusun Edebiyatı Edebiyatın Ulusu* (Ankara: Nika Yayınevi, 2021).; Kadir Dede, "Türk Ulusunun İnşası Sürecinde Romanın Rolü, 1923-1938," 2015, http://openaccess.hacettepe.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/handle/11655/2513.

[5] Dede, "Türk Ulusunun İnşası Sürecinde Romanın Rolü, 1923-1938."p.5-6.

World War I in relation to Turkish national identity building.[6] Literary outputs of authors who wrote between 1914 and 1918 about war in the Ottoman Empire did not reflect a powerful propaganda, unlike literary works in European literature at that time. Instead, they can be classified as attempts to build a national identity.[7] Another work by Sevinç focused on the narration of Turkish National Struggle in Turkish novels between 1923 and 1938.[8] The study indicated that Turkish novels of that period could not ignore the war and the resulting transformations to Turkish society and the world in as a whole.

Another issue that is prevalent and analyzed significantly in Turkish literature relates to gender. A typical example is from the early Republican periodis Halide Edip's novels which have been studied by a number of scholars.[9] Female characters in Halide Edip's works are portrayed as powerful and strong which seemed remarkable for scholars given the time the novels were written in. Further, the relationship between women and the nation-building process also became the subject of scholarly research.[10] Arat analyzed two women leaders in Early Republican Period, Afet İnan

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[6] Erol Köroğlu, *Türk Edebiyatı ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı (1914-1918): Propagandadan Milli Kimlik İnşâsına* (İletişim Yayınları, 2004).

[7] Köroğlu.

[8] Canan Sevinç, "The Turkish Independence War In The Atatürk's Period'S (1923-1938) Turkish Novel," *Journal of Turkish Studies* Volume 4 Issue 1-2, no. 4 (2009): 2011–40, https://doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.607.

[9] Senem Timuroglu, "Women's Nation from Ottoman to the New Republic in Fatma Aliye and Halide Edip Adıvar's Writing," in *Women Telling Nations (Eds. Amelia Sanz, Francesca Scott, and Suzan van Dijk)* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 431–50; Hülya Adak, "Otobiyografik Benliğin Çok-Karakterliliği: Halide Edibin İlk Romanlarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet," n.d., 18; Beyhan Uygun Aytemiz, "Halide Edib-Adıvar ve Feminist Yazın" (Thesis, Bilkent University, 2001), http://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/handle/11693/15741; Türkan Erdoğan, "Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Değişen Kadın Kimliği: Halide Edip Adıvar'ın Romanları," *Edebiyat Sosyolojisi İncelemeleri*, 2004, 387–409; Muzafffer Derya Nazlıpınar, *The Female Identity Exploration in a Patriarchal Society: As Reflected in Virginia Woolf's "The Voyage Out" and Halide Edip-Adıvar's "Handan": A Comparative Study* (VDM Verlag, 2009).

[10] Yeşim Arat, "Nation Building and Feminism in Early Republican Turkey," in *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem, and Philip Robins, St Antony's Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010), 38–51, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230277397_4.

and Halide Edip, and claimed that "feminist women leaders of the day differed from one another in the way they engaged in the process of nation building and modernization in their country."[11] These studies are important in terms of understanding different aspects of the nation building process and engagement of particular identities to process.

Issues pertaining minorities also occupied an important political agenda in terms of identity and the nation state formation process. The Ottoman Empire was a multinational entity that witnessed nations under its rule such as Greeks, Bulgarians or Armenians establishing their own nation states. Numerous academic works have examined some of these nation states that existed under the Ottoman Empire. Ayhan's works on minorities in Turkish literature covers the years between 1872 and 1950.[12] More specifically, Milas writes on "others" in Turkish and Greek novels.[13] His work directly relates the image of Greek and Turkish "other" and their narrations in the novels. There are also specific studies on Armenians. Especially with the contemporary Turkish authors like Elif Şafak and Orhan Pamuk, the subject has gained even more scholarly attention. For example, Engin studied the topic in a doctoral dissertation titled "Armenians in Turkish Novels: 1874-2010".[14] Galip published an article about Armenian genocide and Armenian identity in Turkish novels.[15] These studies are significant in investigating issues of identity through Turkish literature.

One of the significant contributions to literature in this field comes from postcolonial theory. Bhabha in his book on nation and narration relations asserts that nation has an ambivalent and antagonistic side and discourse of nationalism develops into "process

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[11] Arat.p.38.

[12] Sacit Ayhan, *Türk Romanında Azınlıklar* (İstanbul, 2015).

[13] Herkül Milas, *Türk ve Yunan Romanlarında "Öteki" ve Kimlik* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005).

[14] Ertan Engin, "Türk Romanında Ermeniler (1874-2010)" (İstanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010), https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezDetay.jsp?id=YV00lZ1bEhfxYI63NwR-eA&no=xS843AeH6z8B4BQ2JA34Kg.

[15] Özlem Belçim Galip, "The Armenian Genocide and Armenian Identity in Modern Turkish Novels," *Turkish Studies* 20, no. 1 (Ocak 2019): 92–119, https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2018.1439383.

of cultural production" which in itself is also open to change.[16] According to him, nationalism draws the boundaries between nations in order to differentiate one nation from the "others" in an international sense and these "others" emerge within cultural discourse.[17] In this sense, the relationship between nation and narration is cultural and discursive. Bhabha's view is important in that it focuses on "others" in the identity formation process within cultural production and novels are one of the sources in which the others are narrated.

Considering that there is a link between the nation and narration, creation of a nation state and national identity can be read through literature. Nation state construction is connected to cultural processes. As Utz claimed, "any nation-building process constitutes a cultural intervention."[18] In this respect, one part of cultural intervention is literature. Parrinder has argued that a nation is not a "material entity" and emerges from "powerful emotional and imaginative identifications."[19] For this reason, novels provide influential sources for nationalism.[20] . It should be also considered that the structure of novels allows the creation of imaginative characters, societies and ideas which affects this process of nationalism and nation building. For instance, it is not uncommon to find characters from Europe in the works of Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri and Reşat Nuri'. The depiction of these characters is also underpinned by ideological assumptions. The descriptions of these characters contribute to Turkishness by consolidating the differences.

While the issue of identity was prevalent in the early Republican literature, it should be noted that it was not the only era in Turkey's history where identity was an

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[16] Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (Routledge, 2013).p.4.

[17] Bhabha.

[18] Raphael Utz, "Nations, Nation-Building, and Cultural Intervention: A Social Science Perspective," *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law Online* 9, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 615–47, https://doi.org/10.1163/138946305775160500.p.617.

[19] Patrick Parrinder, *Nation and Novel: The English Novel from Its Origins to the Present Day* (Oxford University Press, 2008).p.14.

[20] Parrinder.

important subject. Indeed, in the "Tanzimat period", there was a critique of wrong Westernization. Kadıoğlu has used the term imitative Westernization to describe the characters who imitated Western customs (especially French customs) in that period.[21] According to Mignon, there were two "others" in the Tanzimat period: the first was the Ottoman other and the second was the Western other.[22] According to him, the criticism towards both Ottoman and Western others was based on colonialism. Even though Ottoman Empire had never been a colony of any Western state, colonization found its way into the cultural and economic sphere of the empire (because of the foreign debts and Turkish independence War against Western countries) and it created a reaction against the West. However, this reaction was not against the scientific developments and technology generated by the West.[23] Wrong Westernization and European manners (*alafrangalık*) continued to be fundamental subjects of the early republican novels. However, this time, there were no caricatured Westernized characters, but rather more complicated characters in novels. Akpınar has analyzed European manners in Yakup Kadri's novels.[24] Oğuzhan explains the modernization and Westernization relations in three republican novels "Kiralık Konak (by Yakup Kadri), "Sözde Kızlar (by Peyami Safa) and Yaprak Dökümü (by Reşat Nuri).[25]

Other fundamental issues related to identity were nationalism and the nation state formation process in the early republican period. After the Turkish War of Independence, the main concern was a transition from the empire to a nation state. Parrinder claims that "modern national identity always exists in relation to the

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[21] Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity," *Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (1996): 177–93.p.182.

[22] Laurent Mignon, *Elifbalar Sevdası* (Ankara: Hece, 2003).p.79-80.

[23] Mignon.

[24] Soner Akpınar, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu'nun Romanlarında 'Alafrangalik' Teması," *Journal of International Social Research* 1, no. 4 (Ağustos 2008): 62–76.

[25] Ülkü Ayşe Oğuzhan, "Türkiye'de Modernleşmenin Oluşumu ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Romanında Batılılaşma Olgusu : "Kiralık Konak", 'Sözde Kızlar', 'Yaprak Dökümü,'" 2007, 33.

bureaucratic registration of nationality that governments impose.[26] The case of Turkey was not an exemption. According to Karakoç, the new regime was decisive in the field of culture as well as literature in its early years[27] to the extent that it even created a new literary movement called "national literature" or "revolution literature."[28] Thus, not only was it an issue in the political arena but also it was a question of what "Turkish" literature is and what it should be.

Of course, nationalism was not a stationary idea for the Republican elites. According to Kadıoğlu, there was a paradox in Turkish nationalism in its early stage. According to her, materiality of the West and spirituality of the East was a source of tension that further complicated Turkish nationalism.[29] Similarly, Tokluoğlu has pointed out this tension of Turkish nationalism by claiming that republican nationalism could not create a compromise to reconcile "the gap between traditional Ottoman cleavages" and thus Westernization and secularization remained an area of tension.[30] She also argues that Turkish nationalism is unique among other nationalism types for this reason: "Its uniqueness consisted of two features. First, it was distinct from classical (Western) forms of nationalism due to the tension between the 'West' and the 'traditional' ways of life. Second, it was distinct from other non-European Islamic nationalisms through its rejection of Islam as the universal basis of legitimation."[31] The exceptionality of Turkish nationalism and its problems have thus affected identity debates in past and contemporary Turkey.

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[26] Parrinder, *Nation and Novel*.p.23.

[27] Kani İrfan Karakoç, "Ulus Devletleşme Süreci ve 'Türk' Edebiyatının İnşası (1923-1950)" (Ankara, Bilkent Universitesi, 2012).p.76.

[28] Karakoç.p.77.

[29] Kadioğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity."p.178.

[30] Ceylan Tokluoğlu, "The Impact of Resistance on the State-Building Process in Turkey," *Asian and African Studies* 9, no. 1 (n.d.): 110–20.p.111.

[31] Tokluoğlu.

Besides the West, the Ottoman Empire could be viewed as another "other" of Turkish national identity. As Mignon posits, there was also a reaction against Ottoman elites (and it was a class-based reaction) because they (for instance Ziya Gökalp) believed that the public was exploited by a certain class of the Ottoman Empire.[32] The main criticism towards the Ottoman Empire originated from its alienation from the public and becoming not national.[33] These two ways of defining the "other" in Turkish nationalism had a significant place in this idea even after the announcement of the Turkish Republic. Both of the others of the idea of Turkish nationalism had a potential to create dilemmas and tensions among Turkish society. Reflections of these tensions and dilemmas can be pursued in literature.

National identity with its all dilemmas and tensions was a subject of the literature in the early Republican period. According to Oğuzhan-Börekçi "the new nation-state construct is reflected in the novels and that the novels were beneficial in the process of forming a national identity through the notion of nation-state". However, it did not only begin with the official declaration of a new nation state, the Turkish Republic. .[34] Elites and also authors had started to create the foundation of Turkish nationalism even before 1923, the year the Republic of Turkey was founded, and continued to construct it afterwards.

## 1.3.    Purpose and Objectives

In a highly politicized era, it was hard for the authors of the early Republican period to ignore political developments of the time. Since national identity formation was one of the main concerns of the new state, the nation, national identity and otherness were also the subject of their writings, both implicitly or explicitly. Then, analyzing literary texts of popular authors can provide better understanding of nationalism in modern

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[32] Mignon, *Elifbalar Sevdası*.p.81.

[33] Mignon.p.82.

[34] Sarah R Menzies, "The Transformation of an Empire to a Nation-State: From the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey," *Scripps Senior Thesis*, no. Paper 443 (2014), https://scholarship.claremont.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1466&context=scripps_theses.p.7.

Turkey. Even though some academic works related to nationalism and national identity formation in Turkey in that period have been produced, they are far from creating a comprehensive understanding because they either focus on another subject or analyze different periods or a few cases. With this thesis, all of the novels, that include narratives regarding to Turkish national identity and its others, of the popular authors of that period will offer a possibility of generalization in terms of narration of the other in the early Republican period. A total understanding of that period will also demonstrate a deep and detailed characteristic of Turkish national identity formation using its "others". To achieve this this thesis tries to read the "others" of Turkish national identity through the novels of Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri, Reşat Nuri and Peyami Safa in order to understand Turkish National identity formation. It should be noted that the aim of these authors is not to make othering towards Western people or the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, they are not totalist or reductionist. They narrate a story in their novels. This study only analyzes their discourses with the intention of unraveling the discourse on Turkish national identity and its selected others.

Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Peyami Safa were popular authors of the early Republican period. The relationship between the government and the first three authors has always been acclaimed. Sagaster argues that literature in the early republican period "worked as a propagator of Kemalist ideology."[35] She mentions Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri and Reşat Nuri as "mediators of Kemalist Ideas in Turkey."[36] Similarly, Sevinç argues that, in the early Republican period, the discourses of novels that narrates Turkish National Struggle were parallel to Mustafa Kemal's discourses. Even though it is the same for all the authors, she claims that the official discourse is prominent especially in the novels of Yakup Kadri,

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[35] It should be noted that there are some disputes between Halide Edip and political authority of that time that would be explained later in this thesis.

[36] Borte Sagaster, "Canon, Extra-Canon, Anti-Canon: On Literature as a Medium of Cultural Memory in Turkey," *Turkish Literature and Cultural Memory: "Multiculturalism" as a Literary Theme after 1980*, 2009, 63–77.p.64.

Halide Edip and Reşat Nuri.[37] For this reason, the novels of these three authors can be perceived as an instrument for the official ideology in that period.

Peyami Safa diverges from the other authors that are analyzed in this study. Even though he can be also classified as an advocate of Kemalist ideology, he interprets Kemalism and modernization in a relatively more conservative way. Especially on the Western other, his ideas have been defined as "conservative modernism"[38] and he has criticized Kemalism even though he situated himself among Kemalists.[39] Safa's works provide a different perspective among prominent Kemalist authors in the period. Besides that, he was also different in terms of his intellectual life. For instance, before his conservative perspective, he had also been influenced by socialism and materialism.[40] He experienced the controversies between materialism and spiritualism in his own life.

The works of these four authors, as they were the most prominent authors of the period as well as authors associated with Kemalism, provide good resources for examining how "others" were narrated to the public in the construction of Turkish national identity. This will also make it possible to understand how Turkey's intellectuals of the period defined Turkishness, based on how they defined others.

The selection of the authors requires a mention of the debates on canon. Canon is generally defined as "a collective term for the totality of the most highly esteemed

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[37] Sevi̇nç, "The Turkish Independence War In The Atatürk's Period'S (1923-1938) Turkish Novel."p.2036-2037.

[38] Ceren Gülser İlikan-Rasimoğlu, "Peyami Safa and Turkish Conservatism," *Global Media Journal* 3, no. 5 (2012).p.87.

[39] İlikan-Rasimoğlu.p.101.

[40] Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Doğu-Batı Arasında Peyami Safa* (Ufuk Kitapları, 2020).p.20.

works in a given culture."[41] Some scholars, such as Tekelioğlu [42] and Belge[43], claim that it is impossible to create a single canon in the history of Turkish literature. According to Belge, three authorities determine the canon: professionals, politicians and public. Their canons may intersect or diverge. For instance, though Nazım Hikmet was excluded from the canon of politicians at that time, he continued to have an important place in Turkish literature.[44]

It is obvious that the selected authors have a place in Turkish literature and that their works can be permanent even after years. Therefore, they can be defined as canonical authors. However, their individual relationships with the political authority were different from each other and changed over time. For instance, Halide Edip was close to the political authority even though her ideas clashed with the political authority, and later (after Atatürk's death) she was invited to her country in 1942 and received the CHP novel award for her famous novel Sinekli Bakkal.[45] Overall, the selected authors– Yakup Kadri, Halide Edip, Reşat Nuri and Peyami Safa – are the mainstream writers who were not excluded by the political authority. Indeed, they conveyed the national identity discourse to the public in their novels by narrating everyday practices. Since the thesis tries to understand the national identity building in Turkey and is related to the official ideology of the period, the canonic writers were selected owing to their popularity and relationship with the political authority.

Besides that, these authors write most of their novels until 1950. Therefore, the popular authors of the earlier and later periods are not analyzed in this thesis. For instance,

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[41] Irene Rima Makaryk, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms* (University of Toronto Press, 1993).p.515.

[42] Orhan Tekelioğlu, "Edebiyatta Tekil Bir Ulusal Kanonun Oluşmasının İmkansızlığı Üzerine Notlar," *Doğu-Batı Düşünce Dergisi* 6–2, no. 22 (2003): 65–72.

[43] Murat Belge, "Türkiye'de Kanon," *Kitap-Lık*, 2004.

[44] Belge.p.55-56.

[45] Belge.

even though his novel includes many political subjects, Kemal Tahir's novels are not analyzed in this thesis because his first novel is published in 1955.

## 1.4. Approaches and Methodology

The period that this thesis examines starts from 1909, the publication date of Halide Edip's first published novel, Heyula. While nationalist narratives became mostly prevalent after the formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, this dissertation also engages with narratives by the authors prior to the establishment of the Turkish Republic for two main reasons: Firstly, the period from 1909, when the first novel of one of the selected authors was published, to 1923 is a period when a nationalist discourse and the distinction between self and the other was formed in Turkey. During this period especially, the national struggle narrative was one of the most important elements that shaped the Turkish national identity. Secondly, the narratives in the novels about the Turkish national identity and others in this period are also useful for understanding the discourses after 1923.

The period in focus extends up to 1950 even though the authors continued to publish novels even beyond 1950. However, I only examine between 1909 and 1950 because of the changing nature of the contents of the novels vis-a-vis domestic and foreign political developments after 1950. For instance, Akile Hanım Sokağı, the novel of Halide Edip published in 1958, takes places İstanbul during the Democratic Party era.[46] Therefore, it does not contribute to our understanding of nationalism practices and self-other narration of the Kemalist era in everyday life.

Methodologically, this thesis uses textual analysis and interpretation methods in order to analyze the novels of the early Republican period. One of the main motives for choosing this method is the goal of discovering the meaning of the text in its political and cultural context. As an interdisciplinary study analyzing literature works as cases,

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[46] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Akile Hanım Sokağı* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2010).

textual analysis as a method, frequently used in literature, has been a good tool for analyzing the narration of self and other.

Textual analysis and interpretation can be applied in many ways. In this study, first of all, the selected texts were examined in the political and cultural context of the period in which they were written. Accordingly, since the main goal of the thesis is to understand the Turkish nation identity construction through the others, the definition of the "other" has been a primary focus of the study. Besides the political and cultural context, the fictionality of the text was also taken into consideration. This thesis especially analyzes the fictional characters who are portrayed as the other by contrasting them with the characters who are portrayed as the "self" or ideal Turkish citizen. The dialogue between the characters, the description of the characters and the description of the "ideal Turkish characters" of the novels are interpreted from a critical perspective. Thus, this method makes it possible to understand the heterogeneity and contradictions in narrations on the "other" as well as "self".

Additionally, discourse analysis is used as a supportive method throughout the study. Discourse analysis as a method was first introduced by Harris in 1952 and witnessed further development after its introduction.[47] In the social sciences, works by scholars such as Michael Foucault, Reiner Keller, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann have demonstrated that we can create knowledge and learn more about society through studying discourse. For instance, Berger and Luckmann's work "The Social Construction of Reality" explores how the reality of everyday life is constructed through language.[48] Similarly, it would be reasonable to expect that distinction of the self and other from a nationalist perspective in everyday practices are also constructed through language.

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[47] Zellig S. Harris, "Discourse Analysis," in *Papers in Structural and Transformational Linguistics*, ed. Zellig S. Harris and Henry Hiż, Synthese Language Library (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1981), 107–42, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-8467-7_7.

[48] Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann, "The Social Construction of Reality," n.d., 125.

Novels, despite being fiction, are the literary genre that most reflects the daily lives of the people and their relationships with each other. As Dede argues, novels provide comprehensive content in which readers can find nationalist discourses in everyday practices and human relations of the characters.[49]

This thesis employs these methods by following three strategies: first, by finding what the characters in novels symbolize (for instance, is the character an ideal Turkish woman? Or an antagonist character?); second, by finding the controversies between narration of Turkish national identity and its "others" using characters and the narrations related to them–This stage requires an understanding of implicit meanings of narrations; third, by interpreting the descriptions and comments (discourses) about these narrations.

## 1.5. Scope and Limitations

This thesis analyzes novels of four popular authors of the early Republican period of Turkey: Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri, Reşat Nuri and Peyami Safa. Halide Edip Adıvar's Heyula in 1909 marks the first published novel by any of these authors. Since then, their individual publications continued for several decades, continuing to the1960s even after their death. Since this study aims to understand how Turkish national identity was constructed after the Ottoman Empire using self and other dichotomy, it will examine the period from their onset of publication in 1909 until 1950, during which time national identity building was the main concern of the new state and the elites that ruled it. It was also the period when the founding party CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi- Republican People's Party) was in power. After 1950, both internal and external developments shifted Turkey's focus from the construction of national identity like any identity, Turkish national identity also has been reconstructed in different eras. The main internal development in 1945 was the end of the one-party system with the establishment of MKP (Milli Kalkınma Partisi-National Development

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[49] Dede, "Türk Ulusunun İnşası Sürecinde Romanın Rolü, 1923-1938."p.21.

Party) by Nuri Demirağ.[50] Turkey's first multiparty elections in 1946 evidenced the changing nature of the domestic politics of the country. While CHP won the national elections in 1946, new parties like the DP (Demokrat Parti-Democratic Party) formed in 1946 subsequently became successful and even won the next elections in 1950. The transition to a multi-party system that started in 1945 resulted in the end of the CHP's 27-year rule in Turkey in 1950.

The year 1950 is also important in terms of foreign development. Following the end of World War II, the Cold War which affected the international environment emerged. In 1950s, the Cold War dominates the international affairs. Before the Cold War, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's foreign policy strategy was to integrate Turkey into the European international society.[51] This implied identity choices and efforts required to achieve the goal of being part of the European international society. The Cold War expedited the need for Turkey to find its position among the Western countries. It alleviated Turkey's identity concerns regarding being part of a European international society. Over time and with changes in world politics, Turkey's national identity construction process ceased to be one of the most fundamental issues.

The emergence of a new nation-state required creating a new national identity in Turkey. Thus, the ruling party CHP made efforts not only to build a nation state but also to build a national identity. In this process of forming a new national identity, the single-party period is the most intense period in which it is possible to find ideational national identity and its others. For this reason, this study analyzes the novels of Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri, Reşat Nuri and Peyami Safa until 1950, when the single-party rule ended in Turkey.

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[50] Even thoug there was two attempts by Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası and Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası before MKP, they could not survive to participate a national elections.

[51] İsmail Erkam Sula, "Turkish Foreign Policy in the Early Republican Period: An 'International Society' Approach," *Marmara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi*, March 17, 2021, https://doi.org/10.14782/marmarasbd.886649.p.3.

Even though the The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, this study analyzes the novels of the selected authors written before this year. It is because of the fact that the national identity formation process in the narration of the novels goes back to 1923. Especially during the Turkish War of Independence, there was a large number of images, figures and characters in the novels. Thus, this study starts to analyze when the first novel of these authors (Heyula by Halide Edip) was published in 1909. Accordingly, this thesis will cover the years between 1909 and 1950.

This study only analyzes the novels of the four selected authors in the mentioned period (1909-1945), excluding other genres. Although other literary genres may give an idea about the processes of national identity construction, there are some reasons for choosing novels as the resource materials for this thesis: First, novels are the most suitable genre to reveal ideology in daily life practices. Second, novels are the most common genre which also makes them one of the most effective ways to reach the public who do not have "national consciousness" in this sense since novels have always been more popular within the public spherer compared to other genres. Third, novels include many explicit and implicit details about "others" of Turkish national identity as they provide long narrations, dialogues, characters, and complicated fictions.

Some novels of the authors are also excluded from the study because they don't include any narrations about the selected others even though they were published between 1909 and 1950. For instance, Yolpalas Cinayeti or Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu narrate an individual story without any component relating to Western other, Ottoman other or non-Turkified others. Also, some novels of the authors deal with similar subjects and themes that draw from overlapping examples. To avoid duplication and redundancy, some of these novels are excluded.

This study analyzes three others of Turkish national identity in the early Republican period. While one could possibly identify many others in that time, the most prominent others found in the novels of the early Republican era are the Western other, the

Ottoman other and non-Turkified others. Therefore, these three main others are selected based on frequency and prevalence of narrations in the novels of the period.

Within this scope and limitations, the novels of the authors to be be analyzed are tabulated[52] below:

**Table 1: The Selected Authors and Novels**

| Halide Edip Adıvar | Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu | Reşat Nuri Güntekin | Peyami Safa |
|---|---|---|---|
| Heyula (published on a newspaper in 1909, published as a book in 1974) | Kiralık Konak (1922) | Harabelerin Çiçeği (published on a newspaper in 1918, published as a book in 1954) | Sözde Kızlar (1923) |
| Raik'in Annesi (1909) | Nur Baba (1922) | Çalıkuşu (1923) | Mahşer (1924) |
| Seviye Talip (1910) | Hüküm Gecesi (1927) | Gizli El (1924) | Bir Akşamdı (1924) |
| Handan (1912) | Sodom ve Gomore (1928) | Damga (1924) | Canan (1925) |
| Yeni Turan (1913) | Yaban (1932) | Dudaktan Kalbe (1924) | Fatih-Harbiye (1931) |
| Son Eseri (1919) | Ankara (1934) | Akşam Güneşi (1926) | Attila (1931) |
| | Bir Sürgün (1937) | Yeşil Gece (1928) | Matmazel Noraliya'nın Koltuğu (1949) |

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[52] The publication years of the novels as a book is written on the table. *Heyula, Harabelerin Çiçeği* and *Biz İnsanlar* are not published as books until 1950 -but later they are published as books. However, since this novels are published as serials on newspapers at that period, they are also analyzed in this study.

**Table 1 (continued)**

| Ateşten Gömlek (1923) | | Acımak (1928) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kalp Ağrısı (1924) | | Yaprak Dökümü (1930) | |
| Vurun Kahpeye (1926) | | Gökyüzü (1935) | |
| Zeyno'nun Oğlu (1928) | | Eski Hastalık (1938) | |
| Sinekli Bakkal (1936) | | Ateş Gecesi (1942) | |
| Tatarcık (1939) | | Değirmen (1944) | |
| | | Miskinler Tekkesi (1946) | |

## 1.6. Structure of Study

The study contains four main chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion. These chapters are below:

The introduction chapter lays out the overview of the thesis in addition to the research question and hypothesis to be studied. This chapter also summarizes the literature regarding the subject of the thesis. The methodological approach for investigating the research question of the thesis is also explained in the introduction part. Lastly, the chapter also highlights scope and limitations of the study.

In the first chapter, this thesis will deal with the concepts of identity, national identity and the other. In doing so, the contributions of postcolonial theories will be the main focus for this chapter. These theories are interested in the notion of "other" which is the main focus of this thesis. Moreover, theories of nationalism are narrowly discussed

in conceptualizing the "construction" of the Turkish national identity. In addition, the first chapter introduces the others of Turkish national identity by touching upon the reasons of the othering. However, the detailed explanation regarding othering is discussed in the future chapters.

Chapter two discusses the European or Western other[53] of Turkish national identity. The narration of the Western other of Turkish national identity in the early Republican period will be analyzed through the selected novels of the period. This includes an analysis of the foreign characters and their relationship with the idealized Turkish characters in the novels. Considering that there are many narrations about the West and Western characters in novels of the period, overlapping narrations will be eliminated to avoid redundancy.

Chapter three will focus on the Ottoman other of Turkish national identity. By doing this, the study will tease out what is related to Ottoman and how they are narrated in the novels. Specifically, idealized Turkish characters' narrations towards Ottoman will be examined to understand the perception of the Ottoman past. The Ottoman Past of Turkish national identity will be analyzed in relation to its multidimensional elements such as religion and secularism dilemma, gender questions and multi-nationalism of the Empire.

In chapter four, one of the original concepts of the thesis, "non-Turkified other", will be discussed. "Non-turkified others" as a concept refers to the people who are Turkish but do not necessarily fit the concept of an ideal Turkish. It is an "inside other" of Turkish national identity. This is also a significant other of Turkish national identity because it basically defines the undesired features of a Turkish citizen.

The conclusion chapter reiterates the contributions of this thesis to the literature. With the general framework based on commonalities, the contradictions and heterogeneity

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[53] Even though the title is defined as "the Western Other", it refers to the     European other most of the time. However, there are some narrations about America or American characters in the selected novels.

of the narration of the three others, namely the Western other, the Ottoman other and the non-Turkified other, will be emphasized.

# CHAPTER 2

# CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF OTHERNESS AND NATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## 2.1. Conceptualizations of Otherness in International Relations

When talking about "International Relations" (IR) as a discipline, the name implies a self-definition about itself. It is not a relationship between states, governments or societies but rather "nations". Thus, the name of the discipline requires us to think about what the nation is. In this regard, the nation, national and national identities constitute some of the significant subjects of IR.

Identity has been a concern of IR theories since late 1980s and early 1990s[54]. Before that, international relations had been occupied by other issues such as security and peace. Traditionally, one of the mainstream IR theories, realism defines interests of actors in terms of power in international politics.[55] Structural realism does not consider cultural differences among the actors since it assumes that the international system creates the same basic incentives for all actors.[56] In this regard, the main difference between the individual actors is their power.[57] Besides their power, their incentives are the same in the international system. These rational assumptions regarding the reasons for state behavior have been criticized by other IR theories. As a result of these new

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[54] Felix Berenskoetter, "Identity in International Relations - Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies," n.d., 22. p.3

[55] Timothy Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Third edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).p.65.

[56] Mearsheimer, "Structural Realism" in Dunne, Kurki, and Smith.p.78.

[57] Mearsheimer, "Structural Realism" in Dunne, Kurki, and Smith.p.78.

challenges to realist logic, identity became one of the answers employed by scholars in explaining states' behavior.

According to Lapid, the entrance of new issues such as identity and culture to IR theories is the result of two dynamics: the first is the end of the Cold War –which is related to a global dimension; and the second is the change of IR discipline in a critical way –which is related to IR scholarship.[58] These two reciprocal changes led to diversification of IR theories and subjects which led to the emergence of studies that engaged in debates on identity (especially national identity).

Neumann identifies four paths in theorizing the concept of "other" in IR: "the ethnographic path, the psychological path, the Continental philosophical path and Eastern Excursion"[59] Ethnographic path is based on ethnic groups and languages that distinguish them. The importance of language for national identity is that language can distinguish between other nations.[60] The psychological path views identity formation as "an attempt to overcome a lack, as a process of desire for the power of the other, that produces an image of the self."[61] Neuman refers to the Continental philosophical path as "the high road of modernity". According to him, in the Continental philosophy, there exist ideals and narrations in which the self and the other are constituted.[62] The last path, "Eastern excursion", is directly related to international relations.

In the Eastern excursion path, Neumann refers to Simmel's works and mentions the ambiguity of strangers because of strangers' significant role on identity formation.[63] It can be inferred that the otherness is open to having many meanings and changes.

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[58] Yosef Lapid and Friedrich V. Kratochwil, *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996).p.4.

[59] Iver B. Neumann, "Self and Other in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 2, no. 2 (June 1996): 139–74, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066196002002001.p.141.

[60] Neumann.p.143.

[61] Neumann.p.145.

[62] Neumann.p.146.

[63] Neumann.p.147.

Indeed reciprocal relationship can determine the meaning of identity in this regard. According to Neumann, "the other has the status of an epistemological as well as ontological necessity, without which there can be no thinking self."[64] In IR discipline, Neumann also claims that IR scholars have focused on the physical and economic borders and argues for an inclusion of social borders including collective identity and the self/other nexus.[65]

Identity has been studied with the constructivist account of IR theory and more broadly non-foundationalist IR theories [66]. According to Wendt, mainstream IR theorists, namely neorealist and neoliberal, had always treated the identity of a state as a given.[67] But with the rise of constructivism and other non-foundationalist theories, identity has turned into one of the central concepts in IR theories[68]. In this sense, constructivism brings a significant contribution to IR theories by including identity as a subject of analysis.

Alexandre Wendt analyzes the concept of identity within a structure-agency relations framework: while the structure of the state system affects the "distribution of states identities", the identity of states constitutes the structure of the state system.[69] This mutual relationship defines the international system and international relations. Thus, the international system and the choices of actors are effective on states' identity formation. According to Wendt, behaviors of states are motivated by their identities[70].

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[64] Neumann.p.148.

[65] Neumann.p.167.

[66] Bernd Bucher and Ursula Jasper, "Revisiting 'Identity' in International Relations: From Identity as Substance to Identifications in Action," *European Journal of International Relations* 23, no. 2 (June 2017): 391–415, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066116644035.

[67] Wendt, "Identity and Structural Change in International Politics" in Lapid and Kratochwil, *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*.p.48.

[68] Bucher and Jasper, "Revisiting 'Identity' in International Relations."

[69] Wendt, "Identity and StructuralChange in International Politics" in Lapid and Kratochwil, *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*.p.47.

[70] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).p.233.

However, there is also a reciprocal relationship between identity and practices. Hopf has asserted that "identities and interests are produced through social practices".[71] Since identity is intersubjective in the constructivist account of IR theory, it can be reproduced by social practices.[72]

In his systemic analysis,

> (1)states are the principal units of analysis for international political theory; (2) the key structures in the states system are intersubjective, rather than material; and (3) state identities and interests are in important part constructed by these social structures, rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics[73].

According to this perspective, states are still the unit of analysis of international relations. However, intersubjective social structures that affect international politics are significant for identities and interests. Since the identiy is important for the states (as the unit of analysis of International Relations) and their decision-making process, the identity is also subject of International Relarions.

Identity constitutes the subject matter not only for constructivist scholars but also for critical theorists, albeit the understanding of the concept by the latter is different. According to Hopf, the main point of divergence is how they treat identity in analyzing IR. While conventional constructivism studies identity as the reasons behind actors' actions and social practices, critical theory focuses on identity formation by questioning "how people come to believe in a single version of naturalized truth."[74] It brings a new stage to identity debates since it paves a way for thinking on identity concept itself rather than its effects.

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[71] Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998): 171–200, https://doi.org/10.2307/2539267. p.176

[72] Hopf.p.178.

[73] Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," *The American Political Science Review* 88, no. 2 (1994): 384–96, https://doi.org/10.2307/2944711. p.385

[74] Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory."p.183-184.

After an opening by constructivist theory, identity is questioned by other IR theories. Other theories have also relied on identity in explaining actions. For instance, critical theory, briefly discussed in the previous paragraph, is skeptical about the given concepts of the IR. Rooted in Marxist traditions, critical theory analyzes IR in terms of production relations[75]. Since critical theory's unit of analysis is class, the identity that it mentions is "class identity" rather than state identity. Another example is feminist IR theory. The theory evaluates identities in IR based on gender. With various kinds of analysis, identity has become an indispensable concept in theorizing IR.

Following identity, "the other" as a concept becomes a topic of IR since identities imply "the other" by defining "the self". Other and otherness are handled as questions of multi-culturalism, hybridity and so on. In this regard, migration, changing world politics and increasing communication raised the question of "living together despite the differences" in both political science and IR. Inevitably, identities and its others became crucial issues that required careful study.

At this point, a distinction must be made between "different" and "other". Although othering is based on differences, it cannot be reduced to differences only because it is a negative category. Staszak defines the distinction between "different" and "other" as follows:

> Otherness is the result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ("Us," the Self) constructs one or many dominated out-groups ("Them," Other) by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined – presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination. To state it naïvely, difference belongs to the realm of fact and otherness belongs to the realm of discourse. Thus, biological sex is difference, whereas gender is otherness.[76]

It indicates that the differences can be turned into othering with a distinction of us and them in discourse. Staszak also mentions the asymmetry in power because he claims that

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[75] Robert W. Cox, *Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History*, The Political Economy of International Change, v. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

[76] J. -F. Staszak, "Other/Otherness," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Oxford: Elsevier, 2009), 43–47, https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-008044910-4.00980-9.p.43.

"Only the dominant group is in a position to impose the value of its particularity (its iden- tity) and to devalue the particularity of others (their otherness) while imposing corresponding discriminatory measures."[77] Therefore, power relations and discourse is constractive for othering.

In political science, post-structuralism has been interested in the issue of otherness. Post-structuralist scholars study otherness as a subject in terms of power relations and language (discourse). According to Foucault, power is required to self (who has the power) and the other ("the one over whom power is exercised").[78] Power is a part of everyday life of individuals and goes along with their identities.[79] For this reason, otherness is a question of power and knowledge according to post-structuralist theory. These power relations are conducted through language. Since language and power are connected to each other, they also affect the identities by several means such as categorizing the individuals or making individuals subjects.[80] Thus, in post-structuralism, language plays a significant role in the emergence of the self and other distinctions as well as otherness issue.

In IR literature, the main theory that emphasizes the concept of the "other" is post-colonialism. Post-colonial theory brings "the multiplicity of perspectives, traditions, and approaches to questions of identity, culture, and power" to IR.[81] The concept of other is a product of one of the new approaches that post-colonialism brings. Post-colonialism questions universal truths and globalization, and instead underlines local cultures. Against the European "native essentialism", post-colonial theory points out "the relationship between freedom and politics particularly in the contexts of knowledge production and policy-making"[82]. In this sense, post-colonialism contests

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[77] Staszak.p.43.

[78] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry*, 1982.p.789.

[79] Foucault.p.781.

[80] Foucault.p.781

[81] Grovogui, "Postcolonialism" in Dunne, Kurki, and Smith, *International Relations Theories*.p.248.

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the rational assumptions of mainstream IR theories and also introduces significant debates such as subjectivity, identity and otherness in IR.

Post-colonial theory is based on the critique of Eurocentrism and imperialism in international relations. According to Edward Said, European culture and identity become stronger by "setting itself off against the Orient".[83] It can be inferred that defining itself is related to the "others" against it. However, post-colonial theory claims that self-imaging has always contained a hierarchical understanding and implied a superiority of the Europeans. As Said stated,

> All of the subjugated peoples had it in common that they were considered to be naturally subservient to a superior, advanced, developed, and morally mature Europe, whose role in the non-European world was to rule, instruct, legislate, develop, and at the proper times, to discipline, war against, and occasionally exterminate non-Europeans.[84]

This "superiority" is an inevitable result of a rationalist rule-setting position of the West. Because of the scientific methods and instruments that they accepted, the West can reach "certain rules" and "universal truths."[85] In this regard, the way of thinking and methods produce knowledge and they pave the way for rules which in and of themself can provide a superior position to their producers.

Even though the studies in post-colonial theory mostly focus on Africa, the general concern of post-colonialism is the relationship between the West and the "Third World" (according to Said, it includes China, Indochina, the Near East, Africa, and Latin America).[86] The Third World can be defined in many ways, but every meaning of it implies "an expression for the multitude of cultures, and identities that remain

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[83] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).p.3.

[84] Said, "Yeats and Decolonization" in Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, and Edward W. Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990).p.72.

[85] Grevogui, "Postcolonialism" in Dunne, Kurki, and Smith, *International Relations Theories*.p.250.

[86] Said, *Orientalism*.p.46

marginalized, disposed and increasingly insignificant in the late modern age"[87]. The result of this hierarchic and Eurocentric positioning is a problematic relationship with the "Third World". This is the main othering concept of international relations from the post-colonial perspective.

Othering is mostly related to perceptions of people about themselves and others. One of the problems of marginalization of the "Third World" is stereotyping, which is also related to perceptions of people. Indeed, a common practice in the construction of the Other is to ignore the differences among individuals within a particular group. In the postcolonial point of view, stereotyping is a result of the relationship between those who fit the "ideal Western type" and those who do not. Since Western positioning emphasizes the insignificance of the others, the differences among them also become insignificant. S. Hall explains the Western point of view by claiming that,

> …the boundaries of difference are continually repositioned in relation to different points of reference. Vis-a-vis the developed West, we are very much 'the same'. We belong to the marginal, the under-developed, the periphery, the 'Other'. We are at the outer edge, the 'rim', of the metropolitan world – always 'South' to someone else's El Norte. [88]

Media and culture are the main instruments of stereotyping of the "Other". As to Karlsson wrote, "Said connects the issue of stereotypic representations of the Orient in the contemporary electronic postmodern world, referring to anti-Arab and anti-Islamic imaginaries in TV, film and media". [89]

The consequences of the problematic and hierarchic relationship with the "Third World" is Westernization of the world. Since the logic of colonialism gives Europeans a power to define "universal truth" and "certain rules", it allows the expansion of Western ideas at the expense of those of the third world. Thus, the result is

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[87] Albert J. Paolini, *Navigating Modernity: Postcolonialism, Identity, and International Relations* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999).p.21.

[88] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation," *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, no. 36 (1989): 68–81.p.73.

[89] Beatrice Karlsson, "Commodification of Otherness," *Upsala Unversity*, 2017.

Westernization of the World. Most of the time, the Westernization process involves modernization and ideas of Enlightenment. Even though it is possible to mention alternative modernities, originally, "enlightenment and modernity meant the inauguration of the rule of reason and liberation from the tyranny of the irrational and the unreasonable."[90] Post-colonial theory criticizes this point of view because non-Western histories have been read "in terms of a 'lack' or 'absence', from the perspective of the (Western) modernity".[91] In this sense, the universal truth and ideal processes are defined by Western societies and post-colonial theory opposes this rationalist and Eurocentric reading of history. Pollini has posited that "globalization assumes an increasing homogenization of the world in which Third World cultures (rarely confronted directly in the literature), lose their specificity and become absorbed in a global (that is, Western) culture."[92] This causes damages on particularities in any society and differences among cultures.

Western ideas are not always well-adopted by the other regions. Mannathukkaren claims that Western modernity is often "external" and "alien" for non-Western societies because of novel ideas such as "liberal rights, individual subject, the state as an impersonal entity" which are transferred from European societies.[93] However, nationalist anti-colonial reaction against this externality was also problematic for the post-colonial theory since it follows European models and ideals as well.[94] Thus, nationalism is also questioned from the perspective of post-colonial theory. Then, it is required to analyze the nationalism and nation building process in the perspective of identity and otherness.

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[90] Chesneaux, Jean 1992. Brave Modern World: The Prospects for Survival. New York: Thames and Hudson. As cited in Nissim Mannathukkaren, "Postcolonialism and Modernity: A Critical Realist Critique," *Journal of Critical Realism* 9, no. 3 (October 29, 2010): 299–327, https://doi.org/10.1558/jcr.v9i3.299.p.300.

[91] Mannathukkaren.p.304.

[92] Paolini, *Navigating Modernity*.p.6.

[93] Mannathukkaren, "Postcolonialism and Modernity." p.305.

[94] Mannathukkaren.p.305.

## 2.2.    Conceptualizing the Nation in International Relations

### 2.2.1. Nationalism and Modernity

Since nationalism is adopted as a Western phenomenon, similar processes are observed in non-Western regions. As a modern ideology, nationalism also tries to define what the "proper" is. Even though nationalism seems to emphasize the differences and particularities among the world, it turns into a universal paradigm because of its similar and homogeneous character. Though nationalism offers a national identity which makes every nation's identity different from that of other nations, every nationalist ideology pursues its goals the same way. This makes nationalism universal in terms of methodology. Hence, the concept has been characterised as "the universalism of the particular."[95] The universalism of the nationalist ideologies also emerged from the same perception that every single nation is unique and "the world is made up of nations".[96] This is the universal perspective of the world of the nation states and emerged using the same methodology.

Looking at history, nationalism is a modern idea which did not exist prior to the eighteenth century.[97] Even though some primordialist scholars such as Shills, Berghe, Geertz and Hastings claimed that the nationalism is a natural part of human beings, this understanding has received much criticism in terms of the nature and the origin of ethnic and national ties, the date of emergence of nations and the question of emotion and affect.[98] The critical point for this study is the engagement of modernism and nationalism.

The rise of nationalism in the world has been attributed to factors such as industrialisation, the rise of mass media, and democratization which in turn are

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[95] Anna Triandafyllidou, "National Identity and the 'Other,'" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 4 (January 1998): 593–612, https://doi.org/10.1080/014198798329784.p.595.

[96] Triandafyllidou.p.595.

[97] Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories Of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).p.9.

[98] Özkırımlı.

associated with modernism in a broad sense.[99] Jensen argues that "modernity is defined by a series of causes that are also presupposed for the rise of nationalism. Hence, the conclusion is drawn that nationalism should be considered as a product of modernity."[100] Thus, the relationship between nationalism and modernism becomes clearer.

Unlike the primordialist scholars who view nationalism as a natural part of human beings, modernist scholars propose that nationalism is an intrinsic part of modernism.[101] According to Smith, scholars and theorists agreed that building a nation requires some instruments such as "communications, urbanization, mass education and political participation" in order to "create good copies of the Western model of the civic participant nation".[102] In this sense, it is not a coincidence that anti-colonial nationalist movements are similar and use the same tools as in the West.

Modern nationalism theories generally focus on economic, political and social transformation while explaining nationalism.[103] For this reason, modern nationalism theories do not accept the primordialist approach that there have always been nations in human history. Elsewhere, Benedict Anderson has argued that the nation is "an imagined political community" and it is imagined as "limited and sovereign".[104] Anderson further asserts that the nation is limited because it is impossible to imagine the nation as a whole human.[105] This means all nations require "others" in order to be. He also explains the meaning of "sovereign". According to Anderson, the nation is

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[99] Lotte Jensen, ed., *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, Heritage and Memory Studies 1 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016).p.12.

[100] Jensen.p.12.

[101] Smith 1993 as cited in Özkırımlı, *Theories Of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*.p.72.

[102] Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (London: Routledge, 1998).p.2-3.

[103] Özkırımlı, *Theories Of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*.

[104] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).p.49.

[105] Anderson.p.50.

also imagined as sovereign because it emerged during periods of Enlightenment and Revolution in which dynastic and divine legitimacy were demolished.[106] Anderson's point of view opens a way for debate on the origins of nations. His contribution to modern nationalism theories is the claim of an "imagined community" which does not accept nations as a natural part of human beings but rather as an idea of modern and secular communities.[107] This is one of the main divergences between modern and primordialst approach.

Hobsbawm, another modern nationalism scholar, claims that everything which is related to the modern nation is connected to its modernity[108]. Hobsbawm argues that states and regimes use the differences between "us" and "them". According to him, to make a nation against others is one of the easy ways to unite a nation.[109] Hobsbawm accepts governments' engagement in ideological engineering by positing that it is not a pure manipulation but rather using of "unofficial nationalist sentiments" within the society, mainly among the middle and lower middle classes.[110] Governments use language and mass education in order to foster these sentiments in the society.[111] Standardized and homogenized language and education are required to establish foundations of national culture and national mind.[112] In this sense, governments and states have impacts on culture, traditions and even history of "nations". They can even be the architect of a nation.

Besides his opinions on government and nationalism relations, Hobsbawm's main contribution to nationalism literature is the notion of "invention of tradition". He states

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[106] Anderson.p.50.

[107] Anderson.p.51

[108] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780:Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).p.14

[109] Hobsbawm.p.91.

[110] Hobsbawm.p.92.

[111] Hobsbawm.p.94.

[112] Hobsbawm.p.54,94.

that modern nations generally claim to have their roots in the "remotest antiquity" which requires "no definition other than self-assertion".[113] In this circumstance, governments find a space to invent traditions within history. Inventing traditions are defined as a "process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" by Hobsbawm[114]. Hobsbawm's ideas indicate the possibility of governments' intervention or manipulation of societies and its instruments as well.

Both Anderson and Hobsbawm underline that the nation and nationalism are modern phenomena and a modern nation can be built by states or governments using some instruments as they agree that societies are susceptible to manipulation by external or internal factors. The possibility of manipulation indicates the significance of some instruments such as language or literature in the cultural sphere. Nationalism and national identity are partly artificial, imagined or invented in this sense.

In this study, nationalism is considered as a modern ideology. Accordingly, nations and national identities are accepted as imagined, invented and constructed. During the construction process, the ethnic references may also be used and hence they are not ignored in the thesis.

## 2.2.2. National Identity Building

National identity building is a process of defining the self and the other. It requires some features which belong to the nation being defined and some other features which belong to the other nations or social groups. This makes nation building a complex process. The nation building process is also a nation state building process most of the time. Therefore, to build a nation refers to building citizens of the modern nation state as well. The basic component of this is "the codification of the rights and duties of all adults who are classified as citizens. The question is how exclusively or inclusively

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[113] Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, 19th pr, Canto (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr, 2010).p.14.

[114] Hobsbawm and Ranger.p.4.

citizenship is defined." Defining citizenship of a modern state necessarily includes and excludes some features, peoples, traditions or cultures.

There are many ideas on the description of national identity based on the different aspects that gain focus. While some of them emphasize ethnicity, some underline the cultural side of national identity. Shulman claims that "a simple classificatory scheme has arisen that distinguishes nations as civic, political, or territorial on one hand, versus ethnic or cultural on the other."[115] However, the dichotomy of civic versus ethnic classification has been challenged by several scholars such as Yack, Nielsen and Kymlica[116]. These challenges diversify the works on national identity.

One of the well-known national identity descriptions is Anthony Smith's definition. He defines the "nation" as a new kind of community within a territory.[117] While building a national identity, the territory –which is a homeland in national discourse- is necessary for Smith.[118] He suggests that "the homeland becomes a repository of historic memories and associations, the place where 'our' sages, saints and heroes lived, worked, prayed and fought. All this makes the homeland unique."[119] In this sense, the homeland also turns into something exclusionary of other territories and thus the nation belongs only to those within the territory.

The other element of the national identity construction is "patria", according to Smith. He defines patria as "a community of laws and institutions with a single political will"[120]. The result of this is a centralization and politicization of national identity.[121]

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[115] Stephen Shulman, "Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism," *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 5 (June 2002): 554–85, https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414002035005003.

[116] Shulman.p.558.

[117] Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (Penguin Books, 1991).p.9.

[118] Smith.p.9

[119] Smith.p.9.

[120] Smith.p.10.

[121] Smith.p.10.

This element creates a task for the government to institutionalize the state in accordance with the aim of national identity building.

Besides territory and patria, the last elements of national identity are "common values and traditions among the population or at any rate its 'core' community"[122] He claims that common cultures, histories, traditions and myths are required in the Western model of national identity and they become part of socialization through education and mass media.[123] Accordingly, common culture distinguishes "us" from "them". Shared ideas, traditions and history have an effect on defining an identity by eliminating the people who do not share the same culture, traditions, myths and history. Thus, the common culture has also an impact on drawing the lines between the self and the other.

Considering the effects of common culture on national identity building, it is a significant area for the state elites. For instance, Smith points out the central role of lexicographers, philologists and folklorists in the early nationalism period of Eastern Europe and Asia.[124] In this sense, every part of the cultural sphere can turn into an instrument for nation building. This also means that it is a field in which scholars can find inferences about the national identity and its others.

### 2.2.3. National Identity and Otherness

One of the significant instruments that is used for building a nation and creating a national identity is "others" of that identity. The exclusion of "others" is a fundamental part of the construction of a modern national identity. According to Smith,

> The main task of the nationalist is to discover and discern that which is truly 'oneself and to purge the collective self of any trace of 'the other'. Hence, the rediscovery, authentication and correct interpretation of a unique ethnic past becomes the focus of nationalist labours. Of these three, the process of 'authentication' or sifting elements of the corrupting other from those of the

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[122] Smith.p.11.

[123] Smith.p.11

[124] Smith.p.12.

pure and genuine self, is pivotal: and as a rough guide, that which is 'of the people' is pure and genuine.[125]

In this regard, nationalism gives new meanings to the past by interpreting them according to the purpose of identity building. Similar to all othering processes, new interpretations, marginalization, stereotyping, inclusion and exclusion of some features are parts of the othering in national identity building.

While othering, the people emphasize the differences rather than similarities among people, such as language, race or religion.[126] Such discourses create inequality among cultures, identities and ethnicities even though each of them has their unique characteristics. The outcome of such a dynamic is that one group might consider itself above the other groups.[127] This consideration supports the unequal nature of the relationship between the Self and the Other.

When describing the self, the other should be described at the same time. Indeed, the distinction between the self and the other is the main determiner of a national identity. As Triandafyllidou argued, national identity requires sharing common characteristics but also distinguishing and differentiating itself from the other.[128] However, this distinction could be a sharp contrast which increases the possibility of radical identities. For this reason, Eagleton claimed that "almost all nationalist movements have been derided as provincial, actually or potentially racist, given to exclusivist and doctrinaire positions and rhetoric."[129]

As mentioned before, on one hand, some scholars think that nationalism is an anti-colonial movement which then implies that in terms of the issue of "otherness", it is a

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[125] Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*.p.44.

[126] Fred Dervin, "Discourses of Othering," in *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* (American Cancer Society, 2015), 1–9, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463.wbielsi027.p.5.

[127] Dervin.p.5.

[128] Triandafyllidou, "National Identity and the 'Other.'"p.593.

[129] Eagleton, Jameson, and Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*.p.7-8.

struggle against the marginalization of the Third World. In this sense, it is expected to fight against the otherness of the Third World created by the West. On the other hand, some scholars claim that nationalism accepts and uses Western ideas and methods, and this creates a national identity which then results in the emergence of "others". Thus, nationalism has two sides in the "otherness debate".

Even though post-colonial theory's understanding of the distinction of self and other is based on the Western and non-Western in international relations in the international level, it is possible to mention about self and other distinction at the national level as well. The others of national identity can be a different nationality, undesirable historical period or an idea which is alienated from the national identity. Therefore, there are different points of views on the relationship between otherness and nationalism. However, it could be argued that there are similar processes in every identity construction; the instruments are also similar even though marginalized groups are different for every identity.

One of the most obvious marginalizations or otherings is towards minorities and immigrants within the nation state. Kymlicka claims that nation building tried to deal with the others within the larger nationality such as minorities and immigrants using several strategies- i.e, language, education, etc.[130] However, not only the people within a state who belong to different nations but also other nations outside the state are marginalized in the nation building process.

In analyzing the construction of self and the other for any identity, culture serves as a significant source. Post-colonial theory has used such cultural analysis in order to understand the East and the West distinction. According to Said, "the cultural aspect of European or Western imperialism is significant part of making the self-other

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[130] Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

distinction."[131] Culture is not only useful for analyzing the East and the West distinction, but also for many other aspects of identity.

### 2.2.4. Literature, National Identity and Otherness

The cultural sphere is one of the important areas where identities are constructed and spread. One of the significant contributions which analyzes culture and identity relations comes from postcolonial theory. In his book, Bhabha touches on nation and narration relations and argues that nation includes an ambivalent and antagonistic side and discourse of nationalism develops into "process of cultural production" which is also open to change.[132] According to him, nationalism draws the boundaries between nations in order to differentiate one nation from the "others" in an international sense and "the other" emerges within cultural discourse.[133] In this sense, the relationship between nation and narration is cultural and discursive. Bhabha's view is important since it focuses on "others" in the identity formation process within cultural production.

Since nationalism and nation building process follows the same methodology in the West and the East, the othering also can be seen not only in the West but also in the East. Several researchers have studied the othering that is created by nationalism and national identity building process in the West as well as in the orient. For instance, Khatib makes a contribution by analyzing Egyptian cinema and "highlights how the Orient's participation in Othering is a manifestation of the existence of power struggles within the East".[134] This study is an example of analyzing otherness in a cultural sphere in the East.

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[131] Said, *Orientalism*.p.4

[132] Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (Psychology Press, 1990).p.4.

[133] Bhabha.p.5

[134] Lina Khatib, "Nationalism and Otherness: The Representation of Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Cinema," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1 (February 2006): 63–80, https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549406060808.p.64.

Similar to cinema, literature is one of the important resources utilized to understand identities and its other by narration. Bhabha directly suggests this method by claiming that "the study of world literature might be the study of the way in which cultures recognize themselves through their projections of otherness"[135]. For this reason, literature can be a fruitful resource to understand national identities and otherness.

Considering that there is a link between the nation and narration, creation of a nation state and national identity can be read through literature. Nation state construction is connected to cultural processes. As Utz claimed, "any nation-building process constitutes a cultural intervention."[136] In this respect, one part of cultural intervention is literature. Parrinder claims that a nation is not a "material entity" and emerges from "powerful emotional and imaginative identifications."[137] For this reason, novels provide influential sources for nationalism.[138] It should be also considered that the structure of novels which allows the creation of imaginative characters, societies and ideas through them affects this. For instance, there are many characters from Europe in Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri and Reşat Nuri's novels. The depiction of these characters contains ideological assumptions. The descriptions of these characters contribute to Turkishness by consolidating the differences.

The narration of Turkishness gives us an insight of the features of an ideal Turkish citizen. Thus, idealized characters in the novels are hypothetically expected to be a good example of the citizens of the modern Turkish state. Similarly, the novels also contain narrations on the others of this identity. The conflicts in the novels highlight the tensions and dilemmas of Turkish national identity. Before analyzing the narration of Turkish identity and its others in the selected novels, it is important to specify the other categories of Turkish national identity.

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[135] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994).p.12.

[136] Utz, "Nations, Nation-Building, and Cultural Intervention."p.617.

[137] Parrinder, *Nation and Novel*.p.14.

[138] Parrinder.p.14.

## 2.2.5. Turkish National Identity and Its Others

A new nation emerged after the Ottoman Empire fell. Different from its predecessor, the newly emerged nation was not multi-national in nature, but rather a nation state according to zeitgeist. Consequently, Turkish national identity became a question of the newly formed state and thus a significant mission of the founders of the Turkish state elites. Efforts to build a national identity therefore became part of the policies in the early years of the new government.

Turkish national identity should be evaluated within new global trends in world politics. The ending of the Great Wars terminated the reign of empires and marked the establishment of modern nation states as a global phenomenon, especially in Europe. As a part of this development, the nations within the Ottoman Empire disbanded and several states such as Greece and Bulgaria emerged. From this perspective, Turkish nation state could be viewed as part of a changing and developing global atmosphere.

Here is a dilemma of the relationship between nationalism and globalism: while nationalism offers locality or particularity, it is itself a global phenomenon. Therefore, as mentioned before, methodology and understanding of nationalism still remains as a question although the particularism that nationalism offered.

Like in the other nations, Turkish national identity formation process was handled with the comprehensive policies. Not only was the official state apparatus important but also the cultural sphere was an important arena for shaping the narrative on nation state building. However, the understanding of Turkishness or Turkish national identity is not a concrete, definite or limited issue. It is dynamic and prone to change depending on time or person. For this reason, the perspective through "self" and "other" can also contain dilemmas and tensions throughout the process.

The idea of a Turkish nation goes beyond the modern Turkish state. As Çağaptay claimed, there was *millet* system which was based on religions within the Ottoman Empire and in the last decades of the empire, "Turkish nationalism emerged as a

powerful political force within the Muslim millet"[139]. Before the Turkish nation, the term "Ottoman Muslim" referred to ethnic category (for Turks).[140] Nationalist ideas were new phenomena for empires in that period, however they became stronger within the years and affected the history of empires.

Turkish nationalism also became a dominant ideology especially after the Constitutional Reform of 1908.[141] It continued until the end of the Ottoman Empire and became one of the fundamental ideologies of the new Turkish state characterized by secularism and Westernization[142]. In the new state, Turkish nationalism was also supported by these ideologies.

One main purpose of nationalist ideologies is to define the nation. In Turkish case, the definition of Turk and features of a Turk became problematic as well. Turkish elites faced critical questions such as: "Who are we (as Turks)? Who are them (as others)? How should a Turkish citizen be?" In order to answer these, Zücher points out the arrows in the symbol of Republican People's Party (CHP):

Turk is defined in the context of the second 'arrow': 'Any individual within the Republic of Turkey, whatever his faith, who speaks Turkish, grows up with Turkish culture and adopts the Turkish ideal, is a Turk.'[143] The Kemalist concept of nationality was thus firmly based on language, culture and common purpose ('ideal').[144]

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[139] Soner Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who Is a Turk?* (Routledge, 2006).p.2.

[140] Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, Library of Modern Middle East Studies, v. 87 (London; New York: New York: I. B. Tauris; Distributed in the United States exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).p.211.

[141] Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Modern Turkey*.p.2.

[142] Cagaptay.p.2.

[143] Retrieved from Tarih IV Türkiye Cumhuriyeti (İstanbul, 1931), p. 182. by Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building*.

[144] Zürcher.p.233.

According to this conceptualization of Turkish identity, the cultural sphere especially becomes significant in building a national identity after an empire. Some features are included and some of them excluded from this identity. This process is not always harmonized and it is open to controversies.

When describing the ideal Turkish citizen, women are one of the most representative parts of that identity. In the early republican period, modernism was represented via "modern Turkish women". Turkish women were expected to behave and dress in a modern and Western manner in order to be citizens of a "the modern, secular, Westernized state"[145] For instance, headscarves and veils were banned in official premises.[146] Besides dress, the ideal Turkish women should be well-educated and idealist.[147] However, motherhood was regarded as women's main duty as citizens.[148] White claims that "marriage meant becoming a responsible citizen; choosing not to marry was an egocentric act, amoral and irresponsible."[149] Marriage was an act that was seen as making women "good citizens" who were concerned about the nation. In *Raik'in Annesi*, an ideal Turkish woman is described as "the woman who will pass on all her feelings to her children" and "the women who will not teach to their children to say "mama" [mom in French] before "*anne*" [mother in Turkish]".[150] It can be seen that motherhood and national identity were intertwined as citizenship duties for women.

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[145] Jenny B. White, "State Feminism, Modernization, and the Turkish Republican Woman," *NWSA Journal* 15, no. 3 (2003): 145–59.p.146.

[146] White.p.150.

[147] White.p.147.

[148] White.p.154.

[149] White.p.154.

[150] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Raik'in Annesi* (İstanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1967).p.15.

Since modernism was adopted by the nation state, citizenship and nation building developed into a top-down process.[151] Modernist principles are part of this project. Kahraman claims that "Citizens are expected to act as the expressions of the modern life in that they give primacy to the national interest over their own rights and freedoms"[152] This understanding makes citizens more collectivist rather than individualist.

Similar to every nation state formation process, the Turkish states attempted to make its citizens collective rather than individual. Considering the ideal Turkish women understanding of the early republican period, Western values were entailed in Turkish identity while values from the Ottoman past were excluded. Nevertheless, Westernization in this area still has problems.

One of the significant clashes of inclusion and exclusion is Western values. Even though every nation state needs to differentiate itself from other nations, some features are common in every culture. Turkey experienced such a dilemma while it was trying to adopt a national culture and also a universal civilization at the same time.

The inclusions and exclusions determine "the self" and "the other" of an identity. According to inclusions and exclusions, Turkish national identity has its own "others". As Kadıoğlu claims, Turkish national identity has three major others: First is non-Muslim, second is non-Turkish, third is Ottoman past.[153] According to her, the first group of other started to emerge in the Westernization process of the Ottoman Empire.[154] Reforms as part of the Westernization process of the Ottoman Empire, such as Tanzimat Charter in 1839 or Reform Edict in 1856 represented "the deepening of a

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[151]Kadıoğlu, 1999, p. 53-72. Cited from "The Cultural and Historical Foundation of Turkish Citizenship" by Hasan Bülent Kahraman, in Fuat Keyman and Ahmet Icduygu, *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences* (Routledge, 2013) p.77.

[152]"The Cultural and Historical Foundation of Turkish Citizenship" by Hasan Bülent Kahraman, in Keyman and Icduygu.p.78.

[153] Ayse Kadioglu, "Denationalization of Citizenship? The Turkish Experience1," *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 3 (July 2007): 283–99, https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100701381839.

[154] Kadioglu.p.286.

rupture between the Muslims (*millet-i hakime*) and the non-Muslims (*millet-i mahkume*) within the empire".[155] It continued after the establishment of the new Turkish national state which resulted in "the Turkification of Anatolia via exclusion of non-Muslims" in the early years of the republic.[156]

The others of Turkish national identity can be classified with different perspectives. I would focus on the three others of Turkish national identity as well. Similar to Kadıoğlu, Ottoman past and Western other are two of them, however, the third –and an original- category of others is "non-Turkified Other" in this thesis.

*On the Western Other*

The founders of the Turkish nation state had to deal with the empire's past and at the same time differentiate the Turkish nation from other nations. However, Western nations were problematic for Turkish national identity. On one hand, the Turkish War of Independence was fought against Western nations which implied that Turkey's enemies could easily become the other of Turkish national identity. On the other hand, Turkey itself was in the process of westernization in order to establish a modern nation state after an empire, thus the West constituted a model for the modern Turkish state. Kadıoğlu has identified this situation as a paradox.[157] According to her, this paradox caused both "a hostility towards and an imitation of Western ways" from the beginning of modernization in the nineteenth century.[158] She further asserts that "Turkish nationalism was not the awakening of Turks to national consciousness. It was rather a project undertaken by intellectuals whose discourse was laden with the dilemma of a choice between imitation and identity stemming from the aforementioned paradox."[159]

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[155] Kadioglu.p.287.

[156] Kadioglu.p.287-288.

[157] Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity."

[158] Kadıoğlu.p.185.

[159] Kadıoğlu.p.185.

For this reason, Turkish national identity consists of inclusion and exclusion of the West at the same time.

Similarly, Tokluoğlu points out the tensions of Turkish nationalism by claiming that republican nationalism could not create a compromise to reconcile "the gap between traditional Ottoman cleavages" and thus westernization and secularization remained as an area of tension.[160] She argues that Turkish nationalism is unique among other nationalism types for this reason: "its uniqueness existed of two features. First, it is distinct from classical (Western) forms of nationalism due to the tension between the 'West' and the 'traditional' ways of life. Second, it is distinct from other non-European Islamic nationalisms through the rejection of Islam as the universal basis of legitimation."[161] This exceptionality of Turkish nationalism and its problems has affected identity debates in both the past and contemporary Turkey.

Tanıl Bora has posited that anti-Westernism after the Turkish War of Independence ended with the Lausanne Treaty.[162] He quotes from Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver that "in the Turkish revolution, Europe was defeated but Europeanism remained on the rise."[163] Turkey started to adopt Western ideas and values with the revolutions.

National identity building process is a citizenship creation process as well. Kahraman claims that the notion of citizenship developed with the modernization in Turkish case ("modernization through Westernization").[164] However, this modernization or Westernization creates a problem. According to him, the new Turkish state aimed to westernize the country and at the same time to make it powerful enough against the

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[160] Tokluoğlu, "The Impact of Resistance on the State-Building Process in Turkey" p.111.

[161] Tokluoğlu.p.111.

[162] Tanıl Bora, *Türk Sağının Üç Hali: Milliyetçilik, Muhafazakarlık, İslamcılık* (Birikim, 2015) p.40.

[163] Tanrıöver, 1929. P.59. Retrieved from: Bora.p.40.

[164] Keyman and Icduygu, *Citizenship in a Global World*. In "The Cultural and Historical Foundation of Turkish Citizenship" by Hasan Bülent Kahraman, p.71.

West.[165] In this sense, the West was still an adversary of Turkish nationalism while at the same time being a model for modernization, development and progress.

 For Turkish elites, the West was the civilizational goal for modern Turkey. Mustafa Kemal set the goal for Turkey to reach contemporary civilization level (*muasır medeniyet).* Most of the time, this really meant Western civilization. Ziya Gökalp, an influential intellectual on Turkish nationalism, has differed between culture and civilization. According to him, while culture is national, civilization is international.[166] Culture is defined as "composed of integrated system of religious, moral, legal intellectual, aesthetic, linguistic, economic, technological spheres of life of a certain nation".[167] However, civilization is a "sum total of social institutions shared in common by several nations that have attained the same level of development".[168] This assumption was common among Turkish elites and inevitably influenced their decision-making. They effectively distinguished the cultural from the civilizational in that they viewed adapting ideals from the West as a matter of civilization.[169] As a result of this, they adopted the requirements of Western modernity such as positivism, rationalism and secularism.[170] They became significant components of the national identity of Turkey.

One of the significant components of Turkishness was secularism. Göle has pointed out that secularism was one of the pillars of Turkish modernization with positivism

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[165] Keyman and Icduygu. In "The Cultural and Historical Foundation of Turkish Citizenship" by Hasan Bülent Kahraman.

[166] Ziya Gokalp (Translated and Edited By Niyazi Berkes), *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gokalp* (Columbia University Press, 1959).p.105.

[167] Berkes).

[168] Berkes).

[169] Keyman and Icduygu, *Citizenship in a Global World*. In "The Cultural and Historical Foundation of Turkish Citizenship" by Hasan Bülent Kahraman, p.76.

[170] Keyman and Icduygu. In "The Cultural and Historical Foundation of Turkish Citizenship" by Hasan Bülent Kahraman, p. 70.

from 19<sup>th</sup> century[171]. She claims that inspired by French laicism, Turkish secularism introduced legal and institutional changes:

> The Turkish model of secularism introduced radical institutional changes at the executive and legislative levels, such as the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate in 1924; the abolition of the Ministry of Pious Foundations, religious courts and religious titles; the adoption of a secular civil code of law from Switzerland in 1926; and the declaration that the Turkish republic was a "secular state" by a constitutional amendment in 1937.[172]

These changes in the early years of Turkish republic were also part of the construction of Turkish national identity. Most of the time, attempts to create a secular state overlapped with other changes and served for the general idea of the Turkish national identity. For instance, the regulation of education system not only aimed to create better education for all but also to create a secular education as well[173]. This interwoven character of the Turkish state building process produced a complex reaction towards the "others". For instance, secularist interventions in the early republican period were also reactions against the Ottoman past which had strong references to religion.

The narrative of the Western other reflects the imagination of it. In the cultural sphere, there were many opportunities to deepen the differences and strengthen the national identity. For this reason, the Western other can be understood using Turkish literature. It can be narrated via a Western character or a story related to the West.

*On the Ottoman Other*

At the very beginning of the nation state formation, it was hard to mark the boundaries and differences between Turk, Ottoman or Ottoman Muslim. Tachau points out this

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[171] Nilüfer Göle, "Secularism and Islamism in Turkey: The Making of Elites and Counter-Elites," *Middle East Journal* 51, no. 1 (1997): 46–58.p.48.

[172] Göle.p.49.

[173] Göle.p.49.

ambiguous nature of defining Ottoman, Muslim, Turk or Turkish. He claims that, even Mustafa Kemal used the words Ottoman and Muslim in favor of Turk and Turkish.[174]

To build a nation, every nationalist movement requires finding its roots and origin. In modern Turkey, the elites searched for Turkey's roots in Anatolian history of pre-Ottoman period. According to Morin, "the Sultan, his cabinet, the old system supporters, and opponents of Atatürk's reforms were the main adversaries."[175] Thus, the founders of the republic sought for new roots other than the Ottoman Empire.

In identifying the origin of the Turkish nation, the elites considered Anatolian history beyond the Ottoman Empire and thus emerged "Turkish History Thesis" (*Türk Tarih Tezi*)". According to Tanrıyeri-Erdemir, this thesis mainly suggests that "the Turks were an ancient people whose original homeland in antiquity was Central Asia. These early Turks moved out of Central Asia through a series of migrations and inhabited different parts of the world."[176] These roots both neglect the Ottoman history of the Turkish states and contribute to the formation of Turkish national identity.

Turkey's Ottoman past was also a subject of traditionalism vs. modernism debate in the modern Turkish state. Creating a modern and secular nation was a part of the Kemalist agenda of nation state formation.[177] As Robins claimed, the Ottoman past was mostly despised because of its "backwardness" and especially its religiosity.[178] Therefore, Turkish elites made secularist and modernist reforms such as "abolition of

[174] Frank Tachau, "The Search for National Identity among the Turks," *Die Welt Des Islams* 8, no. 3 (1963): 165–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/1570234.p.166.

[175] Aysel Morin and Ronald Lee, "Constitutive Discourse of Turkish Nationalism: Atatürk's Nutuk and the Rhetorical Construction of the 'Turkish People,'" *Communication Studies* 61, no. 5 (November 1, 2010): 485–506, https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2010.515895.p.495.

[176] Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31, no. 4 (January 2006): 381–93, https://doi.org/10.1179/009346906791071828.p.382.

[177] Sena Karasipahi, *Muslims in Modern Turkey: Kemalism, Modernism and the Revolt of the Islamic Intellectuals* (I.B. Tauris, 2008).p.11.

[178] Kevin Robins, "Interrupting Identities: Turkey/Europe," in *Questions of Cultural Identity* (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road, London    EC1Y 1SP United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2011), 61–86, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446221907.n5.p.68.

the caliphate; disestablishment of the state religion; closure of holy places (shrines); dissolution of dervish orders and brotherhoods, etc."[179] Essentially, secularism as a part of Turkish national identity was also a part that was against its Ottoman other.

Tanıl Bora has advanced that neither Western identity nor other ethnic identities could be the exact other of the Turkish national identity. Instead, Turkey's old identity, which was basically the old civilization, became the main other of Turkishnational identity.[180] The old (Ottoman) identity is connected to irrationality and Islam as well.

Secularization and the exclusion of religion from the Turkish national identity creates a contradiction for the basis of Turkish nationality. According to Çağaptay, in the early years of the new state, demographic changes demonstrated that the population of the Anatolian Christians was decreasing while non-Turkish Muslim immigrants were welcomed by the Turkish government.[181] He claims that the government expected that non-Turkish Muslim immigrantswould be assimilated in the society.[182] Thus it could be argued that a religion-based identity politics was preferred to a race-based identity in the 1920s. Thus, there was an incoherency between the preference of religious-based policies and the secularist intervention of the state. However, the government changed this policy in the 1930s and instead pursued a race-based identity policy. This effectively elevated race as the "primary marker of Turkishness".[183] He further expands that the government uses "language-through-ethnicity and race" as a basis of Turkish national identity and adds "there was now no mention of Islam as a component of Turkishness. This was because during the 1920s, staunch Kemalism had pushed

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[179] Robins.p.68.

[180] Bora, *Türk Sağının Üç Hali: Milliyetçilik, Muhafazakarlık, İslamcılık*.p.41.

[181] Soner Cagaptay, "Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 3 (May 2004): 86–101, https://doi.org/10.1080/0026320042000213474.p.86.

[182] Cagaptay.p.87.

[183] Cagaptay.p.87.

Islam to the margins of society. Secularism aimed to strip the Turkish Muslims of their predominant collective identity, Islam."[184]

The transition from religion-based identity to race-based identity affected another excluded part of Ottoman identity– language. Since the language occupies a significant component of race-based identity, the Ottoman past was also excluded in this aspect of the identity as well. In the Ottoman period, the language included lots of borrowed words from the Arabic and Persian languages. The government in the nation building process aimed to purify the Turkish language. For instance, Society for Research on The Turkish Language (*Türk Dili Araştırma Kurumu*) in May 1935, with the support of the government, published Ottoman-Turkish Pocket Guide with the aim of offering new Turkish words to replace previous Arabic and Persian words used in the Ottoman Turkish.[185]

Race-based definition of Turkishness was accepted by the government. Çağaptay claims that this brought a specific definition of the Turkish nation in the 1930s. He adds that "[The government] claimed that all Turkey's past and present inhabitants were ethnically and racially Turkish"[186] It is obvious that Turkification policies of the government, such as "Citizen speak Turkish", created problems for other ethnic groups within the boundaries of the Turkish state.[187] However, it created some problems for ethnic Turks as well. Being racially, ethnically or even culturally Turkish was not enough to be an ideal citizen or ideal Turk. This meant that some Turks were also excluded or alienated from the Turkish national identity. This issue is further analyzed under the "non-Turkified Others" subtitle.

*On the non-Turkified Others*

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[184] Cagaptay.p.89-90.

[185] Cagaptay.p.91.

[186] Cagaptay.p.93.

[187] Cagaptay.

Non-Turkified Other seems, at first, as a contradiction. When discussing Turkish national identity, it is difficult to understand how one can be a Turk and at the same time "the other" of Turkish national identity. However, this was a reality in the Turkish nation building process. Not only were other nations or the Ottoman past the other of this identity, but also some groups of Turks were excluded from this identity as they were seen as not "fitting" the ideal Turkishness. Most of the time, they were prospective citizens of the modern Turkish state.

The division between Turkish national identity and Turk can be observed in traditions as well. Robins claims that "a new history and new traditions were invented to compensate for the real ones that were being abandoned."[188] For this reason, the old traditions and people did not fit the new one. This implied that the real Turkey turned into the "other" of the national identity.[189] There was a divergence between the ideal Turk and real Turk. Therefore, the concept of the other Turks referred to the Turks who were far away from the features of the ideal Turkishness.

The divergence between the ideal Turks who are "civilized" and the other Turks who are "not civilized" was a popular phenomenon in the early republican period. Zeydanlıoğlu has contributed to this discussion by stating that this divergence also an urban-rural division: "the civilisational divide between the modernising urban elite and the subaltern rural population assigned a paternal role to the Kemalists, who constantly perceived the Anatolian masses as backward, primitive and infantilised Others."[190] According to him, this approach can be regarded as an Orientalist perspective that "the 'natives' cannot rule or represent themselves and therefore need to be ruled and

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[188] Robins, "Interrupting Identities."p.70.

[189] Robins.p.71.

[190] Welat Zeydanlıoğlu, "'The White Turkish Man's Burden': Orientalism, Kemalism and the Kurds in Turkey," in *Neo-Colonial Mentalities in Contemporary Europe? Language and Discourse in the Construction of Identities (Eds. by Guido Rings and Anne Ife)* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 155–74.

represented."[191] In this regard, ethnic and cultural Turks did not always imply an appropriate Turkish citizen.

Besides the unconscious Turks who were living in the rural geographies, well-educated and "civilized" Turks could also be seen as the other in some cases. This type of other Turks were the Turks who were not aware of their identity. The common feature between the two types of "the other Turks" was the lack of national consciousness. Turkish elites criticized the second type in the early republican period as well. Even though they were ethnically or culturally Turks, they could not become ideal Turkish citizens at that period.

Each category of others of Turkish national identity consists of dilemmas and tensions. For this reason, it was hard to identify strict identity boundaries and strict "us and them" division in the early republican period. This ambiguous and dynamic character of identity is reflected in the popular novels of that period. Even though this study aims to find patterns among the narrations of others of Turkish national identity, it also tries to tease out the dilemmas and contradictions within it. In the next chapters, each category of others of Turkish national identity will be analyzed throughout the selected novels of Yakup Kadri, Halide Edip, Reşat Nuri and Peyami Safa.

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[191] Zeydanlıoğlu.

# CHAPTER 3

# THE WESTERN OTHER OF THE TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

## 3.1.    Describing the Western Other

The West is a very interesting and controversial issue for Turkish national identity. Most of the time, it creates a dilemma since it is both a part of the Turkish national identity and the other of it at the same time. As Çırakman claimed, "obviously, the differences between Turkish identity and self-image which were both products of official nation-building discourse in the early republican years reflects unresolved conflicts and tensions."[192] The conflicts and tensions can be understood through the narration of the "self" and "other". The controversy of the West is one of the sources of tension or paradox in this sense. Hence, confusion and ambiguity shaped Turkish national identity and its others in that period. Indeed, one could extend the claim and argue that this confusion and ambiguity still has an impact on Turkey's identity and self-image today.

Turkish national identity was "officially" constructed after the Turkish War of Independence. In that war, the enemies of Turkey were The Allies, a military coalition composed of Western powers. For this reason, defining "the Turkish nation" and its others inevitably contains discussion of the Western states as enemies for Turkish elites, especially in the early years of the republic. As a concept, "Western" is quite controversial because of its ambiguous boundaries. For the purpose of this study, the term West and Western are utilized in reference to European countries and the United States. Nevertheless, differences among European states will also be considered. Not

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only states but also notions related to the West and perspectives towards them in the early Republican period will be addressed.

In discussing the West as the other of Turkish national identity, we need to elaborate on nationalism and Turkish national identity construction. Per Akman's arguments, Kemalist elites chose modernist nationalism, which is the third category among the dichotomy of ethnic and civic nationalism.[193] According to Akman, "modernist identity project becomes available and relevant for nationalisms in the non-European world when there is no prolonged and severe colonial domination to generate an acute dilemma of choosing between modernization and cultural authenticity."[194] In this sense, while it is not a result of direct colonial rule, Turkish nationalism can be classified under the category of modernist nationalism.[195] Considering the relationship between modernism and the West in Turkish national identity building process, this classification is important to emphasize modernism.

There are different categorizations of Turkish nationalism. Parlak and Kılıçarslan assert that Turkish nationalism, which was also referred to as Kemalist nationalism in that period, contained components of both French-type civic nationalism and German-type ethnic nationalism.[196] In this regard, it is difficult to categorize Turkish nationalism because of its specificity and unique dynamics. Nevertheless, one of the key factors of nation state building was Turkey's relationship with the West since even nation-state is a Western-originated phenomenon.

The position of the West in Turkish nationalism is significant. Since Turkish elites considered the West as the archetype of their nationalism project for the newly formed republic, reforms were made to reach a contemporary civilization level which was

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[193] Ayhan Akman, "Modernist Nationalism: Statism and National Identity in Turkey," *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 1 (March 2004): 23–51, https://doi.org/10.1080/0090599042000186214.p.24.

[194] Akman.p.24.

[195] Akman.p.24.

[196] Ismet Parlak and Özlem Kiliçarslan, "The West or the EU as 'the Other' from the Perspective of National Pride," *South-East Europe Review* 3 (2006): 123–48.p.126-127.

basically an emulation of Western civilization.[197] Accordingly, secularism, rejection of the Ottoman past, industrialization, and civil rights were articulated in the Westernization and modernization process of the newly established Turkey. However, the relationship with the West remained problematic in Turkish nationalism. As Kadıoğlu remarked, "oriental nationalism both tries to imitate the West and feels hostility towards it."[198] This friction causes admiration and hostility towards the West at the same time. In the case of Turkey, the West is both the enemy and the model for the modern state. For this reason, the narration of the West as one of the others of Turkish national identity is contradictory in the Turkish political and cultural sphere. Consequently, Turkish literature also became a field where these contradictions manifested, especially in the early Republican period. Both positive and negative ideas about the West are depicted in the novels of the early Republican period.

The contradictory narration of the West in the early Republican period is a natural result of the understanding of theWest by the authors and intellectuals of the period. For example, Peyami Safa sets their novels based on the comparison between the East and the West and emphasizes the superior sides of the East against the West. However, even Peyami Safa in an interview upon his return from a trip to Europe remarked:

> What amazes me in Europe is that the difference between them and us is so great that it exceeds all the degrees that appear in the picture and in the book. This difference has not been adequately explained to Turkey since the Tanzimat... Let's multiply each of the materials we know into a hundred times the size, a hundred times the beauty, a hundred times the pureness and perfection: Here is Europe![199]

Considering Safa's interview and the novels he wrote, the contradictions about the West draw attention. The contradiction between the admiration for the West and the

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[197] Akman, "Modernist Nationalism." P.40.

[198] Kadioglu, Ayse (2003) 'Milliyetçilik-Liberalizm Ekseninde Vatandaslık ve Bireysellik' (Citizenship and Individualism on the Axis of Nationalism-Liberalism) in T. Bora (ed.): Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düsünce: 4. Cilt-Milliyetçilik Istanbul: Iletisim Yayınları, pp. 284-292. p.285.As cited in Parlak and Kiliçarslan, "The West or the EU as 'the Other'from the Perspective of National Pride."p.128.

[199] Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Doğu-Batı Arasında Peyami Safa* (Ufuk Kitapları, 2020).p.23-24.

ideological opposition to the West is similar to the tension regarding the West in the novels of the early Republican period.

On one hand, the West is a model in terms of science and technology, and educational, political and economic development. This level of civilization is a subject of inclusion for Turkish national identity. On the other hand, the West is the other and subject of exclusion for Turkish national identity because of its culture and Turkey's historical relations with the Western states which involved hostilities.

Evidently, Turkey's engagement with the West was complicated for Turkish national identity. As Aytürk claims, Turkish national identity was ambiguous vis-a-vis the West and Europe. It is because Atatürk and Turkish elites evaluated the West as the only source and model of modernity. However, there remained lingering strong feelings against the West owing to the hostile history that created an image of the West, as invaders in the eyes of Turkish elites and the public, which offset the admiration towards the West.[200] This ambiguity emerges in policies and discourses of the elites and narrations in popular novels of the early Republican period.

The emergence of the West as a model for Turkey contradicts the fact that it is also "the other" in the construction of the Turkish national identity. Therefore, it is necessary to question how and why the West constitutes a model in order to understand how "the other" is constructed in a contradictory way. Considering Turkey's position in world politics in the early republican period, Turkey wanted to be a part of the European community. Turkey's new objectives as a "secular republic, committed to modernism and a Turkish-ethnic rather than Muslim identity" has been described as "quite untraditional lines" by Hale since it was radically different from its Ottoman past. [201] He claims that modernity as used in Kemalist nationalism referred to Europe: "Although not explicitly, modern was in practice equated with 'European' or Western

[200] İlker Aytürk, "Turkish Linguists against the West: The Origins of Linguistic Nationalism in Atatürk's Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 6 (November 2004): 1–25, https://doi.org/10.1080/0026320042000282856.p.2.

[201] William M. Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy Since 1774* (Routledge, 2013).p.31.

as Kemalist government turned its back to Muslim world"[202] For this reason, Europe and the West constituted a civilizational goal for Turkey.

Besides being viewed as the exemplar of modernity and civilization, the West is also significant for understanding Turkey's relations with its neighbors and the rest of the world. Since Turkey rejected the Ottoman legacy in terms of identity and wanted to be a part of the European community as a secular and modern nation state, its relationship with its Muslim neighbors in the Middle East remained limited. Turkey's aspiration to develop strong relations with the Western countries came at the expense of advancing its relations with its Muslim neighbors. According to Aydın, the Western orientation of Turkey in the early republican period was one of the fundamental features of Turkish foreign policy: "Despite the fact that Turkey had fought against the Western powers during the First World War, after independence she opted for the Western World."[203]

The Western orientation of Turkish foreign policy in the early Republican period can be evaluated within the framework of the Turkish national identity construction as identity construction and foreign policy are connected to each other. Modernization and nation state building projects in the early Republican period indicate a policy preference for Turkish foreign policy. Bozdağlıoğlu claims, "The implications of Turkey's Westernization and its corresponding West-oriented foreign policy involve a movement away from Islamic practices and traditions, and therefore, away from Middle Eastern civilization toward Europe."[204] Pro-Western Kemalist regime aspired to reinvent Turkey as a Western-style, secular state and wanted to develop good relations with the Western countries.[205] For instance, Turkey and Greece made a

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[202] Hale.p.42.

[203] Mustafa Aydın, "Turkish Foreign Policy Framework and Aalysis," SAM Papers (Center for Strategic Research, 2004).p.16.

[204] Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu, "Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 1 (2008): 55–76.p.62.

[205] Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy Since 1774*.p.54.

compromise and signed an agreement in 1930 which was welcomed by Western states which subsequently facilitated the inclusion of Turkey in The League of Nations in 1932.[206] Hence, beyond being a civilizational model, the West gained foreign policy preference in the early Republican period.[207]

Besides Turkey's foreign policy orientation, the position of the West in the construction of Turkish national identity has a relationship with the other components of the identity. For instance, the West has a strong relationship with the Ottoman past of Turkey. Most of the time, Turkish elites used the Western model in order to eliminate the impacts of the heterogeneous, multi-national and Islamic-oriented Ottoman past in Turkish society. By so doing, the West emerges as a model for Turkey. As Yurdusev claims, Islam was emerged as the other of Europe.[208] Therefore, otherizing Ottoman Empire by associating with the Islam serves Turkey's identity projection of being a European state in ther period.

Considering the othering of the West and Westernization goal of Turkey at the same time, it is possible to infer that the West is not only a model for its positive features but also it carries negative meanings with its underirable features in terms of Turkish national identity.

## 3.2. The Narration of the Western Other in the Novels of the Early Republican Period

Since the West is simultaneously seen as a model and an "enemy", the tension of inclusion and exclusion of the West from Turkish national identity creates an authentic

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[206] Hale.p.54-55.

[207] It should be noted that there are some studies that shows the Western orientation of Turkey is not a new policy considering the Ottoman Empire-Europe relations and Westernization attempts in late period of the Ottoman Empire. For more information, see: Senem Aydın-Düzgit, Bahar Rumelili, and Alp Eren Topal, "Challenging Anti-Western Historical Myths in Populist Discourse: Re-Visiting Ottoman Empire–Europe Interaction during the 19th Century," *European Journal of International Relations* 28, no. 3 (September 1, 2022): 513–37, https://doi.org/10.1177/13540661221095945.

[208] Nuri Yurdusev, "Avrupa Kimliğinin Oluşumu ve Türk Kimliği", in Türkiye ve Avrupa, A. Eralp (ed.), İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, 1997.p.46.

narration about the West in the literature of the early Republican period. Therefore, this chapter aims to understand the narration of the West in that particular period of Turkish literature. To do so, narration on the Western and Westernized characters, Western and Westernized places and Western notions are analyzed and contrasted againstthe Turkish national identity.

Different from the colonial nation building processes, the othering of the West was not direct and sharp in Turkey. Notwithstanding, Turkey was founded after a war against Western states. In addition, Turkey's identity has always been problematic in its relationship with the West. For this reason, there are both positive and negative narrations of the West in terms of Turkish national identity. This is a reflection of the confusion towards the West as well.

In the novels of the early Republican period, the images the three authors regarding to narration of Turkishness are similar in some ways. Nevertheless, there are some differences in that each of the author's concerns and subjects are different. For example, Halide Edip focused on the image of an ideal Turkish woman. In doing so, she shows the difference between Turkish women and Ottoman women. Yakup Kadri wrote on the ideal Turkish woman as well, though not as much as Halide Edip does. However, Yakup Kadri's concern is to distinguish Turkish women from Western women. Therefore, the concerns of the two authors are different even though they wrote on identical topics. Thus, although there are common points in the female image they depict, there are also some divergences in their depictions.

As a result, the authors' concerns shaped their definitions of both self and other. In this case, although there are common bases, there also exist clear differences in the authors' definitions of self and other. This part of the study analyzes how the writers marginalized the West when defining the Turkish self. Although common points are often emphasized, the differences between the authors will also be addressed. However, the main subject of this chapter is the contradictions of the authors in the narration of the Western other. The analysis includes how they define the West as a part of the Turkish national identity and as the other of it at the same time.

To analyze the narration of the Western other, some concepts will be used to understand the authors' perspective towards the self and the Western other. What constitutes a positive or negative narration of the West varies and is difficult to categorize (except for some specific examples.) However, the following table summarizes which aspects of the West are described as positive and which ones are negative. It should however be noted that certain features such as modernism or rationalism (which are categorized as negative features) are controversial.

**Table 2: Positive and Negavive Features of the West in the Selected Novels**

| Positive Features of the West/Europe | Negative Features of the West/Europe |
|---|---|
| Development of the West | Rationality |
| Modernity | Modernity |
| Good Education | Materialism |
| Science and Technique of the West | Individualism |
| Democracy | Colonialism |
| Honesty | Lack of Spirit |
| Politeness | Class Distinction |
| | Orientalism |
| | Eurocentricism |
| | Homosexuality |
| | Western Economic System |

While the positive features of the Western and European civilization constituted a model for Turkish national identity, the negative features were marginalized and considered as a part of "the other". The examples of this distinction can be seen in the

novels of the early republican period. This caused the inclusion and exclusion of the West at the same time.

## 3.3.     The West as a Model in the Early Republican Novels

Given the fact the West is also a model for Turkish national identity and a goal of Turkish elites for Turkish society, most of the time, the novels compliment the West for its positive features, sometimes unexpectedly. For instance, despite all "the hate" towards the English nation (such as in Sodom ve Gomore), in *Yeni Turan*, the ideal Turkish character, Kaya, claims that the word "yurt" in Turkish can only correspond with the "home" in English. According to her, the most matured way of this feelingof having home can also be seen in Northern nations, especially Anglo-Saxon nations. Therefore, the friendliest and the most humanistic version of civilization belongs to them.[209] In a novel like *Yeni Turan* that has sharper boundaries for Turkishness, it is noteworthy to hear these words from Oğuz, a character who is the leader of the fictional nationalist party named "Yeni Turan".

Other compliments paid to English people are honesty and politeness. In Sodom ve Gomore, a novel which includes hateful words against the English nation, there are unexpected compliments about English men: "Like any English man, Captain Jackson Read does not succumb to the conspiratorial or gossipping side of the high society and cannot tolerate any rude comments against an acquaintance without defending them."[210] Thus, despite all hostile narratives and hatred for the English man, the author appreciates and admires the British for their honesty and kindness. In *Harabelerin Çiçeği* by Reşat Nuri, Süleyman, the main character of the novel mentions that the people of Europe are not judgmental.[211]

Likewise, Yakup Kadri pays some implicit compliments to the English in*Sodom ve Gomore*. For instance, the English Officer Gerald Jackson is a man who is admired by

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[209] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Yeni Turan* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2018).p.62.

[210] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017).p.236.

[211] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Harabelerin Çiçeği* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2016).p.56.

all women in the book due to his character.[212] He's always surrounded by women, especially Turkish. Similarly, another English Officer Captain Marlow is praised for his intelligence.[213] Leyla, the main female character of the novel, thinks that English men are loyal and faithful, as Captain Jackson Read.[214]

The positive narratives about the West are not limited to general assumptions of Western nations. In addition to the direct narrations of the Western people in the novels, there are some other positive narrations that are derived from the perception of superiority of the West. This is also related to the fact that the West is seen as a model for development.

The reason for the dilemma between inclusion and at the same time exclusion of the West in Turkish national identity is Turkey's Westernization, in other words, civilization goals. Another result of modernism coming from the West is the powerful role of the state in national identity formation. Moreover, it is a "European" originated ideology. As modernism offers rational and objective knowledge, it can be a reference point for nation state formation as was the case in a state-led nation state formation like the case of Turkey. The modernist identity building project under the control of the state always had some goals for the society. Most of the time, these were the universal goals defined by European rationalism. This actually implied a hierarchic point of view between the West and Turkey. According to Quijano, this hierarchic understanding is related to the production of knowledge: "[The inequalities are] perceived as being of nature: only European culture is rational, it can contain 'subjects' -the rest are not rational, they cannot be or harbor 'subjects.'"[215] Since other cultures

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[212] Karaosmanoğlu.p.12., p.128.

[213] Karaosmanoğlu.p.111.

[214] Karaosmanoğlu.p.131.

[215] Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (March 2007): 168–78, https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601164353.p.174.

are naturally perceived "unequal" and "inferior"[216], the relationship between West and the rest of the world becomes hierarchic.

 Even though Turkey was not colonized by the West, a hierarchic understanding is implied when the West is narrated as the other of Turkish national identity. In this case, Turkey does not define itself as a part of the West but rather the other of the West. Similar to colonial experience, it is possible to see the acceptance of superiority of the West. As Quijano claimed,

> Not surprisingly then, history was conceived as an evolutionary continuum from the primitive to the civilized; from the traditional to the modern; from the savage to the rational; from pro-capitalism to capitalism, etc. And Europe thought of itself as the mirror of the future of all the other societies and cultures; as the advanced form of the history of the entire species.[217]

Accepting this Western perspective, Turkey follows the same line of the West. The West is a model for not only the process of nation building, but also for the process of development. Therefore, the West as a model symbolized civilization and development for Turkey. Turkish authors of the early republican period agreed that the West was highly developed in science, technology, education, industry and the process of civilization. There are many examples of the theme of "West as a model and a developed region" in the novels of the early republican period.

The popular novels of the early republican period of Turkey provide fruitful sources to understand the West as the other of the Turkish national identity. Almost every novel has an "idealized" Turkish character or characters. These characters are important because they are the pictures of the ideal Turkish citizens; i.e, "self". Their point of views toward the West signifies what the West should be for ideal Turkish citizens. For this reason, the ideal characters reflect the "self" and at the same time the "other". There are also other characters who are not "ideal" Turkish citizens. Their views are also important to understand what the West means, however what is

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[216] Quijano.p.174.

[217] Quijano.p.176.

compatible with the official ideology is the idea of ideal characters. These details give a clue on the hierarchic point of view about Turkey's relationship with the West among Turkish intellectuals.

In *Yeni Turan* by Halide Edip, it is stated that the women of *Yeni Turan* –the fictional nationalist party in the novel- are well-educated and therefore the country would look like Finland after five or ten years.[218] This example indicates that even a radical nationalist Turkish character compares Turkey with the West, and accepts the West as a model for Turkey. It is also an indication that Turkey was following the West and it was doing so with a five or ten years lapse in terms of development. In the same novel, the mention of the fact that there were many young Turkish farmers educated in Europe and expected to develop their own country was praised.[219] In the novels, going to the West in order to get educated and returning to Turkey to contribute to the development of the country had been a common theme since the Tanzimat era. This is due to the acceptance of the development of the West. Europe is a model region even for Yeni Turan, the radical nationalist party in the novel. Europe is "the most civilized, the most developed, the most recognized center of science and the arts" for even nationalist characters in the novel.

The novel of *Bir Sürgün* by Yakup Kadri mentions the same theme that "the West is highly developed in terms of science and technology and Turkish citizens should learn science from the West in order to develop the country". This novel indicates that this point of view has roots even in the late Ottoman period. In that novel, France was described as the land of science.[220] In addition, the father of Dr. Hikmet writes to his son in France that "with the inspiration and knowledge that you will attain from that land of science, you will reach perfection in science."[221]

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[218] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.103.

[219] Adıvar.p.106.

[220] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016).p.98.

[221] Karaosmanoğlu.p.132.

Besides that, one can see that even the most radical characters in the novels of the early republican period were educated in the West or went to Western schools in Turkey. Looking at the idealized Turkish characters in early republican novels, one may see the Western component of Turkish national identity. Despite all the criticism of the West, the idealized Turkish characters in the early republican novels are Westernized as well. For example, in the novel *Sözde Kızlar* by Peyami Safa, the ideal character Mebrure, who is a quite different woman from other "Westernized" women in the novel, is also educated in an American school, so as to be "well-educated".[222] Interestingly, although he made this decision, her father was not a Westernized character. Thus, Turkish national identity does not fully and directly oppose the West.

The idealized Turkish characters know one or more Western languages in the novels. They are educated in the West and they are familiar with the Western culture. For instance, Necdet in *Sodom ve Gomore*, Handan in *Handan*, Neşet Sabit in *Ankara*, and even Kaya and Oğuz in *Yeni Turan*, know a Western language. Necdet was educated in Germany.[223] Neşet Sabit was inspired by Western play-writes, such as the French Moliere, in his plays.[224] Handan knows French very well. Besides that, she's knowledgeable about Western philosophers, such as Plato.[225] She can play the piano and she plays the music of German composer Wagner and the Hungarian composer and pianist, Liszt.[226] She can read or see Shakespeare in its original form; she said "I heard Shakespeare in Turkish for the first time"[227] When looking at this side of idealized Turkish characters in the early republican period, it is observed that these characters do not have a problem with the Western civilization. Indeed, they are "Westernized" characters intellectually with all of their criticism.

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[222] Peyami Safa, *Sözde Kızlar* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2018).p.77.

[223] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.52.

[224] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).s.192.

[225] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Handan* (Can Yayınları, 2016).p.62.

[226] Adıvar.p.56.

[227] Adıvar.p.65.

For this reason, Turkish nationalism does not exclude every aspect of the West. Besides this, there are positive narrations about the West because of its advanced science and technology. Accordingly, there is the perception that an ideal Turkish citizen should be well-educated and getting this education in the West or from Western schools is not seen as problematic. As the novel *Bir Sürgün* takes place in the late Ottoman period, it can be seen that there was "the land of science" point of view about France or Europe in that period and it continues even in the early republican period. In the same novel, the West is depicted as a highly developed region. For instance, Dr. Hikmet realizes that Athens, which is the first port of the ship going to Europe, is a very beautiful, developed and well-organized city, even though it resembled Anatolian towns fifty years ago.[228]

Another example is the letter from a French music critic that idealized characters agreed on. In the novel *Fatih Harbiye* by Peyami Safa, the idealized and intellectual characters read a letter from a music critic that mentions that "Turkey should not hesitate to be affected by the West but this effect should not penetrate the root of its beautiful and pure culture." They agree on this idea. However, the crucial point is while there is consensus on adopting science and technology from the West, there is always hesitation on cultural issues. As can be seen also in the previous examples from the novels, positive narration about the West and specifically Europe focuses on science, development and education. Turkish elites wish to include these features of the West in Turkish national identity. For the intellectuals, Turkish development can be achieved by Western science and technology. However, the Western part of Turkish national identity is limited to these positive narrations.

On cultural issues, there is a hesitation towards Western culture in the novels. However, there is another dilemma on this issue. Most of the time, authors give importance to Western ideas, authors, philosophy etc. which are themselves also parts of the Western culture. The characters in the selected novels use Western thinkers in order to support their ideas. In the previous example, the Turkish intellectuals in the

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[228] Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*.p.37.

novels refer to a Western music critic to support their ideas. Even if the characters defend the East against the West, they refer to Westerners because the Westerners' positive ideas about something make it more valuable. In the novel *Fatih Harbiye*, they use the words of the French music critic in order to support their ideas since the French music critic is also significant for them and the West is a reference point.[229] Similarly, in *Dudaktan Kalbe*, Saim Paşa begins to be proud of his musician nephew because of the compliments of European journals about him. There is a critique about his situation in the novel: "If Europe talks about the competence and importance of a man, of course, there will be no doubt about that man anymore..."[230]

In another novel by Peyami Safa, *Mahşer*, the accuracy of Darwin's views of survival of the strongest is mentioned.[231] According to the idealized character of the novel, Nihad, power is an instrument to oppress the others. "The Ancient Greeks understood this reality [and created laws in order to protect the powerless]. However now, the law protects the powerful. … Especially in Turkey."[232] Peyami Safa makes references to British Biologist Darwin and Ancient Greeks via a protagonist character. He employs Western civilization in order to understand the law of nature and use the law in order to protect the powerless against powerful.

Another example found in *Fatih Harbiye* is that Neriman's father who is portrayed as a traditional character refers to the Westerners. In the discussion, her father said that the Easterners also invented many things, such as the clock. Indeed, he also said that the writer of the book in his hands was also an Easterner. Neriman finds it insignificant and says that no one else has read that book. Upon this claim, her father asserts that Westerners also read this book.[233] Accepting the development of the West, the hierarchic point of view can be seen in the early republican novels. In Peyami Safa's

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[229] Peyami Safa, *Fatih Harbiye* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2018). p.118.

[230] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Dudaktan Kalbe* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, n.d.).p.13-14.

[231] Peyami Safa, *Mahşer*, 26th ed. (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2016). P.280.

[232] Safa. P.280.

[233] Safa, *Fatih Harbiye*.p.49.

novels, the characters also read Eastern thinkers. However, in the novels of other authors, the characters did not refer to other regions or they do not even read Eastern authors.

In writing about Western culture, Peyami Safa is different from the other authors, Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri and Reşat Nuri, in the early Republican period. In Peyami Safa's novels, there is a civilization-based categorization such as Eastern and Western civilizations. In the novels by other authors, there is a nationality-based categorization even though the West is narrated as a civilizational category in some parts. To be more specific, in Peyami Safa's novel, the protagonist characters are referred to as Eastern characters even though they are Turkish. Civilization comes before nationality in this sense. On the contrary, the remaining authors analyzed in this thesis refer to the protagonists solely as Turkish characters. These other authors are not interested in the civilizational categorization even if they prefer West to East. For this reason, the ideal Turkish characters play the piano and read Western authors in the novels of Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri or Reşat Nuri. Yet, in Payami Safa's novels, the ideal Eastern characters play the "oud" and read Eastern authors. In this regard, the piano and the oud are not simple musical instruments; they symbolize the civilizational categories and distinctions between the West and the East.

In the novels of the early Republic, writers other than Peyami Safa did not propose the Eastern identity rather than the Western identity, even when the West was criticized and othered during the nation-state building process. Even Peyami Safa did not explicitly suggest the Eastern identity for Turkey. Instead, he suggested the East-West synthesis in which Turkey adds its own authentic elements to the Western identity.

The hierarchic point of view can be explained by the relationship between modernism and Eurocentrism. Modernity is described as an "emancipation": "modernity is an emancipation, a Kantian *Ausgang*, or "way out," from immaturity by means of reason, understood as a critical process that affords humanity the possibility of new

development" [234]. This definition implies a hierarchic structure between mature and immature or developed and undeveloped peoples and countries. Another definition also points out the normative side of this theory:

> According to this theory, the experience of the West is the norm for historical progress and sets the standard for the rest of the world. The value judgement implied by the concept of 'modernisation' portrays economic and technological development as the unquestionable goal of humankind, and the social system which is supposed to deliver it as the ultimate achievement of human civilization.[235]

Therefore, the Western or European standards which are the result of modernism became the universal standards without considering any other developments in the other cultures and civilizations in different parts of the world.

The case of Turkey is quite different from both European (central) states and colonial (periphery) states. The nation state formation process included these two different styles of identity construction. First, like in European states, modernity and rationality were involved in the process. Second, Europe and the West were perceived as the other of this identity. This was one of the big dilemmas of Turkish national identity. Gülalp explains Turkey's place by calling it "conveyor belt between the 19th-century European nationalisms and the twentieth-century Third World anti-colonialisms". It is because of the time and geographic location that the two models of nation-state formation differed.[236]

The relationship between modernism and Eurocentrism was intertwined. Modernity emerged as an "intra-European phenomenon" and did not use resources outside Europe.[237] The adoption of the Eurocentric model of modernity caused some problems

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[234] Enrique Dussel, Javier Krauel, and Virginia C. Tuma, "Europe, Modernity, and Eurocentrism," *Nepantla: Views from South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 465–78. P.469.

[235] Haldun Gülalp, "The Eurocentrism of Dependency Theory and the Question of 'Authenticity': A View from Turkey," *Third World Quarterly* 19, no. 5 (December 1998): 951–61, https://doi.org/10.1080/01436599814118.p.951.

[236] Gülalp.p.953.

[237] Dussel, Krauel, and Tuma, "Europe, Modernity, and Eurocentrism."p.449-470.

in other parts of the world. Since Europe was in the center of world history, other cultures are reduced to peripheries from this point of view.[238] For this reason, the relationship between modernity and Eurocentrism does not provide an emancipatory project for every culture: "Modernity defined itself as an emancipatory project with respect to the "us," but did not realize its mythical-sacrificial character with respect to the "others."[239] Thus, critical perspective towards modernity and Eurocentrism provides a better understanding of the modernization process in other parts of the world.

As a model for modern Turkey, the West symbolized modernity, rationalism, positivism and development. In this regard, modernization is a significant component of the Westernization process of Turkey. Convensi clearly explains the relationship between Western-oriented modernity and nationalism. According to Convensi, "modernism can be conceived either by reference to a series of 'rights' to which all citizens are entitled or as a coherent and interlinked set of obligations, which state leaders are thus able to impose upon often-reluctant populations."[240] Nation states began to control industrial development and economic expansion because of the cumulative gains and losses. In this sense, the combination of modernism and nationalism emerged as developmentalism in some radical cases.[241] For this reason, development, modernism and the West were discussed in relation to each other in the novels of the early republican period of Turkey.

The West is a desirable place in terms of development, modernity, and civilization. In the novels of the early republican period, characters wonder about the West. For instance, in the novel titled *Handan* by Halide Edip, Neriman always wanted to see

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[238] Dussel, Krauel, and Tuma.p.471.

[239] Dussel, Krauel, and Tuma.p.474-475.

[240] Daniele Conversi, "Modernism and Nationalism," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 17, no. 1 (February 2012): 13–34, https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2012.644982.p.20.

[241] Conversi.p.20.

Europe, especially London.[242] She speaks English with her friends (even though they are all Turkish).[243] She is a well-educated girl who has Armenian, Hungarian and Italian music teachers.[244] The impacts of the West on such characters are not "harmful" in the novel because it is not "bad" to emulate the development of the West and to want to see this developed place. Indeed, the authors of the early republican period do not have a problem with Western-style education. In this example, to know a language or take Western music education is seen as desirable and therefore even praised. In this sense, the character named Neriman is not an ideal character because of the lack of social consciousness; however, she is also not an evil character like "a la Francas" who imitates the West. In *Ankara*, the development of the city is explained in detail. This development which likens Ankara to European cities is a source of pride. Modern architecture is preferred for the city.[245]

Development, modernity, science and technology of the West are included in Turkish national identity; however, the West is not only a model for Turkey. It is one of the significant others of Turkish national identity. Therefore, there are many negative narratives against the West in the early republican period. Orhan Koçak describes Turkey's modernization process as "Westernization against the West".[246] According to him, Turkish national identity was emerging between its Ottoman past and "the modern, scientific-rational civilisation of the West".[247] In this regard, the West as a modernization model constitutes an escape from its Ottoman past.

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[242] Adıvar, *Handan*.p.36.

[243] Adıvar.p.11.

[244] Adıvar.p.47.

[245] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.128.

[246] Orhan Koçak, "'Westernisation against the West': Cultural Politics in the Early Turkish Republic," in *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem, and Philip Robins, St Antony's Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010), 305–22, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230277397_16.

[247] Koçak.p.305.

In terms of foreign policy preferences and international relations, it was a decision between being part of Europe or the Middle East for Turkey.[248] Despite the fact that Turkey wanted to be part of Europe instead of the Middle East in this dilemma, Turkey's engagement with the West was quite problematic. The West constituted not only a model for Turkey but also an "other" for Turkish national identity. This dilemma created a heterogeneous discourse about the West in the early Republican period. Besides the positive narrations which situated Turkey as part of the West, there are many negative narratives which locate Turkey against the West, - in other words the other of the West.

Despite all the positive features depicted in the early Republican novels, these features of the West are often accompanied by disdain. The ideal Turkish characters in the novels know that the West is less than perceived. For instance, in the novel titled Ankara, the ideal Turkish character utters shocking words about the West. In the first part of the novel, the ideal character, Major Hakkı, mentions Western civilization. He says "Western civilization. It is one of the greatest lies among hundreds and thousands of lies made up by Europeans. Shame on us because we believed it like a religion."[249] It is an obvious example of a critique of the West. As it can be seen, in some circumstances, the difference between the perception and reality created a disappointment about the West.

The superiority of the West in the imagination of the characters emerges in some behaviors of the Westernized characters. For instance, in *Kiralık Konak*, Faik feels the need to be as decent, cautious and civilized as possible when he is with French women.[250] Implicitly, there is an understanding that Westerners know everything better and behaviors of the Turks should be adjusted according to them. As a matter of fact, the characters who try to become Westernized express this idea. In the same novel, a Westernized girl states that "I am more and more fascinated by the kindness

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[248] Koçak.p.305.

[249] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.41.

[250] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*, 58th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).p.64.

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and elegance of these French men."[251] In that part, the same character mentions her admiration of Italian men who know how to flirt well. This point of view implies that Westerners know everything better, so they should try to be like them and be very careful when they are together with them.

Likewise, in *Bir Sürgün*, the same point of view that people should be more attentive when they are in the West can be seen. In the novel, Dr. Hikmet goes to a coffee shop in Paris and feels diffident because of his behaviors and clothes which make him feel like he is not appropriate enough. He wants to order a piece of light crescent-shaped pastry he sees in the menu but gives up because he could not identify the pastry he wanted by its name. He'd much rather refuse to order than to say "Bring me 'this'" and give the waiter an opportunity to laugh at his ignorance.[252] The Westernized characters cannot feel confident when they are with Westerners because they consider Westerners as superior.

To overcome the perception of the "superior West", the authors mention the gap between reality and perception about the West. For instance, in the same novel named *Bir Sürgün*, which takes place mostly in Paris, two Turkish men discuss the arts of France. Mr. Ragıp mentions the freedom in France and Western superiority in terms of art.[253] However, according to Dr. Hikmet, who sees Westerners as superior at first, the play that they see is not superior than Karagöz and Meddah in Turkey.[254] In the other parts of the novel it is stated that:

> Doctor Hikmet no longer considered the word civilization to be synonymous with the words goodness, truth, beauty and progress. According to him, civilization is a way of life that a nation organizes in a certain period according to its own character, its own needs and the necessities of the land on which it lives. There are wooden mansions in China and stone buildings here [France]. Is it going to prove that Chinese civilization is inferior to French civilization?

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[251] Karaosmanoğlu.p.95.

[252] Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*.p.63.

[253] Karaosmanoğlu.p.89.

[254] Karaosmanoğlu.p.90.

> Or should we prefer the West to the East because the streets are wide in the Western cities and narrow in the Eastern cities?[255]

This quotation also indicates that there are some contradictions of the "model" image of the West among Turkish elites, besides being a challenge to Western superiority.

There are other examples of expectation-reality gaps in Western perception in the novels. Unlike his expectations, he finds the decoration of a French doctor's house unappealing. Every item seems very expensive but somehow lacking in refined taste.[256] Similar to this, Paris is also different from its image in his mind and he is surprised at the ugly sight of the Eiffel Tower.[257] Paris and the Western culture in general do not meet the expectations of Dr. Hikmet, although he is a pro-Western character in the novel. This point of view is coherent with the general idea of the early Republican period. Especially in the cultural and civilizational sense, Turkish elites think that the West is exaggerated in Turkey. For this reason, there is a tendency of disdain towards the West in the novels of that time. It is also a part of the othering of the West. Such disdain indicates Turkish "superiority" over the West by deepening the differences between the self (Turkey) and the other (The West).

Some "extreme nationalist" Turkish characters are aware of the "reality" of the West. In *Yeni Turan* by Halide Edip, Kaya is one of the examples of it. She becomes sick and needs a vacation. As in the other novels of the period, such as Handan, when a doctor advises a patient to take vacation, the destination was definitely Europe. Thus, she goes on a vacation in Europe with her husband. However, she is unhappy about her trip because she would rather to go somewhere in Anatolia.[258] In this context, the West is narrated as the other of Anatolia.[259]

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[255] Karaosmanoğlu.p.286.

[256] Karaosmanoğlu.p.106.

[257] Karaosmanoğlu.p.117.

[258] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.

[259] Most of the time, Istanbul is narrated as the other of Anatolia. See; Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban.*; Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara.*; Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.

## 3.4. West as the Other in the Early Republican Novels

There are some other negative narrations towards the West in the novels of the early Republican period most of which are related to Turkish national war, Western culture and modernism. It is interesting that, modernism was narrated both in positive and negative ways. Even though modernist approach is seen as necessary for development of the country, there are many negative aspects of it. For this reason, there are significant criticisms towards the West and Western modernity, which also puts the West against Turkish national identity. Thus, the West is both a part and the "other" of Turkish national identity in terms of modernity.

There are two main criticisms toward the West and Western modernity. The first one is that Western modernity causes materialism and rationalism which implies the lack of "spirit" for Turkish national identity. As spirit and emotions are essential parts of Turkishness, this criticism is significant. The second one is "false-Westernization", which is the imitation of the West without national consciousness. There is a common opinion about this criticism among the authors.

Although universality and rationalism are often considered together with modernism, these two concepts can also be referred to in history by other ideologies. However, Amin claims that universalism could only be achieved with the development of European capitalism, even though rationalism and universalism did not emerge as a result of European modernism.[260] For this reason, there is a relationship between European capitalism and universalism. Again, Amir explains this relationship by stating that "…no society had succeeded in imposing itself and its values on a worldwide scale [without using rationalism and universalism via capitalism]."[261] Therefore, rationality and universality became parts of European modernity. Not

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[260] Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism: Modernity, Religion, and Democracy: A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism*, 2nd UK ed. edition (Nairobi : New York: Pambazuka Press, 2010).p.152.

[261] Amin.p.152.

surprisingly, the critics connect rationality, modernity and universalism to the West, particularly Europe.

Westernization was not a problem in some aspects for Turkish founding elites since it was considered as "the 'universal principles of rationality, positive sciences and objective knowledge,' which happened to be embodied by Western societies at that time". In order to achieve these Western notions of "rationality, modernity and universality," Kemalist elites implemented many reforms in the early Republican period.[262] However, the same notions could also be undesirable for Turkish national identity.

The first criticism of Turkish authors in the early Republican period is about the relationship between the West and modernity. In that period, Westernization was also a question of modernization in terms of Turkish national identity. While criticism of modernism was used for the othering of the West, modernism was also seen as a part of the national identity. In this sense, modernity is an essential part of the Westernization dilemma of Turkey.

As the West is marginalized in terms of modernity, the perception is that it is not "our" phenomenon, and does not belong to "self" but rather to the "other". For this reason, the authors othered the rational, positivist and materialist side of Western modernism. One of the most obvious criticisms towards the West on this issue comes from Peyami Safa. According to Safa,

> Instead of a utilitarian and narrow concept of life derived from the positivist and materialist view, which believes that it deserves all the things regarding to the universe and human beings and that we live in 'the world without mistery' and believes in the uselessness and meaninglessness of metaphysical thought, the horizon of a metaphysical as well as a mystical understanding is about to be opened. The desire to give a new chance to the spiritual values, which are about to disappear, has started to spread thought of the main thinkers and moralists of the West.[263]

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[262] Akman, "Modernist Nationalism."p.38.

[263] Peyami Safa, *20. Asır, Avrupa ve Biz* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1976).p.254.

This point of view can be followed in his fictional books as well. For instance, a Westernist character Behiç says,

> I know Europe well, there is nothing there to amuse me. Every taste and every entertainment of Europe has a pattern and rules. Everything is certain, even women's hearts feel by certain rules. Even love has pre-drawn programs and certain phases. Europe is becoming soulless, and so is Istanbul, which imitates it.[264]

Similarly, in Son Eseri by Halide Edip, it is the Western man are described as "men who even put their love into protocol, or rather, put it in a certain style".[265] The undesirable and positivist aspect of Europe for Turkish identity is that everything works according to certain rules, and the stages and results of everything are certain as well. However, there are differences between the perspectives of authors on this issue. For instance, while Peyami Safa uses the criticism of modernism, rationalism and positivism to highlight the Eastern side of Turkey, other authors considered it authenticity in terms of nation identity. In other words, while Peyami Safa puts the Eastern spirit up against the Western modernism and positivism, the other authors, Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri and Reşat Nuri, criticize Western modernism and rationalism in order to underline the differences between Turkey and the West, and not the East and the West.

Indeed, the characters who choose a Western lifestyle are generally unhappy. Berna Moran claims that there is a pattern in Peyami Safa's novels: if a character chooses a Westernized lifestyle, he or she becomes unhappy at the end of the novel; if a character chooses Eastern lifestyle, then he or she is likely to be happy at the end of the novel.[266] This dynamic stem from the perception that the Western lifestyle makes people unhappy. The same perception can be seen in the novels of other authors. Oğuzhan claims that the imitation of the Western lifestyle has negative psychological impacts on people. According to Oğuzhan, Seniha in *Kiralık Konak* is unhappy because she

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[264] Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*.p.142.

[265] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Son Eseri* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2016.).p.104.

[266] Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış- I* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010).p.227.

reads many novels narrating the Western lifestyle and she becomes unhappy because she cannot have the life she reads about in the novels. [267]

The othering through the West is narrated mainly in two kinds of characters in the early republican period. The first one is Westernized characters in Turkish society (they are false-Westernized characters) and the second one is directly Western characters not only in their own culture but also in Turkey. Generally, there are idealized Turkish characters versus these characters, and the Turkish ones criticize them. Some novels contain many Western characters such as British soldiers or French women in Istanbul, French artists in Paris and so on. In these novels, narration of the Western or Westernized people is also different from the narration of idealized Turkish characters.

The first kind of characters, Westernized or false-Westernized, werenot uncommon in the early republican period. Since modernization did not start in the early republican period, there had already been an ongoing debate from the Tanzimat Period of Ottoman Empire up to the early republican era. The difference between modernization in the Ottoman Empire and that in the Turkish Republic was nationalism. According to Akman, "throughout the nineteenth century, Ottoman reformers pursued their modernist projects without presenting them in a national format. … It was only with the founding of the Republic in 1923 that a national format was adopted to pursue the modernist effort."[268] The engagement of nationalism and modernism as Western ideologies was led by Turkish elites.

In the Turkish national identity building process, the way of modernization and Westernization became a highly debated issue with a particular emphasis on how Westernization or modernization of Turkey should be. This question was certainly not new for the state elites as it had also occupied the agenda of the Ottoman Empire. The way of Westernization has been questioned in society and literature, as well as in the

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[267] Oğuzhan, "Türkiye'de Modernleşmenin Oluşumu ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Romanında Batılılaşma Olgusu : "Kiralık Konak", 'Sözde Kızlar', 'Yaprak Dökümü.'"p.128.

[268] Akman, "Modernist Nationalism."

political sphere. This type of false-Westernized characters emerged as an answer to the question of Westernization. Thus, before the early republican period, there were also false-Westernized characters in the novels.

One of the best examples of the problem of false-Westernization is "a la Franca" (*alafranga*) typing of Tanzimat novels. The theme is similar in Tanzimat novels: There is a man who imitates European people (specifically French people) and this becomes ridiculous because it does not fit the Ottoman man. Felatun Bey'le Rakım Efendi, Araba Sevdası and İntibah are some few examples of a la Franca in the Tanzimat Period. The superficial understanding of Westernization is criticized in this way. This criticism continued in the early republican novels because the way of Westernization remained problematic. However, in this time, a la Franca characters were not static or flat but rather dynamic characters in the novels, and national identity concerns were articulated in this debate.

Nationalist approach has changed the point of view towards a la Francas. Berna Moran argued that there are huge differences between a la Francas in Tanzimat Period and false-Westernized in the early republican period. For instance, the characters of 1920s novels of Yakup Kadri and Peyami Safa were different from the characters of Tanzimat novels, such as *Felatun Bey'le Rakım Efendi* or *İntibah*. Moran called this transformation "From the a la Franca Snob to the a la Franca Betrayer".[269] During this time, a la Franca characters who were not interested in the war in Anatolia, lived only for fun and love.[270] They were not ridiculous at this time but dangerous, therefore they were betrayers. Peyami Safa, clearly indicates this difference in his novel named *Sözde Kızlar*. In that novel, the words about a la Franca character, Behiç, are exactly parallel to this argument:

> She thought about Behiç. Is that the modern young man who was portrayed in cartoons in the newspapers? No way! Although the outfit was the same outfit, the style was the same modern style, the way he talked, walked and looked was

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[269] Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış- I*.p.259.

[270] Moran.p.261.

the same, he was not that ridiculous Turkish man who was called snob. He was rather the one who made fun of the ones around him as he understood their weaknesses and motive behind their actions and the one who managed to live as he wished, but not the fool who did not know what he was doing. Instead, he was highly intelligent enough to know how to live to fulfill his ambitions. This young man was not ridiculous but maybe a bit unconscious and also a horrible evil person with his sharp intelligence.[271]

There are many examples of a la Franca characters in the early republican novels. One of the most obvious examples is Leyla in *Sodom ve Gomore*. Leyla wants to have a close relationship with foreigners, especially with an English Officer, Captain Read Jackson. Necdet, who is an idealized character among Western and false-Westernized characters, criticizes the life of high society and supports the national struggle at the end of the story, and describes this relationship as "disgusting"[272] Not only Leyla, but also other characters who belong to the high society in the novel may be categorized as a la Franca. Via idealized characters, such as Necdet, the author narrates his opinion about the West and criticizes it. It is significant that as an idealized character, Necdet's opinions about the characters and cases are important for building the others of Turkish national identity. In this regard, Necdet's words about the West reflect the Turkish national identity and the Western images according to this identity.

According to Necdet, Westerners had already infiltrated Istanbul culturally except in some few "real Turkish" neighborhoods.[273] He cites homosexuality as one of the corrupt moral values brought to the city of Istanbul by the Westerners, for him, such practices are seen as "unnatural pleasures" that do not originate from the Turkish culture. [274] Interestingly, homosexuality is seen as a Western phenomenon. Although it is not a common theme in other novels of the period, it is one of the subjects in the novel Sodom ve Gomore. In the novel, homosexuality is present among Westerners or people who lead a Western lifestyle. There are four homosexual characters in the

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[271] Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*.p.73.

[272] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.

[273] Karaosmanoğlu.p. 193.

[274] Karaosmanoğlu.p.193.

novel: English officer George Marlow, his lover Atıf Bey (who is also the husband of Azize Hanım) and a lesbian couple, Fanny Moore and Nermin. American journalist Fanny Moore and English Officer Captain George Marlow are Westerners in the novel. Atıf Bey and Nermin are not described in detail but we do know they belong to high society. Homosexuality as a phenomenon in the novel is only for Westerners or false-Westernized characters.

In another example, a gay Englishman George describes homosexuality as an "oriental pleasure."[275] A Western character does not consider it as a Western phenomenon. Nevertheless, the author still distinguishes homosexuality and Turkishness because Turkey is not accepted as oriental in this context. Indeed, George does not view homosexuality as a Western cultrual phenomenon and even refers to some Ottoman Pashas and Ottomans in relation to homosexuality. For the West, homosexuality is perceived as an "oriental pleasure"; however, since Turkey is not oriental in that context, it may refer to the Ottoman past. Homosexuality is undesired for Turkish national identity, and as such presented as belonging to either the Ottoman or to the marginalized part of the West. An oriental, a Western, or a false-Westernized character can be homosexual, but not Turkish characters. The author likened Istanbul at that time to Sodom and Gomorrah with all its immorality, homosexuality and debauchery. This is precisely the reason why the author chose to name the book as *Sodom ve Gomore*. In addition to that, at the beginning of several chapters, the author refers to Torah and Bible, especially the parts referring to the story of Sodom and Gomorrah.

In *Sodom ve Gomore*, Necdet feels uncomfortable in his environment in Istanbul, and he turns into a nationalist character who criticizes the life of economic elites in Istanbul. Such transformations are found in many novels of the early Republican period, an example of which is Hakkı Celis in *Kiralık Konak*. The Western lifestyle in such novels are depicted as so vain that protagonists who have consciousness understand the reality and see the real faces of the Western and Westernized characters, mostly by gaining a nationalist perspective. In *Kiralık Konak*, the character named

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[275] Karaosmanoğlu.p.45.

Hakkı Celis has trouble with the immorality and vanity of his environment which leads him to change. He becomes a nationalist character, joins the national struggle and dies during the war.[276]

In general, the plot results in the characters' having a nationalist approach, such as Hakkı Celis in *Kiralık Konak*; however, there are also changes in the opposite direction. In Ankara, Major Hakkı turns from a nationalist character into an a la Franca character after the victory in the war in Anatolia. For him, "dressing up like a European, dancing like a European, living and having fun like a European … seemed as important as a great victory ."[277] A la Franca characters admire the West, but more importantly they look down on their own country.

While a la Franca characters are "stupid, ignorant and ridiculous" in Tanzimat period, they turned into "well-educated, intellectual and dangerous" in the early republican period.[278] According to Moran, the gap between what a la Francas want to be and what they really are makes them ridiculous in Tanzimat period; however, they are not represented as ridiculous in the early republican period because they can become who they want. Thus, in the early republican period, there is no humor in narration like there was in the Tanzimat period, but there is disgust and hatred towards them.[279] A la Francas give an exact answer to the question of "How Westernization should not be?".

The understanding of imitation of the West is criticized via a la Franca characters. On the flip side, there are idealized characters who also exemplify "How Turkey's Westernization should be?" In *Ankara*, Neşet Sabit gives an answer to this question:

> For the Nationalist Turkish Westernist, the most characteristic feature of Westernism is to include the Turkish style to the Westernism. … Westernization is a certain life principle. This principle could only fulfill its creative and founding role on the condition that it served the national will, the

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[276] Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*.p.214.

[277] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.106.

[278] Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış- I*.p.267.

[279] Moran.

national culture and finally the national morality. What is the point of taking the vices of the West in the name of being Westernized, carrying and adopting the elements that will cause the destruction of the Western civilization in the future to this young, pure homeland? On behalf of the West[ernization], we are trying to impose the conditions of production and consumption of a corrupt class ruling in the West.[280]

These words imply a kind of synthesis between the traditions of the West and Turkey; In the novels, the ideal Turkish characters who are expected to have this synthesis are presented as though they were Western characters with national consciousness. Authors of the early Republican period did not stipulate the differences between a Turkish nationalist / Turkish citizen and a French or German nationalist /citizen in the novels. Indeed, all of the ideal Turkish characters were depicted like they were European characters. For instance, ideal Turkish characters do not play the "*saz*", a traditional Turkish music instrument, but they play the piano. It is one of the significant controversies of the Western other of Turkish national identity. This controversy casts doubt on the idea that the West is the other of Turkish national identity.

A la Franca characters are significant for not only the criticism of misunderstanding Westernization but also construction of national identity since a la Franca characters are depicted as "the other" of the ideal Turkish characters in the early republican novels. In *Ankara*, Neşet Sabit and Major Hakkı as characters are depicted as being in contrast to one another. While Major Hakkı thinks democracy takes people from the bottom to the top, Neşet Sabit criticizes this idea by claiming that contemporary democracies often have intensified class distinctions and thus inequality.[281] This is also a critique of democracy as a Western notion. Similarly, there is a contrast between Leyla and Necdet in *Sodom ve Gomore*, or Seniha and Hakkı Celis in *Kiralık Konak*. Common features of these "a la Franca others" are that they admire the West and imitate the Western culture, they do not think about their country or national struggle, and they have good connections with the foreign (Western) characters in their country.

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[280] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.136.

[281] Karaosmanoğlu.p.114.

In order to be an ideal Turkish character, it is important to adapt Westernization correctly, but to remain authentic while doing so. In the novel Ankara, the ideal character of the novel Neşet Sabit criticizes the false-Westernized men by questioning how German engineers who came to Ankara for work differed from Turkish gentlemen. Similarly, he asks a woman if her husband's attitude and actions are the same as that of a European ambassador.[282] He explains that Westernism is not imitating the West or its style of entertainment. He says "above all, Westernism is a power of making, creating, establishing, transmitting and operating."[283] Therefore, imitatingthe West is undesirable for an ideal Turkish citizen. Instead of imitating Western lifestyle, clothing or entertainment, an ideal Turkish citizen should focus on the Western philosophy of development.

Even though a la Franca characters are portrayed as "the other" of ideal Turkish characters, it is hard to say that the West is excluded from Turkish national identity. According to Bernard Lewis, for Turkey, civilization means Western and the modern world -the modern world that Turkey should be a part of in order to survive.[284] The West was the source of the modernization for the construction of Turkish national identity. Çırakman has argued that "during the modernization process of the early twentieth century, Turkish self-image was constructed around the modernist and secular image of the West. This image, as constructed by the modernizing elite, reflected a leap towards becoming European by adopting a secular and modern way of life."[285] Nevertheless, this way of life was absolutely not the way of a la Franca's life in the early republican period.

A la Franca characters have been criticized not only for imitating the West, but also for undermining their own country. Admiring the West, these characters disapprove of Turkish people's behaviors from the Western perspective. They are undesirable

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[282] Karaosmanoğlu.p.143.

[283] Karaosmanoğlu.p.144.

[284] Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiyenin Doğuşu*, 7th ed. (Ankara: Arkadaş, 2014).p.360.

[285] Çırakman, "Flags and Traitors."p.1896.

characters who do not follow the patterns of ideal Turkish citizenship. Therefore, while ideal Turkish characters symbolize "the self", a la Franca characters symbolize "the other" against idealized characters for Turkish national identity. For instance, in *Hüküm Gecesi*, Mr. Hasip, an a la Franca character, does not even like the way people walk when he returns to Istanbul from Europe.[286] He also does not believe in the Turkish nation; with respect to the declaration of constitutional monarchy, he says, "unless the mind of the Turkish nation changes, it is useless to give it the form of administration you want."[287] The interesting point is the position of the character. He does not use the word "us" or "we" or "our nation"; thus, he distances himself from the Turkish nation by using a language that seems as though he was not Turkish. Indeed, he evaluates the Turkish nation's behaviors according to Western norms and rules.

It is a common phenomenon for a la Franca characters to dislike their own country when they compare it with the West. In *Bir Sürgün*, Dr. Hikmet criticizes Europe in Paris for various reasons. Westernized characters on the other hand do not accept the criticism of Europe. They reject it by claiming that it is hard to understand Western civilization [for Dr. Hikmet][288] They ask him, "Do you have such streets, monuments [in your country]? Can the words homeland or freedom be uttered in your country?"[289] These a la Francas consider their home country's tradition, understanding, order and education worthless. Dr. Hikmet's diploma of medicine is invalid for Westerns and for them as well.[290] It can be inferred that a la Francas' point of view is very close, even the same as the Western point of view. Since their way of thinking is "Westernized", they use Western norms and practices to evaluate themselves.

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[286] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016).p.121.

[287] Karaosmanoğlu.

[288] Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*.p166.

[289] Karaosmanoğlu.p.167.

[290] Karaosmanoğlu.p.98-99.

These examples indicate that they turn into undesirable characters when they accept the superiority of the West and underestimate their own country even when these characters do so to receive a better education or to contribute to their own country. The ideal pattern of Westernization in the novels is different from the a la franca pattern of westernization. When the ideal characters are examined, we observe that they are well-educated and engaged with the West but are also patriotic characters who do not look down on their country when compared to Western countries. Therefore, a Eurocentric perspective is an undesirable aspect of the West and it is a feature that does not belong to the Turkish national identity. The Eurocentric point of view of Western or Westernized characters constitutes the other of ideal Turkishness whereas education, development and the likes are adopted into Turkishness.

In some cases, there are direct oppositions to the rule of the West. The superiority of the West was criticized and it was offered to return to its own roots. In describing a national awakening scene, Halide Edip used the following expressions in *Ateşten Gömlek*: "we began to look like the oppressed people screaming oppressors, not like the people who wanted to educate themselves in the European view."[291] In the narration, European powers are labeled as oppressors, and a Turkish national awakening should resist the superiority of these Western oppressors and also avoid behaving in the manner of the Western lifestyle.

Similar to this example, in *Ankara*, Member of Parliament Murat Bey criticizes some parliament members who behave according to news of Times and Temps, which are two prominent Western newspapers, and praise Europe. According to Murat Bey, although these people hold Willson's 14 principles in high regard, all the troubles facing the world was caused by this senile American.[292] Indeed, Europe is clearly seen as an enemy.[293]

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[291] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Ateşten Gömlek* (Can Yayınları, 2018).p.36.

[292] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.41

[293] Karaosmanoğlu.p.42.

In addition to Eurocentrism, Western colonialism has also been criticized in the novels of the early republican period. While Turkey has never been colonized directly, the presence of the Allies in Turkey is seen as a part of Western colonialism in the novels on national struggle. For instance, in *Yaban*, it is stated that:

> The morsel of the poor was taken away because the rich people of some Western states would eat four meals a day. Many homes were burned, many homes were destroyed. Now the pink-skinned lord of Westminster is on a drag hunt against cracked-soled Anatolian peasants. What parts of these poor creatures will he eat? Who can get him a steak from his chest [among the peasants]? All skin and bones.[294]

The analogy of drag hunt is used to describe the Allied Powers' occupation of Turkey. Therefore, the quotation emphasizes inequality between the nations. Criticizing Western colonialism, the quotation also draws attention to the inequality in the World caused by the West as well. In the further paragraphs, it is also stated that not only the Turkish nation but all oppressed people suffer from Western colonialism.[295]

In addition to colonialism, Orientalism is one of the subjects of the novels written in the early Republican period. The Orientalist point of view of the West towards Turkey is also advanced in narrations. For instance, a gay Englishman named George says to an English Officer Captain Jackson Read that the officer reminds him of Oriental Ottoman Pashas because he wakes up late in *Sodom ve Gomore* by Yakup Kadri:

> Tell me, what does a pasha need to wake up? Should bondwomen, some of them with a silver coffee tray, some owith a crystal hookah, and some with different kinds of paste pots, and all more beautiful than the other, surround your bed?[296]

This orientalist point of view and stereotypical image of the East in the mind of an Englishman is described in detail. However, this image is directed to the Ottoman Empire rather than Turkey.

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[294] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).p.141.

[295] Karaosmanoğlu.p.141.

[296] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.45.

The orientalist point of view is also observed in the motivation of the Allies coming to Anatolia. A sentence by the officer of the Allies in an Anatolian village indicates that this orientalist perspective sees the West as superior: "The great European states have sent us to disenchant you. We cannot go anywhere without accomplishing this humanitarian mission."[297] In this example, there is a perception of Turkey among the Allies soldiers in Anatolia which is a revelation that the West has a colonial and orientalist point of view behind the sending soldiers to Anatolia.

As mentioned before, another source of controversy between Turkish and Western characters is the dichotomy between the spirit and the material. The tension between inclusion and exclusion of the West and Western values from the Turkish national identity can be unraveled through the relations of the characters, especially the relationship between the ideal Turkish characters and Western characters or false-Westernized characters.

The novels make clear distinctions between materialism and spiritualism by attributing the former to the West and the latter to the Turkish republic. "Spirit" comprises one of the core elements of "the self", that is the Turkish national identity, whereas materialism is viewed as a virtue of the "other", that is the West. In this sense, materialism-spiritualism distinction is one of the divergent points and distinctive elements of Turkish national identity. Contrary to Western materialism, Turkey is depicted as the spiritual Eastern side. For example, In *Zeyno'nun Oğlu*, the main character Zeyno writes these sentences in a letter: "It seems to me that the Westerners put dynamite on the foundation of the Western civilization. In particular, the material philosophy that makes the public fool, the mentality that sees civilization only by economics, science and machinery, the mind without spirituality!"[298] For example, In

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[297] Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*.p.185.

[298] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Zeyno'nun Oğlu* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2010).p.247.

*Matmazel Noraliya'nun Koltuğu*, spiritualism and faith are shown as the main sources of peace and the main character Ferit finds peace only with spirituality.[299]

Western materialism and Eastern spiritualism ia a common theme of the early Republican novels. In *Sodom ve Gomore*, Necdet, who experiences all the physical and materialistic pleasures of the West and even had mistresses, falls in love with Leyla when he returns to İstanbul and forms a bond with her which is characterized as "spiritual".[300] This bond is described as "a noble feeling that causes compassion, grace and weakness".[301] Relations with Western women are depicted as mere physical pleasures which connotes negative meanings of humiliation and superficiality. Relations with Turkish women on the other hand are considered deeper and beyond superficial physical pleasures. This depiction makes them more sophisticated and valuable in the novels and feeds into a narrative where the "self" is more powerful.

Western women or Westernized women in the novels are different from Turkish women in the same manner that Western men are depicted as different from Turkish men. Especially in Halide Edip's novels, the author presents a detailed imagery of Turkish women and their role as citizens. By so doing, Halide Edip creates the others of ideal Turkish women. One of the others of ideal Turkish women is Western women and Westernized women in Turkish society. For instance, in *Ateşten Gömlek*, Ayşe is an idealized Turkish woman character who goes to Anadolu in order to help Turkish soldiers and play a role in the national struggle. The narrator and main character of the novel, a Turkish soldier, writes about her in his diary:

> Because her name is Ayşe and she is from the city [other than Istanbul], the woman I feared to marry and fled to Europe, has a stronger personality than European women. She is a well-educated woman who knows language and her intellect is not for vanity but taken from the truth of simple life manners.[302]

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[299] Peyami Safa, *Matmazel Noraliya'nın Koltuğu* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2021).

[300] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.37.

[301] Karaosmanoğlu.p.37.

[302] Adıvar, *Ateşten Gömlek*.p.55-56.

He compares Ayşe and the women who imitate Europe and he finds Ayşe more genuine and authentic than them.

In other novels of Halide Edip, Turkish identity is separated from Western identity by comparing Western women and Turkish women. For example, in the novel *Raik'in Annesi*, how a Turkish woman should be different from a French woman is explained: "Whether or not she knows French, she shouldn't bargain in French in Beyoğlu. She shouldn't fake smiles, make awkward hand and head gestures and shouldn't walks to imitate French women".[303]

Another example is Mebrure in Sözde Kızlar by Peyami Safa. She is the only "Turkish" woman among the other Westernized women in the novel. The contrast between Turkish women and Westernized women arises particularly in their ways of entertainment and lifestyle in general. In the novel, Westernized women are not women who think but rather ones who indulge in dance and entertainment.[304] For example, Nevin, one of the Westernized women in the novel, attempts to imitate European makeup whereas. Mebrure, who differs from Westernized women, finds that way of life quite simple and superficial.[305] She is a conscious woman who doesn't see everything as fun. This presentation makes Turkish women superior to Western and Westernized women in the novels.

Even without idealized female characters in some novels, the narrative of Westernized and false-Westernized women is negative. For example, in Hüküm Gecesi by Yakup Kadri, Greek women are either prostitutes or similar to prostitutes.[306] Despina, the Greek woman who has a relationship with the main character of the novel, is one of them. In *Değirmen*, "the Bulgarian girl" is narrated as a wanton girl.[307] In *Sodom ve*

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[303] Adıvar, *Raik'in Annesi*.p.21.

[304] Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*.p.50-51.

[305] Safa.p.41.

[306] Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*.p.64.

[307] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Değirmen* (İnkılap ve Aka, n.d.).p.20.

*Gomore*, Necdet, the main character of the novel, finds British women unattractive and repulsive because they possess masculine features described as half male and half female in the novel.[308] Hüsnü Paşa has a French mistress in *Handan*.[309] Hasan cheats on his wife Azize with a Western woman named Dora in *Kalp Ağrısı*.[310] When Selma falls ill, "Katina, Eleni" (Greek women) "comfort" her husband in *Heyula*.[311] The othering towards the Western and Westernized women indicate the features of ideal Turkish women as well. In this regard, it is no coincidence that Turkish women are described as tender-minded, compassionate, beautiful, moral and sentimental.

There are some other examples in other novels of that period. For instance, in *Handan*, one of the male characters sends a letter to his friend in which he writes that "You know you don't have to take a girl, a woman who you find on the sidewalk in London as a wife to love."[312] It indicates that he finds Western women superficial and worthless.

Nevertheless, there are counter perspectives in the novels. In some cases, Western characters have a great sense of superiority. In *Sodom ve Gomore*, Madame Jimson, who is French, remarks to Captain Jackson Read who is interested in a Turkish girl, Leyla, that Turkish girls are quite superficial. She asks him "Will you find what you can't find in me in a Turkish girl? ... These are some lifeless babies who only know how to look nice. But when it comes to serious and deep relations, they are just disappointments."[313] This dialogue is important as it demonstrates the Western perspective towards the Turks. Although the author of the book, Yakup Kadri, did not hesitate to write down negative views of a Western woman about Turkish girls directly, his views may be inferred when the plot of the novel is analyzed. Since the Western

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[308] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.107.

[309] Adıvar, *Handan*.

[310] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Kalp Ağrısı* (Can Yayınları, 2019).

[311] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Kerim Usta'nın Oğlu & Heyula*, 2nd ed. (Atlas Kitabevi, n.d.).p.101.

[312] Adıvar, *Handan*.p.154.

[313] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.127.

characters meet Westernized Turks in the novel, it is not the perspective towards the "real Turks". In fact, at the end of the novel, a Western character confesses that "we leave Turkey without knowing any Turks, without seeing any real Turkish faces."[314] Thus, a Westerner's criticism of Turkish girls is actually towards "Westernized Turkish" girls in the novel. In this regard, this criticism coming from the Western type is consistent with the thesis of the novel that idealizes the image of a "real Turk". The Westerner's criticism is important because even a Westerner criticize the wrong Westernization in Turkey.

The assumed Western preference for material over the soul or spirit is considered as one prominent feature of the Western system. In accordance with the general trend in the world during the post world war period, the change in production and consumption relations in the West became the subject of the early republican Turkish novels. Income inequality, class conflict and over consumption were considered as part of the Western economic system. Although not directly phrased, the Western capitalist economic system is sometimes criticized in the novels of the time which in a way drew a boundary between the West and Turkey. In order to define Turkish national identity, to distinguish it from the West and to marginalize the West, every negative feature of the West has been compared with a positive feature in Turkish society, including in economic matters.

In the last part of *Ankara*, Yakup Kadri describes the next decade in Turkey in a utopic way. His depiction of Turkish workers serves as an example. According to him: "Turkish workers and Turkish engineers were not as unfortunate as their European counterparts." He claimed that the European proletariat, like the captives of Ancient Rome, lived in misery and disaster, and had lost their humanity due to hunger and alcoholism. However, he praised Turkish workers on the grounds that they were civil servants working only for their own country. [315] This example shows how the Turkish intelligentsia perceived Turkey's future. In line with this idea implied in the narrative,

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[314] Karaosmanoğlu.p.277.

[315] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.183.

Turkish elites imagined Turkey as a country that could establish an economic system protecting the working class –unlike Europe- in the future. Therefore, Turkish nationalism was perceived as having an economic system that separated itself from Europe. Thus, the European economic system is one of the marginalized aspects of the West.

In the same novel, income distribution of the Western economies is criticized. Turkey's Westernization would be undesirable due to the economic imbalance created by Western economic system. For example, Neşet Sabit, the idealized Turkish character of the novel, thinks that Turkish adaptation of the Western economic system was misguided. While walking in a dark street, he resents 250-volt light lit up through the morning at the high-society's house party. He thinks that this imbalance is a strange and unreasonable distribution of wealth caused by the Western civilization.[316]

There are other criticisms towards the Western economic system. In *Bir Sürgün*, Dr. Hikmet is refused treatment at the hospital when he falls sick which led to his Jewish friend remarking that

> Did you understand what the Western civilization is? It does not even offer humanitarian treatment to a solitary patient without money. However, it considers itself to be the source of charity, compassion and humanitarian ideas of social solidarity. There are clinics, sanatoria, hospitals, dispensaries all around. ... To what extent can the misfortunate of this city benefit from them?"[317]

The concept of social welfare within the Western economic system has been criticized with such examples. Therefore, the West, with its flawed economic and social welfare system, becomes the other of Turkish national identity.

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[316] Karaosmanoğlu.p.137.

[317] Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*.p.314-315.

Furthermore, racial discrimination is presented as a Western vice which makes it the other of Turkish identity. Again, in *Bir Sürgün*, the Jewish doctor says about the Western civilization that,

> As far as I can remember, I have felt this Jewish stamp as a stamp of hell on my skin even though I do not know what Judaism means. … Above all, we called ourselves French as a family. Who knows how long has our mother tongue been French. In spite of this, I have experienced every difficulty because of my religion.[318]

The West can be discriminative even to those who are well-adjusted to the culture and society in the best way.

Similar to the spirit and matter dilemma, there is a dilemma of reason and emotion in the novels. According to this dilemma, the West symbolizes reason and Turkey symbolizes emotions and feelings in most of the cases. Feelings and emotions always have positive meanings as a part of Turkishness in the novels. Many examples of the reason-emotion dichotomy can be seen in the novel of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*, which was first published in 1928. Because of the plot of this novel, which covers the period when Istanbul was occupied by the Allies, it is possible to tease out Western images in Turkish society via many Western characters. At first glance, the story looks like a love story between Leyla, who is a Westernized Turkish girl, and Necdet, who is questioning the high society's lifestyle in Istanbul while thinking about the struggle between the Turkish army and the Allies in that period.[319] However, the novel is important because of the narration of two competing lovers for Leyla: Necdet and Captain Jackson Read, a Turkish and a Western character.

In the novel, the significant feature of the "self", that is Turkishness, is that its emotional, irrational, and hysterical. Englishness (or in general, Western) is associated with logic and emotionless. Looking at the differences between Necdet and Captain Jackson Read, there is an obvious contradiction between them. Necdet is a Turkish

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[318] Karaosmanoğlu.p.298-299.

[319] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.

man and Captain Jackson Read is an English soldier. They are competing for Leyla, who is a Westernized Turkish girl. Leyla sees Captain Jackson Read like a golden icon with a lack of spirit but still the most valuable ornament in the saloon.[320]

As feelings and emotions are seen superior to the reason in the novels, the Western reason is marginalized and excluded from ideal Turkishness. For instance, in *Sodom ve Gomore*, Necdet as a Turkish man is emotional while Captain Jackson Read as a Western man is reasonable.[321] When Leyla compares them, she says that Necdet is "a strange and angry person who is no different from a madman" while explaining any incident. On the other hand, Captain Jackson Read is "devoid of any sentimental values".[322] As a result, a simple competition between two men for a girl turns into a competition between reason and emotions; in other words, the West and Turkey. As a false-Westernized character, Leyla prefers Captain Jackson Read to Necdet.

Similarly, false-Werstenized characters are presented as reasonable and materialistic. One such example is the competition between a false-Westernized character, Behiç, and an ideal character, Fahri, for Mebrure in *Sözde Kızlar* by Peyami Safa. Behic is a smart and tricky character who only cares about his physical pleasures while Fahri's "love" is real for Mebrure.[323] Unlike Leyla, Mebrure does not choose the Western and Westernized character. In the end, Mebrure marries Fahri and becomes happy. In these cases where the girl had to make a choice, the preference of girls for marriage is not just choosing a man, but also choosing a culture and civilization.

Moran has analyzed several of Peyami Safa's works and discovered a pattern. According to Moran, the plot of Peyami Safa's novels almost always follow the structure which includes three men and one woman. One of the men symbolizes the West and another symbolizes the East. The woman is torn between the Eastern and the

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[320] Karaosmanoğlu.p.142.

[321] Karaosmanoğlu.p.142

[322] Karaosmanoğlu.p.142.

[323] Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*.

Western man and is guided by the third man, a "wise" man who supports the Eastern man and also symbolizes the writer.[324] In the story between these four characters, the conflict between the Western man and the Eastern man actually represents the conflict of the East and the West.[325] Evidently, these novels of the early Republican period are a representation of the national identity and its others.

The other point is the depiction of characters representing the West and Turkey in the novels. The comparisons between the West and Turkey are narrated by certain characters in the novels of the period. One of the prominent examples of this comparison is portrayed in the novel entitled *Bir Sürgün* by Yakup Kadri. In this novel, there is an obvious comparison between a Western mother and a Turkish mother. This can also be considered as a comparison between a Western woman and a Turkish woman. Dr. Hikmet compares his mother and his French girlfriend's mother and observes significant differences between them. He sees his mother as more delicate, sweet and soft whereas the girlfriend's mother is tough and rough. His mother is unpretentious and dignified while his girlfriend's mother is insolent and vulgar.[326] These comparisons make Turkish women and Turkish mothers superior to Western women and Western mothers.

*Sodom ve Gomore* contains many Western characters who are either soldiers of the Allies, Western bureaucrats, or wives of those bureaucrats.[327] However, a noteworthy point is British hostility towards other Westerners. The male protagonist Necdet clearly indicates his hatred for the British nation. He thinks that British people have a peculiar bad smell.[328] It is one of the examples of othering and racist stereotyping in the novel. In addition to this, Necdet frequently likens English people to animals:

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[324] Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış- I.* p.219.

[325] Moran.p.221.

[326] Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*.p.240.

[327] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.

[328] Karaosmanoğlu.p.25.

> Friendship with an Englishman and shaking hands with an one seems extremely dishonorable [for Necdet]. Necdet can see and understand all the secrets of his grudge when he looks in the eyes of the Englishman ...In these eyes, it is possible to see the glance of a gopher snake, a gorilla, an eagle or any other predator, but not of a human being.... never![329]

There are also cultural aspects of the othering in the novel. For instance, Necdet refers to jazz music as barbaric.[330]

Hostility against British soldiers as seen in the novel *Sodom ve Gomore* is understandable considering the fact that they are enemy soldiers occupying Istanbul in that period. Yakup Kadri's novels mention American or French soldiers as well. However, the Greeks are strikingly important enemy figures in the novels.

The characters who have been in Anatolia during the Indepencence War of Turkey, especially hated the Greeks because they occupied Anatolia. For instance, in *Sodom ve Gomore*, Cemil Kami, who is a Turkish soldier fighting against Greek soldiers looks with disgust to all Westerners of the same race as Greeks.[331] The hate through the Greeks is generalized to the all Westerners in this case.

In *Vurun Kahpeye*, a similar attitude towards Greeks is observed since the novel takes place in Anatolia during the national struggle. The novel details the account of a nationalist Greek commander named Dynamos who comes to Anatolia with the Greek army. He is described as a racist who wants to kill every single Turk and commandeer Turkish property to the Greek.[332] He's known to tell his soldiers "Greeks! Kill the Turks, the enemies of your ambition and occupy Turkey!"[333] Besides the racist image of the Greek commander, he is also portrayed as dishonest and unfair. He is a trickster

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[329] Karaosmanoğlu.p.85.

[330] Karaosmanoğlu.p.109.

[331] Karaosmanoğlu.p.262.

[332] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Vurun Kahpeye*, 23rd ed. (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2018).p.76.

[333] Adıvar.p.76.

and has a vulgar character.[334] The commander is also described as a self-seeking person so that he even sees nationalism as a money-making venture.[335] In the narration of the novels of the period, not only the Greeks, but also the other Balkanian states considers Turkish as enemies. For example, in *Akşam Güneşi*, the main character Necati goes to French and meets some other expants in there and he describes his observations as folllows "Especially the young people of the Balkans, Serbian, Montenegro, Bulgarian and Greek worked not just like soldiers, but also as politicians and propagandists. In the first days, I saw that the Balkans got along very well on one point: Turkish hostility."[336]

Described by their hate towards Turks and their dishonesty, Greeks are one of the most undesirable and unlovable nations among the Western nations. However, there are frequent references to Greek mythology especially in Yakup Kadri's novels. For instance, in *Yaban*, there are references to Odysseus in Greek mythology.[337] In addition, the Anatolian villagers were likened to the Greeks in many examples by the main character: "[When they see me, Anatolian women] crouch down to the ground like mourning women in Ancient Greek", "Just as the Ancient Greeks call anyone except themselves barbarians, Anatolian villagers call every stranger wild"[338] These analogies indicate the dilemma of othering the West and the Greeks.      There     is also a difference between an American and a British. The West is not narrated homogeneously in this sense. In *Sodom ve Gomore*, there is a comparison between Western nations. For instance, the author writes: "Despite the honest and cold courtesy of British men, the unceremoniousness of the American and Slavic young people surprised Leyla"[339] For this reason, English men are better than American or Slavic

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[334] Adıvar.p.77.

[335] Adıvar.p.77.

[336] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Akşam Güneşi* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2014).p.37.

[337] Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*.p.137.

[338] Karaosmanoğlu.p.35.

[339] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.222.

men in the novel according to Necdet, who is the idealized Turkish character of the novel.

Greek, British, or French people are mentioned as the enemy in the novels of the early republican period. However, some Western states such as Germany do not receive such negative characterization. Yakup Kadri, Halide Edip and Reşat Nuri do not necessarily mention every country in the West. They generally refer to France, Britain and America when talking about the West. However, in Peyami Safa's novels, Germany is also a part of the West and German soldiers are not good characters as well.

In *Mahşer* by Peyami Safa, Nihad, a former Turkish soldier, sees drunk German soldiers in the street who had left a shop talking and shouting as though they were fighting. They ask for a match from Nihad in a rude manner.[340] After giving a match to the German soldiers, Nihad describes one of them as having a face as red as a watermelon and one with a nose as big as a wild animal.[341] The general view about the German soldiers is not positive. They are depicted as rude, ugly, disrespectful, drunk and bully. In the previous parts of the novel, a tavern filled with German soldiers is narrated in a similarly bad way. In that part, the singing of German soldiers is likened to vomiting and they are said to have ugly, short, fat and drunk women with them in the tavern. Nihad, looking at the street where the tavern is located, thinks that this is not a Turkish street because of the smell of the wine and beer, foreign songs and stone buildings in the dark street.[342] He thinks that:

> Like many streets of Beyoğlu, there was an unconventional foreignness, a fake and different character peculiar to the streets of foreign countries, -it does not seem gentle to the Turks. He felt a national grudge against this secret and victorious spirit, which made a Turk forget that he was a Turk in Turkey.[343]

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[340] Safa, *Mahşer*. p.131.

[341] Safa. p.132.

[342] Safa. P.125-126.

[343] Safa.p.126.

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It is clear that there is a comparison between Turkey and West as the other of Turkishness in the scene. Beyoğlu is portrayed not as a part of Turkey but rather a part of the West in the scene. Bad smell, foreign songs, and Western architecture all invoked the image of the West. Non-westernized neighborhoods of Turkey are narrated differently. In Hüküm Gecesi, Ahmet Kerim feels depressed and seeks a peaceful place and thus leaves Beyoglu for a more Turkish neighborhood. He wants to leave Beyoğlu, a neighborhood where people from different nationalities live more, to go to "quiet, clean Turkish neighborhoods". He longs for Turkish girls in white dresses who smell like white soap.[344] "A Turkish girl who just came out of the bath with her wet hairs wrapped in a white muslin" he desires.[345] When he comes to Nişantaşı, he feels the "national smell" consisting of the smells of lavender, Edirne soap and thyme.[346] This scene is noteworthy because the protagonist wants to escape Beyoğlu which represents the Western side of İstanbul to Nişantaşı which is more Turkish and desirable.

The Turkish neighborhood Nişantaşı is associated with its good smell. The color white is used to describe many things, such as white muslin fabric, white soap, white dress in the Turkish neighborhood to create an image of cleanliness and pureness. Also, the author mentions that the character imagines a Turkish girl who just came out of the bath which also evokes cleanliness. In this regard, Turkishness is related to being clean and pure. There are many girls in Beyoğlu, which is defined as a Western district of Istanbul, as well. However, these girls are different from the character's imagination of Turkish girls who are clean and in white dresses, living in Nişantaşı. Girls in Beyoğlu are narrated as such: "the faces were powdered, the lips were rouged, like they were looking for customers."[347] The author refers to the girls in Nişantaşı as Turkish girls. However, he does not use the words "Turkish girls" when talking about

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[344] Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*.p.95.

[345] Karaosmanoğlu.p.99.

[346] Karaosmanoğlu.p.96.

[347] Karaosmanoğlu.p.64.

the girls in Beyoğlu. As a matter of fact, there are many Greeks living in Beyoğlu in the novel.

The novels use places to symbolize different forms of identity. Inner and outer spaces, cities, houses, streets are designed to describe a civilization. For instance, Anatolia and Ankara represent Turkishness as in *Ateşten Gömlek* or *Yaban*. However, Beyoğlu, Harbiye and Nişantaşı represent the West. Istanbul is not considered as a whole in the novels: depending on the district, Istanbul can represent Turkey, the West or the Ottoman at the same time. For example, while Beyoğlu represents the West, Fatih represents Turkish. In another context, Istanbul represents the capital city of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, the spaces in the novels are also significant.

Spaces are important because they represent ideologies and cultures. Some Western cities such as Paris are frequently mentioned than others in early republican novels. France and Paris represent Western civilization while Anatolia represents Turkishness as the homeland of the Turks. For this reason, narrations on Paris usually focus on the negative sides of the Western civilization. The narration of Paris in *Bir Sürgün* by Yakup Kadri provides a good example. In the novel, Dr. Hikmet, the main character of the novel who is also pro-West, goes to Paris in order to be freed of banishment.[348] Since the novel takes place in Paris, there are many narratives about Paris and France in the novel. Yakup Kadri tries to emphasize the difference between image and reality about the West via a pro-Westernist character in *Bir Sürgün*. Dr. Hikmet had always dreamt of going to Paris, especially during his banishment in Izmir. He is however disappointed when he finally makes it to Paris as the city did not fit the image of Paris he had in his mind.[349] His excitement vanished as he discovered that the lamps were

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[348] Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*.

[349] Karaosmanoğlu.

not as bright as he had thought, the sidewalks were not crowded enough,[350] and the streets were occupied by the homeless and reeked of bad smell.[351]

In the same novel, there is a comparison between inner spaces of Turkish houses and French houses as well. Dr. Hikmet goes to his French girlfriend's house in Paris. The scene is narrated as below:

> …Hikmet who still couldn't get out of the clean, noble and compassionate atmosphere of the mansion where he was born and raised [in Turkey], [now lives] in this petty French bourgeois' house, in this room whose windows have not been opened for maybe a week, in the middle of the cheap staff that have not been dusted for maybe a week…[352]

While Turkish houses have a clean, noble and cozy aura, French houses are depicted as dirty and stuffy. The places associated with the West are narrated in comparison with the places associated with Turkey. This makes the differences clearer between the West and Turkey.

Within Turkey, there are also some places that represent the West. One of the well-known examples is Harbiye in the novel of Fatih Harbiye. In the novel, there is a contradiction between Harbiye representing the West and Fatih representing the East. Fatih is described as a "pure Turkish neighborhood" and the difference between Fatih and Beyoğlu is likened to that between Kabul and New York.[353] Despite the stark difference, Harbiye is described as beautiful. Unlike Fatih where people sit in front of coffee shops, mosques or restaurants watching the streets, Harbiye has shop windows which are as beautiful as flowers. Even the simplest object seems like a jewel there and the residents of Harbiye know how to walk and dress better. .[354] Fatih on the other hand is a simple Turkish district of Istanbul. Neriman, a young girl who is torn between

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[350] Karaosmanoğlu.p.55.

[351] Karaosmanoğlu.p.70.

[352] Karaosmanoğlu.p.240.

[353] Safa, *Fatih Harbiye*.p.30.

[354] Safa.p.28.

Fatih and Harbiye, compares these neighborhoods in the novel. At first, she does not like Fatih where she lives. For instance, she compares her experience with perfume sellers in both places. In Harbiye, the charm and aesthetic of the fragrance shop which Neriman likes are described in detail. On the contrary, her experience in Beyazıt in Fatih is dissatisfactory: an Arabic man sells oil and fragrance in small and big dirty bottles, and the smell of the fragrances makes Neriman sick. [355] However, the author still prefers Fatih to Harbiye. The idealized character in the novel, Şinasi says that "Who knows how many Turkish girls were seduced and will be seduced because of these shop windows."[356] Western civilization which promotes consumption and fancy lifestyle is undesirable. The West as an "other" is materialist and does not fit the Turkish national identity.

Idealized Turkish characters like Kaya in *Yeni Turan* do not like to be in Paris or anywhere in the West. Even ones that admire the West, like Dr. Hikmet in *Bir Sürgün,* become disillusioned and pessimistic about the West once they see the reality of the West. However, neither Kaya's anti-Western approach nor Dr. Hikmet's pro-Westernist approach are favorable. The favorable attitude as presented in the novels is to adopt the science of the West but avoid the culture and civilization. Hence, a character like Handan is a well-educated woman who knows both French and English,[357] and Kaya, as an extreme example, knows French and German.[358] The logic is that even Kaya who is anti-West knows several Western languages because it is part of intellectual life.

The examples demonstrate that the idealized Turkish characters in novels are Westernized in many ways. It is important to understand the elites' imagination of an ideal Turkish citizen. By defining Turkish national identity using the idealized

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[355] Safa.p.30-31.

[356] Safa.p.31.

[357] Adıvar, *Handan*.

[358] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.88.

characters, the West becomes the other of Turkish national identity. The othering of the West is narrated using Western and Westernized characters.

## 3.5.    Conclusion

The Western other is one of the main others in the early Republican period. However, considering that it is a civilization goal of newly-founded nation state, the West could not be totally narrated as the other. Even though the novels of the early Republican period involved both Western and Westernized characters in order to marginalize the West, some features of the West are praised and imagined as a part of Turkish national identity. The West comprises both desirable and undesirable characteristics for Turkish national identity. In this regard, there are intertwined arguments about the West in the novels of that time. On one hand, the West is narrated as a civilizational model for its features such as development, good education, science and technology; on the other hand, it is narrated as the other of Turkish national identity with some features such as materialism, immorality, rationalism and modernism. The contradictory and diversity in the narration of the West demonstrates that Turkey cannot define a clear Western other for its national identity.

# CHAPTER 4

# OTTOMAN OTHER OF THE TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

## 4.1. Conceptualizing the Ottoman Other of the Turkish National Identity

While building the Turkish national identity, defining the Other is at least as important as determining the Self. One of the significant Others regarding Turkish national identity is the Ottoman Other. Because Turkey emerged right after the end of the Ottoman Empire, the question of Ottoman legacy persisted, especially in the early years of the Republic. The question of Ottoman legacy was directly related to how Turkey modelled itself as a nation-state: Would it develop its national identity by embracing the legacy of the Ottoman Empire or by disregarding it? This question would define the Ottoman Empire's position and the narration of its history in the early Republican period.

Turkey did not reject the Ottoman legacy in every aspect of the Republic of the Turkey. Yurdusev claims that there is a continuity between Ottoman Empire and Turkey regarding institutions, political structure, demograph and international politics.[359] Accordingly, the basic institutions of the Turkish Republic have their roots in the Ottoman Empire. For example, more than 90 percent of the military bureaucracy and more than 85 percent of the civil bureaucracy of the Republic were taken over from the Ottoman Empire.[360] In addition, Yurdusev claims that the political structure of the Ottoman Empire began to transform from an empire to a nation-state from the

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[359] Nuri Yurdusev, "Osmanlı Mirası ve Türk Dış Politikası Üzerine," in *Yeni Dönemde Türk Dış Politikası*, ed. Osman Bahadır Dinçer, et al., Uluslararası IV. Türk Dış Politikası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri (Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2010), 47-54.

[360] Yurdusev.p.48.

beginning of the 19th century.[361] Moreover, the Republic of Turkey also inherited the Muslim population diversity of the Ottoman Empire.[362] Lastly, Yurdusev mentions about the continuity in international politics and international recognition. According to him, Turkey recognized and accepted all the agreements made by the Ottoman Empire.[363] Therefore, Turkey did not reject the Ottoman Empire in every aspect.

On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire is rececced in the narrations regarding the Turkish national identity. Even though the Ottoman Empire signifies the past of modern Turkey, the history and the roots of a nation are built by ideologies, people, and critical conjunctures. Most of the scholars such as Büşra Ersanlı, Erdem Sönmez and Nicholas Danforth agree on the fact that the Turkish Republican elite would rather dismiss the Ottoman past than integrate it in the foundation of the new nation-state.[364] Therefore, the Ottoman past becomes one of the prominent Others in the Turkish national identity.

According to Bora, the "old Turkey" perception shapes the concept of the Other in Turkish national identity because the concept of the Other is closely related to Turkey's historical and social reality. In this regard, the "old Turkey" refers to the Ottoman Empire, which was considered both a religious and old civilization in the early Republican period. As a civilization, the Ottoman Empire represented a backward, undeveloped and unmodern society. The old identity, i.e. the Ottoman Empire, was perceived as a ghost that suppressed the power of the Turk.[365] Tachau

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[361] Yurdusev.p.48.

[362] Yurdusev.p.49.

[363] Yurdusev.p.49.

[364] See: Büşra Ersanlı, "The Ottoman Empire in the Historiography of the Kemalist Era: A Theory of Fatal Decline," in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography, Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage (Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi Eds.)* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2002), 115–54; Erdem Sönmez, "A Past to Be Forgotten? Writing Ottoman History in Early Republican Turkey," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 2020, 18; Nicholas Danforth, "Multi-Purpose Empire: Ottoman History in Republican Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 4 (July 4, 2014): 655–78, https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2014.892481.

[365] Tanıl Bora, *Türk Sağının Üç Hali: Milliyetetçilik, Muhafazakarlık, İslamcılık* (Birikim, 2015).p.40-41.

argues that the suppressive image of the Ottoman was derived from the Anatolianist nationalism in the early years of the Republic. According to historical accounts, with the emergence of Ottoman Empire, the Turkish nation in Anatolia turned into a colony; Ottoman Sultans did not marry Turkish women and did not appoint the Turkish into government.[366] This implies that the Ottoman Empire's suppression of the Turkish nation was instrumental both for polishing the image of Turks and rationalizing the backwardness of the Turkish nation.

In line with this view, Zürcher claims that the new state (newly founded Turkey) reframed its Ottoman past as a foreign occupation and therefore sought its new roots in "a mythical- 'national' – golden-age that preceded the Ottoman conquest." This point of view made Turkey seek its origins beyond the Ottoman Empire. For Zürcher, this was also an identity shift from Muslims to Turks for ordinary people.[367] The shift is significant because it constitutes an essential component of the vision to create a national identity instead of a religious identity. Consequently, with its inherent religious and multinational identity, the Ottoman Empire emerged as one of the significant Others of the Turkish national identity.

The association of the Ottoman identity with the Muslim identity was not the only reason for the Ottoman Empire's marginalization regarding identity. For the Turkish elite, the Ottoman identity implied multinationalism and multiculturalism as a natural consequence of being an empire. Indeed, ideological approaches in the early Republican period showed that multinationalism was rejected while building national identity anew. Tachau claims that the Ottoman policy of granting concessions to different nations was rejected and that particularly pan-Turkist groups insisted on a mandatory Turkish language for other nations under the Republic.[368] Tachau explains

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[366] Frank Tachau, "The Search for National Identity among the Turks," *Die Welt Des Islams* 8, no. 3 (1963): 165–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/1570234.p.168.

[367] Erik Jan Zürcher, "The Ottoman Legacy of the Kemalist Republic," in *The State and the Subaltern : Modernisation, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran* (London; New York: International Institute of Social History, 2007), 95–110.p.100

[368] Tachau, "The Search for National Identity among the Turks."p.173.

that although pan-Turkism[369] was not part of the official policies, it influenced the government that included the Anatolianist nationalist group.[370] Affected by these exclusive nationalist approaches[371], the official policies of the Republic marginalized the Ottoman multinationalism, which was practical for a modern nation state-building as well. Rejecting the Ottoman past means rejecting the other nations in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire's multinational identity was excluded from the Turkish national identity for not being coherent with the idea of a nation-state.

To understand why the newly established Turkish state marginalized the Ottoman Empire, it is necessary to identify the aspects through which the Ottoman Empire was marginalized. Considering the reasons for marginalization, which means most of the time a rejection of the Ottoman past as mentioned above, there are three main aspects to be discussed regarding the othering of the Ottoman Empire in the early Republican period.

 First, the new state sought its roots in the period before the Ottoman because the Ottoman was not identified as Turkish. The Ottoman identity did not correspond with the identity conception of the newly established Turkish state. The Turkish nation rooted in the Ottoman would be a problem for historical narratives and would create a perception that positioned the new nation-state as a continuation of the empire. Besides that, it would undermine the image of the Turkish nation because it would still be associated with the late Ottoman period, which was a period of war failures. This

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[369] Pan-Turkism is defined as "a political movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which had as its goal the political union of all Turkish-speaking peoples in the Ottoman Empire, Russia, China, Iran, and Afghanistan". For details, see: The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Pan-Turkism," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pan-Turkism.

[370] Tachau, "The Search for National Identity among the Turks."p.175.

[371371] As Ersanlı claimed, there were different aproaches throug Ottoman Empire among historians of the early republican period. The "official line" is made by efforts of the convincing historians of the period. For more information, see: Ersanlı, Büşra. "The Ottoman Empire in the Historiography of the Kemalist Era: A Theory of Fatal Decline" in Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi, eds., *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, v. 25 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2002).p.115-154.

would be incompatible with the new national narratives, which consist mostly of success stories.[372]

Secondly, the Ottoman identity was thought of as a religious identity, i.e., Muslim, while Turkish identity was believed to be a combination of ethnic and civic identity, i.e., Turkish. This differentiation makes Turkish identity more homogenous compared with the Ottoman identity which is formed by a dominant Muslim component, which also includes civilizations of other nations. One of the biggest dilemmas that emerge regarding the othering of the Ottoman Empire is religion. Waxman argues that Turkey has a "complex and dynamic strategic relationship with Islam."[373] This relationship determines its relationship with the Ottoman past. According to Waxman, despite the secularist rhetoric of the Republican People's Party (the founding party of Turkey), Kemalism did not entirely eliminate Islam from the concept of Turkish national identity. Particularly during the population exchange in the early years of the Republic, religion became a criterion when differentiating people over ethnicity or language.[374] The Republic's complicated relationship with Islam affected its relationship with the Ottoman due to its link with its religious identity.

Thirdly, the Ottoman Empire was a multinational government like any other empire. However, Turkey attempted to build a homogenous Turkish ethnic state. For this reason, the multi-nationality of the Ottoman Empire was omitted from the Turkish national identity. In addition to that, the Ottoman geography was very wide, encompassing many regions such as some parts of Balkans, Africa and the Middle East other than Turkey. The regions within the borders of the Ottoman Empire were left outside of the borders of Turkey. Indeed, new nation-states had started to emerge in

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[372] The exclusion of the failures of the late periods of the Ottoman Empire creates a dilemma on the successes of the Empire in the previous periods. When the Ottoman Empire is marginalized totally, the successes of it were also marginalized. However, it can be seen that some novels of the early republican period tended to be inclusive for the first periods of Ottoman Empire. In Yeni Turan by Halide Edip, it is stated that Ottoman Empire was a Turkish state in that times. Halide Edib Adıvar, *Yeni Turan* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2018).p.36-37.

[373] Dov Waxman, "Islam and Turkish National Identity: A Reappraisal," *The Turkish Yearbook* 30 (2000): 1–17, https://doi.org/10.1501/Intrel_0000000013.p.9.

[374] Waxman.p.9-10.

these regions. Therefore, they were excluded from the Turkish national identity as well. Geographically, the Ottoman regions outside of the Turkish borders were an other of Turkish national identity.

## 4.2.    Origins of the Turks: A Challenge to the Ottoman Past

One of the most critical issues in establishing a nation-state is the historical narration about the nation, the narrative about the historical roots is an essential component. In the Turkish case, the Ottoman past constituted a complex question for the narration of the national identity: Was it a part of the "Turkish" history, or not?

Othering of Ottoman Empire was an official policy of Turkey in its discourses. Ersanlı analyzes the text books on history of the early Republican period in Turkey and finds that the Ottoman Empire was narrated a foreign empire that had no relation with the Republic of Turkey.[375] Indeed, the text books on history have less pages for Ottoman Empire compared to the other states before Ottoman Empire in Turkish history.[376] This signifies how the Ottoman Empire was officially excluded from the Turkish national history narration.

Because the Turkish elite desired to establish a Western, secular and national state, they attempted to disregard the Ottoman past, which was perceived as Islamic, traditional and backward. Where did the Turks come from, then? According to Alıcı, the rejection of the Ottoman past created an issue of rootlessness for national identity building. To handle this problem, the Turkish elite referred to pre-Islamic Central Asia.[377] At the time, there were many attempts to absorb this idea to the public and create a civic-ethnic nation. Alıcı describes this attempt as "the creation of a nation by design through the employment of the tools of the ethnic model with the aim of

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[375] Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de Resmi Tarih Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003).p.132.

[376] Ersanlı.

[377] Didem Mersin Alici, "The Role of Culture, History and Language in Turkish National Identity Building: An Overemphasis on Central Asian Roots," *Central Asian Survey* 15, no. 2 (June 1996): 217–31, https://doi.org/10.1080/02634939608400947.p.224.

achieving a Western type of national identity."[378] Portraying a homeland in Central Asia is one of these attempts.

Central Asia, as a homeland of Turks, provided fruitful sources for the building of a nation. This idea, including mystic and ancient roots, was elaborated within the Turkish History Thesis. Supported by many scholars, the Turkish History Thesis emerged as a typical narration in the early Republican period. According to this thesis detailed by Afet İnan:

> The Turks were a brachycephalic people, whose roots went back to Central Asia, where they had lived thousands of years ago. In Central Asia, they had created a bright civilization around an inner sea. When this inner sea dried up due to climatic changes, they left their original home and moved in all directions to civilize the rest of the world. They went to China in the East; to India in the South; to Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Anatolia, and Greece, and Italy in the West.[379]

According to Çağaptay, this thesis has four implications: Firstly, Turks are the ancestor of all brachycephalic people in the world; secondly, they were creators of many civilizations; thirdly, the Hittite civilization was founded by Turks and lastly, Anatolia's inhabitants were Turks.[380] Besides these implications inferred by Çağaptay, there is also another implication that excludes the Ottoman past of Anatolia from the history of Turkey and directly poses a connection between Anatolian Turks and "ancient Turks" in Central Asia. In addition, Ersanlı claims that the connection between the Republic of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire is narrated ambiguously whereas the connection between Turkey and Central Asia is narrated very strong.[381] It

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[378] Alici.p.222.

[379] Members of the Society for the Study of Turkish History (eds.), Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatlarına Methal [Introduction to the General Themes of Turkish History] (Istanbul; Devlet Matbaası, 1930). The quotation and translation are retrieved from; Soner Cagaptay, "Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 3 (May 2004): 86–101, https://doi.org/10.1080/0026320042000213474.p.88.

[380] Cagaptay.p.88.

[381] Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de Resmi Tarih Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*.p.133.

reflects the notion that Central Asia is perceived as the roots of Turkey instead of the Ottoman Empire in that period.

On the basis of all, it can be argued that for the Republican founders, Central Asia was perceived in civilizational terms and there was a deliberate linkage established between Central Asia and pre-Ottoman Anatolia presence of Turks.

## 4.3. Ottoman as a Religious, Eastern and Backward Identity

The second aspect of the othering of the Ottoman Empire lies in its perceived identity as religious, Eastern and anachronic. The Kemalist paradigm in the early Republican period associated the East with "a range of Islamic practices and beliefs."[382] Since Turkey's new orientation pointed towards the West, the Ottoman was perceived as a part of the East due to its religious, Eastern, and backward image. Philiou claims that "Indeed virtually anything associated with the Ottoman past came to be understood as backward and in conflict with the new and modern Kemalist Turkey, and therefore lacking in value."[383] This backwardness implies a pre-modern society as well.

The rejection of the religious (or Islamic) identity of the Ottoman Empire emerged in the form of revolutions in the first years of the Republic. Mustafa Kemal and other Turkish elites wanted to build a modern and secular national identity. To do that, they implemented some reforms, such as the abolition of the Sultanate and of the Caliphate. According to Mateescu, such reforms contributed to the construction of the modern Turkish national identity.[384] He claims that Kemalism eliminated the Islamic cultural component of identity in order to create a secular state."[385] However, the inclusion of secularism in Turkish national identity necessarily resulted in the exclusion of Islamic identity, which was a legacy of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the 'secularism vs.

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[382] Christine Philliou, "'Mad' about Kemalism: An Early Republican Satire," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no. 36 (2010): 195–205.p.195.

[383] Philliou.p.195.

[384] Dragoş C. Mateescu, "Kemalism in the Era of Totalitarianism: A Conceptual Analysis," *Turkish Studies* 7, no. 2 (June 2006): 225–41, https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840600714624.p.228.

[385] Mateescu.p.235.

religion' dilemma has become one of the most important debates regarding Turkish national identity and the Ottoman past is a part of this debate.

Çolak points out that Eastern Islamism, including both Arab and non-Arab Islamism, was positioned against Western secularism and claims that Ottomanism emerged as an anti-Western and anti-secular movement within this dilemma in Turkish politics.[386] Therefore, in the Kemalist era, the Ottoman Empire became a significant Other of the Turkish national identity since its political formulation included civic and cultural implications.[387]

There is a controversy between Westernization, including Western secularism and the Ottoman past. The single-party regime in Turkey had taken many official steps in order to provide Western secularism in the country. Aside from the abolition of the Caliphate, the government introduced The Law of the Unification of Education (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*), with the aim of establishing a standardized and secular curriculum in the national education. Thereby, closing all local and central dervish lodges (*tekke ve zaviyeler*) in an attempt to control Sufi orders (*tarikat*), and introducing a new secular Civil Code instead of Islamic law.[388] These revolutions can be considered as revolutions against the Ottoman past because they altered traditional Ottoman practices in society.

According to Zürcher, some reforms such as the replacement of the Arabic alphabet by the Latin alphabet, the adoption of the European clock and calendar, numerals, measures and weights, "limited the future generations' link with the Islamic world and its access to the immediate Ottoman past."[389] These constitutional and institutional changes served to build a secular and modern nation-state by complementing each

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[386] Yilmaz Çolak, "Ottomanism vs. Kemalism: Collective Memory and Cultural Pluralism in 1990s Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 4 (July 2006): 587–602, https://doi.org/10.1080/00263200600642274.p.588-589.

[387] Çolak.p.589.

[388] Umut Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State* (IB Tauris, 2010).p.10.

[389]Erik-Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*. 3rd ed. (I.B.Tauris,1997). Retrieved from Azak.p.11.

other. Azak claims that the reason for the rejection of the Ottoman past was the fact that the Ottoman institutions and practices were seen as "relics of the past and obstacles to progress."[390] Therefore, there is a strong relation between Turkey's goal of civilization or Westernization and the othering of the Ottoman past. So, the Ottoman past was seen as non-modern and non-progressive.

Westernization and secularization did not start in the early Republican period though: in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, secularism could be seen as a part of Westernization.[391] In this sense, there was a continuity in the progress of Westernization and secularism in the early Republican period. One of the significant issues in the othering of the Ottoman Empire had already started before the Turkish Republic. Even though secularism was noticed in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, it had long been associated with the religion and Islamic tradition. In this regard, the secularist and modernist movements and reforms in the Ottoman Empire were neglected by the Turkish elite.

## 4.4. The Ottoman Empire and Multi-Nationalism

The last part of the othering of the Ottoman past in the early Republican period concerns the multi-nationalism of the Ottoman Empire. Multi-nationalism was considered as a feature of the Ottoman Empire and the nations within the Ottoman borders were marginalized as well. Since Turkey wanted to be positioned as a modern nation-state, creating a single nation-based identity -i.e., the Turkish nation, was significant.

The homogenization of the population is an important component of creating a nation-state in a certain territory. The minorities and other nations within the Ottoman Empire became a question mark for the new Turkish state. Some scholars claim that not all minorities were treated equally by the state in the early Republican period of Turkey.

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[390] Azak.p.18.

[391] Tuncay Saygin and Mehmet Önal, "'Secularism' from the Last Years of the Ottoman Emprire to the Early Turkish Republic," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 7, no. 20 (2008): 26–48.p.27.

According to Yeğen, since the definition of Turkish citizenship includes both ethnic and political aspects, the ambiguity of the notion caused problems. For instance, there is an ambiguity in the classification of the Kurds, who are a Muslim and non-Turkish-speaking group in Turkey; hence are not entitled to the status of Turkish citizenship, and were instead considered as "prospective Turks" in that period.[392]

The modern Turkish state put some distance between itself and other nations that were once under Ottoman rule. The nations that once lived together in the same state had now become othered because of the nationalist movements that resulted from the foundation of new nation-states. The rejection of the Ottoman past also involves the boundaries between the nations of the Ottoman Empire. However, it should be taken into consideration that the definition of the "nation" concept has evolved over time. It had different meanings in the Ottoman period and in the early republican period of Turkey.

In the Ottoman period, the society was classified as a millet (nation) system. However, it was a religion-based classification rather than an ethnic or cultural division.[393] It means that the millets (nations) were composed of different religions. In modern Turkey, this had changed, and the meaning of nation was not considered as religion-based but rather as ethnic and cultural-based. In the first years of the Republic, there was confusion about what was national and what was not. For instance, immigration treaties with Greece and Romania in the early Republican period were still based on religion. In the agreement in 1923, it was stated that "Greek subjects, who belonged to the Muslim faith," would be exchanged with "Turkish subjects of the Greek-Orthodox faith."[394] Çagaptay claims that as a result of the agreement, Turkish-speaking Greek-Orthodox populations were sent over to Greece and the Greek-speaking Muslim

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[392] Mesut Yegen, "'Prospective-Turks' or 'Pseudo-Citizens:' Kurds in Turkey," *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 4 (2009): 597–615.p.597.

[393] Soner Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who Is a Turk?* (Routledge, 2006).p.2.

[394] *İskan Tarihçesi (A History of Resettlement)* (Istanbul: Hamit Matbaası, 1932), p.6-8-13. Retrieved from Cagaptay.p.83.

populations were sent over to Turkey."[395] It demonstrates that the meaning of the nation was ambiguous at the time. It is related to how Turkey located its national identity concerning national security and stability of the time.

At the time, as the boundaries of Turkish identity began to form gradually, the position of religion changed. Replacing religion, language took centre stage while defining the nation. This was also a requirement for conceiving a secular national identity. As mentioned above, this also in line with the exclusion of the Ottoman past, which was synonymized with a religious identity, from the Turkish national identity.

Once the language became an essential part of Turkish national identity, nations within Turkish borders who spoke a language other than Turkish constituted a question. Language had not been a matter of concern for the multinational Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was not only othered for having a religious identity, but also for having a multinational identity. The other nations under the rule of the Ottoman Empire were criticized and marginalized.

Consequently, the Ottoman Empire constituted an undesirable past for the Republic of Turkey. Ersanlı claims that in the early Republican period, the "official line" did not accept the Ottoman Empire as a "legitimate predecessor" of Turkey.[396] Therefore, the elites of the period aimed to build the Turkish national identity by distancing the Ottoman identity.

Based on the novels of the period, the reasons for the othering of the Ottoman Empire are as follows: Firstly, it was not a desirable reference for the Turkish nation. Secondly, its identity was still associated with a religious and backward identity, which was not compatible with the imagination of the brand new Turkish national identity. Thirdly, its multinational identity was also unfavorable for Turkish national identity since it

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[395] Cagaptay.p.83.

[396] Büşra Ersanlı, "The Ottoman Empire in the Historiography of the Kemalist Era: A Theory of Fatal Decline," in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography, Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage (Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi Eds.)* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 115–54.p.121.

was significant to differentiate the Turkish nation from the other nations. All of these reasons made the Ottoman past an Other for Turkish national identity.

## 4.5. The Ottoman Other in the Early Republican Novels

The Ottoman past constitutes one of the most important issues for national identity building process in the literature of the early Republican period. Even though most of the novels did not directly address the Ottoman Empire, the issues of the roots of Turks, religion and multi-nationalism were mentioned within the context of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the Ottoman Other of Turkish national identity became a subject of Turkish literature as well as Turkish politics.

The idealization of the Turkish characters and their perspectives about the Ottoman Empire in the early Republican novels can give an idea about how the Ottoman other was handled. In addition, the expression of concepts, ideas and objects identified with the Ottoman past provides important sources to understand how the Ottoman Empire was marginalized in the Republic.

Like the other "Others" of the Turkish national identity, the Ottoman Other is not clearly constructed and the narration of the Ottoman Empire contains some contradictions. Nevertheless, Tanıl Bora claims that the Ottoman Empire is the most distinctive other of the Turkish national identity.[397] Therefore, the position of the Ottoman Empire in terms of Turkish national identity is less contradictory when compared to that of the West. However, the national narration of the early Republican era still contains contradictions about the Ottoman Empire.

### 4.5.1. Othering Ottoman Multinationalism in the Early Republican Novels

The most obvious othering through Ottomans in the novels is multinationalism. The multinational synthesis of the Ottoman Empire is not appreciated and is rather portrayed as inharmonious in several cases. For instance, in *Sodom ve Gomore*, so-called Turkish coffee, Bukhara and Acem prayer rugs, cigarette chairs and bird nests

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[397] Bora, *Türk Sağının Üç Hali: Milliyetçilik, Muhafazakarlık, İslamcılık*.p.41.

in one place together constitute an "incomprehensible whole."[398] This synthesis of the Ottoman culture is not Turkish and also not harmonious in itself.

Inharmoniousness of the differences is also mentioned in other parts of the same novel. For instance, when Yakup Kadri describes a saloon full of people, he points out that various nations go into separate groups in the crowd, just like in the old Ottoman Empire.[399] In this regard, the author implies that the nations under the rule of the Ottoman Empire were not just disunited, but also separate and inharmonious.

Multinationalism of the Ottoman Empire is regarded as a phenomenon that oppresses the Turkish nation. *Hüküm Gecesi* by Yakup Kadri compares the value of other nations with Turks within the Ottoman Empire. A Turkish journalist, also the main character of the novel Ahmet Samim, thinks the media owners around him and realized that they are Greek or Armenian. Then he thinks that the owner of an important newspaper, who is also a parliament member of the Ottoman Empire, has more rights compared to Turkish citizens, also to Ahmet Selim, or even to other Turkish parliament members who have power in the government.[400] Therefore, the multinationalism of the Ottoman Empire was associated with the inequality and unfairness between the Turkish nation and all the other nations.

Besides the implications in the *Sodom ve Gomore*, and *Hüküm Gecesi*, there are also other novels that directly involve the expressions about the Ottoman multinationalism. For example, in *Yeni Turan*, a nationalist character Oğuz describes the problems caused by different ethnic groups within the Ottoman Empire. The multinationalism of the Ottoman Empire is likened to the Tower of Babel, a mythical tower in which people speak languages so different that they cannot understand each other.[401]

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[398] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017).

[399] Karaosmanoğlu.p.184.

[400] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016).p.49.

[401] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.37-38.

## 4.5.2. The Ottoman Other in Historical Narration in the Early Republican Novels

The place of the Ottoman Empire in Turkish history constitutes an important question in the early Republican period. In general, there is a tendency to exclude the Ottoman Empire from the narration of national history. However, some scholars argue that historical perspectives in the Republican era can differ based on subject and time. Danforth examines the historical narration of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey in his article named "Multi-Purpose Empire: Ottoman History in Republican Turkey". According to Danforth, the Ottoman past was formulated from the nationalist perspective in the Republican era and its meaning changed over time.[402] For instance, while the Ottoman Empire simply referred to the narrow political elites in the first years of the Republic (and not the entire society or era), the entire society and era was included in Turkish history in the 1990s. Danforth calls it an Ottoman nostalgia that consists of a fully-blown and Islamic image of the Ottoman Empire.[403] It indicates that the narration of the Ottoman past changed in terms of time and ideology.

Even the Ottoman past was portrayed as religious and regressive by the Kemalist ideology; some of the cultural traditions during the Ottoman Empire are narrated instead as part of Turkish national identity. Danforth gives two notable examples: Karagöz (the shadow puppet) was depicted as a folk tradition rather than an element of Ottoman culture, and Safranbolu houses were narrated as Turkish houses rather than Ottoman houses in the early Republican period.[404] Therefore, not all aspects of the Ottoman Empire are excluded from the Turkish national identity. However, the parts that were included and portrayed as part of Turkish national identity are stated as Turkish, not as Ottoman.

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[402] Danforth, "Multi-Purpose Empire."p.655.

[403] Danforth.p.655-656.

[404] Danforth.p.657.

The tendency to include some parts of the Ottoman Empire in the Turkish national identity creates a dilemma in the othering the Ottoman past. Even though most of the novels directly exclude Ottoman history, there are also some contradictions in the narration of the Ottoman Empire when the novels of the period are examined in more detail.

One of the most notable novels of the early Republican period in terms of the Ottoman Other is *Yeni Turan* by Halide Edip. In the novel, there are two rival fictional political parties: Yeni Osmanlı (the New Ottoman) and Yeni Turan (the New Turan). These political parties can be considered as expressions of the Self and the Other. While Yeni Turan symbolizes Turkish nationalism (i.e., self), Yeni Osmanlı symbolizes the Ottoman Other of Turkish national identity (i.e., other). In this sense, the programs and policies of these two rival political parties described in the novel can help to understand how Turkish national identity ought to be and how it differs from the Ottoman Other. In other words, it can provide an understanding of the differences between being Turkish and being Ottoman, such as being open-minded or being narrow-minded, being an idealist or being individualist.

Halide Edip separates Ottoman identity and Turkish identity. Ateş and Can quote Halide Edip's description of Turkish and Ottoman identities in *Ateşten Gömlek* as: "He is an example of new Ottoman, always kind, always thinking of the comfort and desire of those around him. I am not calling him Turkish. Because the new Turkish youth was a more aggressive, more fluctuant, more willing creature."[405] ; and claimed that these words depicted the transition from the Ottoman identity to Turkish identity.[406] In the other novels of Halide Edip, this distinction is sharper. For instance, being Turkish and being Ottoman are considered two different things in the novel *Yeni Turan*. In the novel, one of the prominent members of Yeni Turan and also the main character of the

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[405] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Ateşten Gömlek* (Can Yayınları, 2018)., as cited in Fırat Ateş and Gazi Can, "Konjonktürel Siyasetin Gölgesinde Kimlik Arayışı, Türk Kimliği İnşasında Romanın Rolü," *Gelenek*, no. 81 (2004), https://gelenek.org/konjonkturel-siyasetin-golgesinde-kimlik-arayisi-turk-kimligi-insasinda-romanin-rolu/.

[406] Ateş and Can, "Konjonktürel Siyasetin Gölgesinde Kimlik Arayışı, Türk Kimliği İnşasında Romanın Rolü."

novel, Kaya, claimed that she was Turkish while the leader of Yeni Osmanlı claimed that he was Ottoman considering the ideological differences between them.[407] This shows that Turkish identity and Ottoman identity were perceived as two separate or even opposing identities. Also, it implies that different ideologies differentiate identities in the early years of the Republic.

In *Yeni Turan*, the roots of the Turks belong to other states in Anatolia before the Ottoman Empire. For instance, there is a reference to the Seljuk Empire by skipping the Ottoman Empire. It is stated that the young people of Yeni Turan, the fictional nationalist party in the novel, try to revive Turkish art by making artistic pieces in Seljuk Turks style.[408] In this regard, the origins of Turkish art, as well as the Turks, date back to pre-Ottoman times. The national art does not refer to the Ottoman style.

In the same novel, one of the idealized nationalist characters Oğuz reminds of Atilla (the Hun), Genghis Khan, and the other "first Turks."[409] It is notable that there are no references to famous Ottoman Sultans such as Mehmet the Conqueror or Suleiman the Magnificent. This likening also indicates that Turkish national identity was being built by skipping the Ottoman history and creating an alternative narration of history.

The reference to the pre-Ottoman Turkish states in the Turkish national history narrative is not limited to the novels mentioned above. *Attila*, the only historical novel written by Peyami Safa, is about the Hun emperor *Attila*, in accordance with the Turkish national history told by Oğuz, the idealistic character of *Yeni Turan*. As an emperor of "Turkish" state in Europe, Attila is described as "the scourge of God" in the novel.[410] While the Ottoman Empire was excluded the Turkish history narration, the Hun Empire is included the Turkish national history narration in the early Republican period.

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[407] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.101.

[408] Adıvar.p.25.

[409] Adıvar.p.36.

[410] Peyami Safa, *Attila* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2020).

The narration of the Turkish roots in the novels is in accordance with the Turkish History Thesis in the first years of the Republic. Even though it is a common narration, there are some contradictions in the Ottoman narration in Turkish national history.

One of the controversies in othering Ottoman through the historical account emerges in the Ottoman Empire periods of the history. Most of the novels do not include any positive narration about the Ottoman Empire, for instance, *Sodom ve Gomore, Vurun Kahpeye* or *Değirmen*. However, in some other novels, the periods of the Ottoman Empire are evaluated in segments. While marginalizing the last periods of the Ottoman Empire, there are positive expressions about the early periods.

The Ottoman narration of Oğuz, who is the party leader of Yeni Turan and also one of the ideal Turkish characters in the novel of *Yeni Turan*, while talking about Turkish history in one of his party speeches, is a crucial example in this regard. In this novel, the nationalist character Oğuz makes the following statement about the establishment of the Ottoman Empire:

> For the first time, Greeks and other tribes gather around Turks who show such a strong and high ability to organize. … They establish the Ottoman-Turkish government with a visionary policy of justice and equality that has not been seen for hundreds of years, regardless of religion and sectarian difference.[411]

This is a very different narration of the Ottoman Empire in the early Republican period. On the one hand, Halide Edip refers to the Ottoman Empire as the "Ottoman-Turkish Government". On the other hand, she praises the policy of the Ottoman Empire. This kind of narration is a big challenge for the "Ottoman Other" type of narration of the Turkish national identity.

The following sentences in the novel also indicate how the first period of the Ottoman Empire was associated with the Turkish nation: "The essential element of this strong, fair and well-established government is the entire Turkish race; the others are gathering around it. And this Turkish race really has all the material and moral virtues for that

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[411] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.37.

day."[412] This expression reveals a paradox in the othering of the Ottoman Empire in the narration of Turkish national history.

Such narration is instrumental because it associates the military successes in the early years of the Ottoman Empire with Turkish history while avoiding the failures in the last years that can damage the superior national narrative. The historical narration that is used instrumentally in the early Republican period is explained by Danfort as follows:

> But Republican historians incorporated the Ottoman Empire into their nationalist narrative in far more sophisticated ways than this kind of blunt appropriation. Using what Busra Ersanlı has called the 'theory of fatal decline', they identified a 'Golden Age' lasting until the time of Sultan Suleiman followed by a period of stagnation and decline from the eighteenth century onward. They then went on to argue that through its Golden Age the empire had maintained its fundamentally Turkish character as well as the more enlightened approach to religion that the Turks had brought with them from Central Asia. Decline, when it came, resulted from the influx of 'foreign elements' and the increasing power of the reactionary ulema. This strategy allowed the Turkish nation to take credit for the early Ottoman Empire's cultural achievements and battlefield victories while escaping blame for its later failures in both realms. As importantly, it positioned the Kemalist reform as curing the diseases that had crippled the Ottomans.[413]

In line with the argument in the quote above, in Yeni Turan, while the nationalist character Oğuz praises the previous Ottoman sultans, he criticizes Sultan Suleiman and the sultans after him. He states that starting from Sultan Suleiman, the politics of Ottoman sultans became aimless and detrimental.[414] This is one of the most direct othering of the late period of the Ottoman Empire in the early Republican period.

Late period of Ottoman Empire was narrated as unfair, oppressive state where the intellectuals are exiled, the society was under surveillance by spies. For example, in Bir Sürgün, by Yakup Kadri, Hikmet was exiled. In *Damga* by Reşat Nuri, the

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[412] Adıvar.p.37.

[413] Danforth, "Multi-Purpose Empire."p.658.

[414] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.38.

injustices of the Sultan [Abdulaziz] and the evils of the spies are mentioned.[415] Similarly, the main character of *Gökyüzü* by Reşat Nuri states that the administration was corrupt and there was no freedom in the Ottoman Empire [in Abdulhamit period].[416]

Like Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri has positive narration through some periods of the Ottoman Empire. Yakup Kadri's narration of Istanbul in *Kiralık Konak* is one of the examples. In the novel, the Tanzimat Period of the Ottoman Empire is praised by describing Istanbul and the people of Istanbul in that period.[417] The novel narrates the people of Istanbul (especially men) in the last years of the Ottoman Empire in detail:

> Two periods took place in Istanbul; the first one is "Istanbulin" and the second one is "redingod". The Ottomans were never as graceful, pure and polite as they were in the period of Istanbulin. The greatest work of Tanzimat-ı Hayriye [Auspicious Reordering] is the gentleman of the Ottoman of Istanbulin. This outfit brought a new type of human to the world, and for the first time in this outfit, the Turks looked like a very special new nation between wild Asia and acrimonious Europe. This nation, which is simpler and more thoughtful than the northern tribes in terms of living and dressing, was manifested in the form of compassion in terms of feeling and thought.[418]

The men of the "Istanbulin" period, which is immediately after the declaration of Tanzimat, described above represent "the Ottoman politeness."[419] This period of the Ottoman Empire is appreciated in the novel. In this instance, unlike Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri focuses on the social changes within the Ottoman society instead of the military successes of the Ottoman Empire.

In addition, it is not a coincidence that the above quote refers to people of the "Istanbulin" era as both "Ottomans" (in the second sentence) and "Turks" (in the

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[415] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Damga* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1984).p.19-20.

[416] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Gökyüzü* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, n.d.).

[417] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*, 58th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).p.10.

[418] Karaosmanoğlu.p.10.

[419] Karaosmanoğlu.p.11.

fourth sentence) at the same time. It means that the author intentionally included the Istanbulin period in Turkish national identity and Turkish history.

The novel then defines the "redingot period" which is the period of the Ottoman Empire excluded from the Turkish national identity. The people of that period who come after the Istanbulin period, are described as "semi-henchmen, semi-*kapikulu*[420], hypocrite and vulgar"[421] In that period, there is no style of living, thinking, or dressing left. In addition, unpleasant and degenerated art nouveau and rococo were everywhere.[422] This period was purposefully excluded from the Turkish national identity.

The period of redingot in Istanbul constitutes the othered part of the Ottoman past for the Turkish national identity and Turkish history. The people of this period who are described as "semi-henchmen, semi-*kapıkulu*, hypocrite and vulgar" were not Turkish, but were referenced as Ottoman people in the narration. For this reason, Yakup Kadri does not use the word "Turks" in his description of the people of this period. Considering that Yakup Kadri uses the word "Turks" when he describes the people of the Istanbulin period of the Ottoman Empire, this is an important word choice that others the Ottoman based on periods.

These examples show that the Ottoman is not marginalized as a whole, but only some periods are accepted as part of Turkish history. Yakup Kadri's and Halide Edip's narrations of the Ottoman past in Turkish history are significant for demonstrating one of the big dilemmas of othering the Ottoman Empire. Even though the Ottoman past constitutes an important Other of Turkish national identity in national history, the early Republican novels do not exclude the Ottoman Empire as a whole. On the contrary,

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[420] Kapikulu is defined as a member of those troops directly under the sultan's command. The author uses the word because kapıkulu troops are expected to be loyal to the Sultan. Therefore, in this context, it refers to people who are obedient but in a negative way.

[421] Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*.

[422] Karaosmanoğlu.

some periods of the Ottoman Empire were praised and included in the Turkish national identity.

Although these examples show that the Ottomans were not always marginalized in Turkish history as the roots of the Turks, they are limited examples. The Ottoman Empire is generally ignored or negatively portrayed in the narration of Turkish national history in the early Republican novels. However, it must be said that there is confusion on this subject. In addition, othering Ottoman past in the national history narration is a common subject in the popular novels of the period.[423] Instead, the Ottoman past was marginalized for its regressive nature most of the time.

### 4.5.3. The Ottoman Empire as a Backward and Uncivilized Other in the Early Republican Novels

The Ottoman Empire was associated with backwardness and non-modernity while being marginalized. In the novels of the early Republican period, it is possible to find many examples of the "regressive and non-modern Ottoman" theme. Hereby, the progressive and modern side of the Turkish national identity is emphasized while the "regressive and uncivilized Ottoman" identity is disregarded.

Othering the Ottoman Empire by underlining its "backwardness" is directly narrated in some examples in the early Republican novels. In most cases, the Ottoman Empire consists of contrasts to modern Turkey. In some novels of the period, popular themes such as gender and religion are used to demonstrate Ottoman backwardness. Therefore, after giving short examples, gender and religion will be analyzed in detail.

While discussing the concept of "modern Turkey vs. backward Ottoman" in the early Republican novels, it is important to examine the debates on the Ottoman and modernism. Even though the image of the Ottoman Empire was not portrayed as modern in the novels, many scholars argue that modernism in Turkey was not a sudden

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[423] Not popular novels, but some historical novels of the period particularly focus on this issue, such as novels of Apdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu and İskender Fahrettin Sertelli.

process. The modernization process was not a rupture, but an ongoing process that started in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire.

The novels of the early Republican period focused on the backward Ottoman image and ignored the modern aspect of the Ottoman Empire. This subject is addressed, especially in the novels that tell a story about the Turkish Independence War. *Vurun Kahpeye* is an example of such novels.

*Vurun Kahpeye* by Halide Edip is one of the good examples of the dilemma of Ottoman vs. Turkish identity in terms of backwardness and modernity. The plot of the novel is set in a small village in Anatolia during the Turkish Independence War. There are two groups of people: one group are supporters of the Ottoman Sultan and the other group are supporters of Kuva-yı Milliye (*National Forces*) in the village. These groups differ with each other. For instance, the main character of the novel, Aliye, who is an idealist teacher coming from Istanbul, supports Kuva-yı Milliye and tries to set a modern and nationalist education for the children in the village. She dresses in a modern fashion (does not wear a veil)[424], and she eats on the table (not on the floor like in the traditional way.)[425] However, Hacı Fettah Efendi, who supports Ottoman Sultan, is a religious and backward character in the novel. This character is so narrow-minded that he considers Aliye, who is not wearing a veil, to be dishonorable.[426] He also calls the singing of the teacher with the children a sin.[427] The narration of supporters of Ottoman Sultans (and also Caliph at the same time) provides an understanding of the Ottoman identity of the authors of the early Republican period. In this context, the backwardness is associated with the religious in the Ottoman identity. For this reason, modernity and science in Turkish national identity are set against religion, backwardness and conservatism in the Ottoman identity.

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[424] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Vurun Kahpeye*, 23rd ed. (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2018).p.45.p.54.

[425] Adıvar.p.37.

[426] Adıvar.p.45.

[427] Adıvar.p.45.

Strict controversies are frequently used to emphasize the difference between Ottoman and Turkish identity in the early Republican novels. Another novel by Halide Edip that points out the Ottoman backwardness is *Yeni Turan*. As stated before, two rival fictional parties Yeni Turan (*The New Turan*) vs. Yeni Osmanlı (*The New Ottoman*) symbolize the identities of Turkish vs. Ottomans. In this setting, the politics of Yeni Osmanlı is neither modern nor rational but is reactionist and religious. In this sense, religion is conceived as a negative notion that includes backwardness. For instance, while the Yeni Turan party supports the education of women, Yeni Osmanlı party opposes their proposal for the education of women in the parliament.[428] Also, the leader of the party is narrow-minded. When the doctor examining his wife asked if she was working, the party leader Hamdi Pasha replied: "How can a married woman work?"[429] The party and the people that symbolize Ottoman identity are again not modern and rational in this novel. Instead, Yeni Turan party and its supporters are depicted more favorably compared to Yeni Osmanlı, especially on the issue of women's rights.

Women's rights and gender issues are significant identity construction fields where the Ottoman backwardness is demonstrated in the novels of the period. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the relationship between the narration of women and Turkish national identity and its Ottoman Other in detail.

## 4.6.    Women and Ottoman Other of Turkish National Identity

Gender issues have long been a subject of nationalism and nation-state building. Theorizing International Relations, feminist scholars such as Deniz Kandiyoti, Nira Yuval-Davis have investigated the relationship between nation and gender. Women belonging to a nation can be the subject of national narration. Yuval-Davis claims that dress, behavior and customs are important cultural codes in nation-state formation and

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[428] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.103.

[429] Adıvar.p.76.

gender symbols are an essential part of the process.[430] Considering women and gender roles as a field of nation construction, the novels of the early republican period use women's dress code or behavior to contribute to the narration of ideal citizens. Thus, gender symbols, behavior, role and dress code of women became significant features in the narration of Turkish national identity in the early Republican period.

Halide Edip particularly writes about the women question in her novels. Therefore, most of the examples for othering Ottoman using narration about women are retrieved from her novels. Idealized women in the novels show how a nation and gender roles are related to each other and how that differentiates Turkish women from their Others, especially Ottoman women.

The novels of the early Republican period associate the nationalism and "the rights and duties" of women in the society. For instance, In *Seviye Talip* by Halide Edip, the main character Fahir criticizes his wife Macide for being "too conservative and not using her capacity enough". He considers it a national problem and says that "the lack of women's participation in public life is a national deficiency".[431]

Describing gender roles and symbols of women's behavior or dress plays an important role in othering Ottoman. Many topics related to Turkish modernity and Ottoman backwardness are based on women's rights and their role in society. Therefore, woman rights have become one of the most significant issues in the debate about modernity and backwardness between Turkish and Ottoman identities. The previous examples indicate that the role of women in the society determines if the society is considered modern and traditional or backward. While the emancipation of women is emphasized in Turkish national identity as a condition of being modern, the Ottoman identity is associated with the pressure on women that limits their role in society.

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[430] Nira Yuval-Davis, "Gender and Nation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16, no. 4 (1993): 621–32.p.627.

[431] Elif Gozdasoglu Kucukalioglu, "The Representation of Women as Gendered National Subjects in Ottoman–Turkish Novels (1908–1923)," *Journal of Gender Studies* 16, no. 1 (March 1, 2007): 3–15, https://doi.org/10.1080/09589230601116109.p.8.

Tekeli claims that the subject of women's rights played an important role in the early Republican period because they were used as ideological and political instruments against the Ottoman Empire, and as "proofs of 'democratization vis-à-vis the West".[432] Therefore, the narration of women in the novels differentiates the Ottoman and Turkish identity. The ideal Turkish women are positioned against Ottoman women.

The narration of Turkish and Ottoman women highlights the contrast between the modernity of Turkey and the backwardness of the Ottoman Empire. The novels of the early Republican period elaborated on the difference between modern Turkish women and traditional/backward Ottoman women, particularly in the novels of Halide Edip. For instance, in *Yeni Turan*, the intellectual women of Yeni Turan Party contrast the women of Yeni Osmanlı. The visible differences between women with these two different identities are explained first. Since Istanbul symbolizes the Ottoman Empire while Ankara symbolizes the Republic of Turkey, women of Istanbul refers to Ottoman women in the novel. Two women of Istanbul are described as women who wear shoes that are difficult to walk in, tights and uncomfortable clothes. So, these women need help while boarding ferries or climbing up the stairs.[433] The perception is that Ottoman women are needy, preoccupied with fashion (and very fashionable) and not strong women. They are very similar to false-Westernized women in other novels such as *Sözde Kızlar* by Peyami Safa or *Yaprak Dökümü* by Reşat Nuri. However, unlike Ottoman and Westernized women, Turkish women dress modestly and in accordance to Islamic rules, are busy with education and are strong women, such as Kaya in *Yeni Turan*.

The most crucial difference between Turkish women and their Ottoman other is women's participation in society. While Ottoman women are described as women who live for themselves or their family and do nothing for the benefit of society, Turkish

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[432] Şirin Tekeli, Women in Turkish Politics, in Women in Turkish Society ed. Nermin AbadanUnat (Leiden: E.J.Brill) (1981):279-299. Retrieved from: Deniz A. Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case," *Feminist Studies* 13, no. 2 (1987): 317, https://doi.org/10.2307/3177804.

[433] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.128.

women work for society, making many sacrifices for their nation. In *Ateşten Gömlek*, Ayşe, as a Turkish woman, supports national struggle, attends meetings, and works at a hospital during the war. In *Ankara*, Selma Hanım also voluntarily works in hospitals where war injuries are treated. In *Ateşten Gömlek*, Kaya works for the education of the society. Working for the society is an important part of being a "Turkish woman" in the novels of the period.

Turkish women working for the society is not a phenomenon that emerged suddenly. Some women characters in the novels of the period transform and become aware of the need to work for the society; in other words, they become ideal Turkish citizens. Selma Hanım in Ankara is an example of this transformation. In the first part of the novel, Selma Hanım was an Istanbul woman who only thought about her clothing, her family and her individual life. The reasons for her dislike for Ankara at that time could provide clues in understanding what she cared about. In Ankara, she could neither find fine fabrics necessary for clothing[434] nor well-trained maids to host.[435] With these individualist concerns, Selma Hanım is an example of Ottoman women. Following her meeting and marriage to a Turkish soldier Major Hakkı, she gains national awareness and becomes a Turkish woman who cares less about herself and more about the society. The first and later narration of Selma Hanım demonstrates the contrast as well as the transition from Ottoman to Turkish women.

Another example that demonstrates a transformation from an Ottoman to a Turkish woman is Macide in *Seviye Talip*.[436] Kucukalioglu explains this transformation as follows: "Women, in the image of Macide, are portrayed as being mainly preoccupied with their household duties and indifferent to social and political matters, specifically to their rights."[437] This woman turns into a new kind of woman that is an ideal Turkish

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[434] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).

[435] Karaosmanoğlu.

[436] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Seviye Talip* (Can Yayınları, 2020).

[437] Kucukalioglu, "The Representation of Women as Gendered National Subjects in Ottoman–Turkish Novels (1908–1923)."p.8.

woman and citizen. Kucukalioglu calls it "the construction of women as national subjects."[438] The differences between the previous and later character of Macide can be considered as the contrast between Ottoman and Turkish women. Therefore, the discourse about women dealing with housework and not interested in society can be directed to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman society has been marginalized by evaluating it as backward in terms of women's position in the society. This marginalization contributed to the differentiation of Turkish identity from the Ottoman identity based on women's rights and the role of women in the society. By prioritizing national identity over individual identity, the process of national identity construction highlighted the social role of women. Therefore, the narrative of Turkish national identity is that women work for their nation.

Islam and Ottoman engagement is another topic in Turkey's relationship with its Ottoman past, especially in terms of the status of women in society. Anadolu-Okur claims that:

> Gokalp and the other "Turkists" shared a common belief that Turkish women's status declined as Turks gradually moved away from their traditional values and folkloric heritage. Henceforth, Turkists suggested that returning to cultural authenticity would retrieve lost patterns and restore women's formerly dignified status, which was eradicated, first by the advent of Islam and later through Ottoman social indoctrination, which denied freedom of speech and equal rights to women.[439]

As described in the above quote, Ottoman doctrines and Islamic rules in that period are associated with women inequality and oppression. Othering the Ottoman doctrines and Islamic rules or "Ottoman Islam" of that period in this manner is practical in two aspects. First, it supports the thesis of "great roots" of Turkish nation that precedes the Ottoman Empire. Second, it allows the othering of the Ottoman Empire and enables the emergence of a new interpretation of Islam, a construction field of Turkish national identity. The Ottoman practices and Islamic doctrines can be easily associated and

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[438] Kucukalioglu.p.9.

[439] Kucukalioglu.p.16.

marginalized to highlight the Turkish identity. Nevertheless, it created confusion among the authors of the period.

Analyzing the narration of the ideal Turkish women reveals that there are two main tendencies in the novels of the period. The first one draws a contrast between the modern, secular Turkish women and the religious, backward Ottoman women. The ideal women characters of Yakup Kadri can be an example of this difference. The second one marginalizes the Ottoman understanding of Islam and includes Islam in Turkish national identity in terms of women's rights. In this way, Ottoman Islam and Turkish Islam differ in interpretation; while the Ottoman interpretation of Islam is identified as unmodern and illogical, the Turkish interpretation of Islam is recognized as an interpretation that corrects the wrong practices in the Ottoman Empire such as women's role in the society according to Islam. Therefore, there is no need for marginalization of the religion. Instead, the authors included Islam in Turkish national identity in the narration of the women. The works of Halide Edip and Peyami Safa can be analyzed in this category. Some of the novels of Reşat Nuri also can be examples of this category, such as Çalıkuşu.

In early Republican novels, there is no consensus on the ideal Turkish women narration, such that there is an Islamic and conservative woman narration on the one hand and a secular and Western women narration on the other hand. The ideal Turkish women in Yakup Kadri's novels are not Islamic and conservative as in Halide Edip's novels. For instance, Yıldız in *Ankara* does not dress modestly[440] and is depicted as more "Western" compared to the idealized women characters in Halide Edip's novels such as Kaya in *Yeni Turan.*

The difference between the narration of women in the works of these two authors is related to the construction of Turkish national identity that they emphasize. While differentiating Ottoman women and Turkish women, Halide Edip emphasizes that the Turkish identity would definitely not contradict Islam. Yakup Kadri's concern is to

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[440] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.

differentiate the Western and the Turkish woman; therefore, he attempts to show that the Turkish identity would definitely not contradict modernization in terms of women's way of living, dress codes and improved role in the society.[441] In this respect, constructing Turkish national identity through the othering of Ottoman and Western identities is addressed according to the dynamics of the society and concerns of the authors in the early Republican period.

Scrutinizing the novels of the early Republican period reveals that Halide Edip emphasizes the new interpretation of Islam for Turkish women by describing the Islamic side of Turkish women in her novels. Timuroğlu summarizes Halide Edip's ideal women in the following way: "these women were educated according to European ideals but were still loyal to Muslim culture; they did not see westernization only in modal terms, they were immersed in both cultures and managed to find a harmony between the two."[442] This harmony arises from the fact that the female characters in Halide Edip's novels are educated women working for the society, while dressing and living according to Islamic rules. Therefore, the female protagonists in Halide Edip's novel can be evaluated as ideal Turkish women who are both Westernized (or in other words, civilized) and Islamic.

The ideal Turkish women in the novels of Halide Edip wear unusual and traditional clothes (such as Kaya's clothes and traditional shoes named "*çarık*") that are different from the clothes of both Ottoman and Westernized women; however, they perfectly fit the Islamic rules. Thus, while Islam is articulated in the Turkish national identity, the connection between Ottoman and Islam is questioned. This is because, going by the understanding of the real philosophy of Islam, Turkish women are more "Islamic" than Ottoman women. For instance, women do not need to escape from men, which is an exaggerated Islamic rule according to Halide Edip. In her novels, women can dress up

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[441] Öznur Akcalı Yılmaz, "Erken Dönem Cumhuriyet Romanı ve İdeal Kadın İmgesi," Daktilo1984, 2019, https://daktilo1984.com/forum/erken-donem-cumhuriyet-romani-ve-ideal-kadin-imgesi/.

[442] Senem Timuroglu, "Women's Nation from Ottoman to the New Republic in Fatma Aliye and Halide Edip Adıvar's Writing," in *Women Telling Nations (Eds. Amelia Sanz, Francesca Scott, and Suzan van Dijk)* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 431–50.

in accordance with Islamic rules, behave according to Islam and serve the society at the same time, like Kaya in *Yeni Turan*, Ayşe in *Ateşten Gömlek* and Aliye in *Vurun Kahpeye*.

One of the main contradictions about religion emerges in the new interpretations of Islam. Analyzing the narrations, Halide Edip's "Turkish Islamic women" are as radical as the Ottoman Islamic women. For instance, Kaya in Yeni Turan dresses modestly, and is never narrated as with feminine features.[443] Kandiyoti claims that:

> It may be that the very rigidity of cultural definitions of femininity helps redefine women in positions of power as "nonfemale," or at least "asexual," or that a variety of cultural mechanisms are specially mobilized to construct some cross-sexual encounters as sexually "neutral" (such as falling back into the kinship idiom that labels unrelated women as sister, aunt, and mother according to their ages, with explicit overtones of asexuality.[444]

The description of the ideal Turkish women in the novels of the early Republican period supports the argument by Kandiyoti. Sexually "neutral" female characters were narrated as quite modest in order to eliminate the femininity in their identity. Murat Belge emphasized the "mother" characters of Turkish novels and claims that a woman must be completely asexual to be respected in the Turkish-Muslim subconscious.[445]

The paradox occurs in the narration of Turkish-Muslim women in the novels. While Ottoman and Islam were associated and the Ottoman was marginalized, Turkish women had a more conservative appearance –especially in Halide Edip's novels- in order to emphasize their socio-cultural emancipation rather than their sexuality. This narration of women contradicts the secularism part of Turkish identity. It indicates that the connotation of Islam and Ottoman, secularism and Turkish identity can alter according to circumstances.

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[443] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*.p.32.

[444] Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated?"p.328.

[445] Murat Belge, *Genesis: Büyük Ulusal Anlatı ve Türklerin Kökeni* (İletişim Yayınları, 2008).p.46.

In the novels of the early Republican period, Ottoman was othered by comparing the traditional and backward Ottoman women with the ideal Turkish women. This marginalization was generally carried out in two ways. First, by overcoming the backwardness of women in the Ottoman Empire with the secular Turkish woman characters in the novels. Second, by associating the backward woman of the Ottoman Empire with Islam and creating Islamic but not backward Turkish woman characters in the novel. In any case, the narration of women and their relationship with the society has been used to construct Turkish national identity and its Ottoman other.

## 4.7.    Othering the Ottoman Islam

It is apparent that there is confusion on how to establish a relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Islam while discussing the issue of rights and role of women in early Republican novels. While defining an ideal Turkish woman, whether to use religion as a reference point or not is closely related to how the authors set up the relationship between Islam and the Ottoman Empire. Whether or not Islam is included in defining the Turkish national identity is not only specific to the issue of women's rights. In all other social issues, whether Islam is included in the Turkish national identity is an important question as well. For this reason, Islam plays a significant role in defining "the Other" as well as in defining "the Self".

Debates on Islam addresses the Ottoman other of Turkish national identity. Narrating the Ottoman Empire with its religious and backward society is a common phenomenon in the early Republican novels. Characters who supported the Ottoman sultan for religious reasons and opposed the national struggle, or bigot characters who misinterpreted the religion, were instrumental characters who helped to marginalize the Ottoman Empire by establishing the Ottoman-Islam relationship in the novels of the period. In *Ateş Gecesi*, being a Muslim is associated with being Ottoman.[446]

Before analyzing the relationship between Islam and the Ottoman Other of Turkish national identity, it is necessary to examine the relationship between religion and

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[446] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Ateş Gecesi* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, n.d.).

nationalism in general. Approaches to this relationship can provide a better understanding of the use of religion in building a national identity.

The relationship between religion and nationalism provides a complex study field for social sciences. Therefore, many scholars study the subject in different ways. Brubaker analyzes the ways of studying the relationship between religion and nationalism under four categories:

> The first is to treat religion and nationalism, along with ethnicity and race, as analogous phenomena. The second is to specify ways in which religion helps explain things about nationalism – its origin, its power or its distinctive character in particular cases. The third is to treat religion as part of nationalism and to specify modes of interpenetration and intertwining. The fourth is to posit a distinctively religious form of nationalism.[447]

In the categorization made by Brubaker, the third way of analyzing the relationship between nation and religion can explain the relationship between Islam and Turkish national identity in the novels. Accordingly, this account of analyzing religion is intertwined with nationalism. The first kind of intertwining applies to people of a nation who believe in a particular religion, such as Jewish nationalism.[448] The second kind of intertwining provides myths, metaphors, and symbols. Thus, it is possible to use religion in the nationalist discourse.[449] The attempts to separate Ottoman Islam and Turkish Islam in some novels of the period can be explained by the second kind of intertwining of religion and nationalism.

Considering that the Ottoman Sultan was also accepted as the caliph, it is not difficult to associate the Ottoman identity with Islam. In this case, the use of secular discourse to marginalize the Ottomans by associating them with Islam in the early Republican period is expected. Thus, Islamic Ottoman Empire versus secular Turkey provides an acceptable argument.

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[447] Rogers Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," *Nations and Nationalism* 18, no. 1 (2012): 2–20, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00486.x.p.3.

[448] Brubaker.p.9.

[449] Brubaker.p.9.

It is noticeable that the discourse of Islamic Ottoman past vs. secular Turkey is used in the novels as well. However, it may be a reductionist approach to say that the religion was used only in this context in the construction of Ottoman other and Turkish national identity, because this points to a rupture in the history. Such a rupture between the Ottoman Empire and Turkey has been contested by some scholars.

In the article titled "Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes", Şerif Mardin argues that there is continuity rather than a rupture between the Tanzimat Reforms and the Republic. According to Mardin, the modernization of Islam began in the nineteenth-century during the Ottoman Empire era[450] and continued in the modern Turkish Republic. Therefore, he claims that "the history of modern Turkey is not that of a conflict between republicanism and Sultanism, nor is it a history of the strife framed by Islam and secularism. It is a complex, many-tiered encounter between "traditional" forces and modernity that have interpenetrated and been transformed over time due to their propinquity."[451] In this regard, there are no strict boundaries between Islam and secularism, and there is a variety of ideas about Islam instead in the early Republican period. The novels of the period contain a different interpretation of Islam that is not only modern but also "national" Islam.

However, the official historical narration frequently refers to a rupture. According to Basmaz, there is a rupture between the Islamic Ottoman past and Turkey in the narration of history: "In line with the radical break with Islam and the Ottoman past, Mustafa Kemal imagined a pure pre-Islamic Turkic past which had not been corrupted

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[450] Şerif Mardin, "Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes," *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 2 (January 2005): 145–65, https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840500119478.p.147.

[451] Mardin.p.160.

by Islam and the Ottomans." [452] This idea raises the question of Islam in the early Republican period.

The responses of the authors to the question of Islam are diverse. While Yakup Kadri promotes secular identity instead of Islamic Ottoman past, Halide Edip offers a new interpretation of Islam, which is "real Islam" according to her. Halide Edip differentiates Turkish Islam and Ottoman Islam. The Ottoman interpretation of Islam is depicted by bigoted characters in her novel. The real or "authentic" Islam is not against progress and civilization.[453] Therefore, her ideal characters can be Islamic and civilized at the same time.

In *Vurun Kahpeye*, a religious character Hacı Fettah Efendi cooperates with the Allied Powers and he states that it is an Islamic obligation to stand against Kuva-yı Milliye.[454] Therefore, during the marginalization of Ottomans, there were attempts to break the link between Ottoman and the real philosophy of Islam. Instead, there was an attempt to differentiate the Islam of Ottoman and Islam of Turkey. This dualism of understanding of Islam is a usual theme of the novels of the period, especially in Halide Edip's novels. The intellectuals of the early Republican period object to the Ottoman understanding of Islam and compare the religious character of the Ottoman Empire and the religious character of Turkey. There are examples of these characters in *Sinekli Bakkal*.

*Sinekli Bakkal* by Halide Edip is one of the clear examples of two different Islamic interpretations. In the novel, there are two main Islamic characters. The first one is an imam and the second one is Vehbi Dede. While Imam represents the narrow-minded, formalist, oppressive and exclusionist understanding of Islam, Vehbi Dede represents the tolerant, broad and non-exclusionary understanding of Islam. For instance,

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[452] Ozgun Basmaz, ""The Rebellious Daughter of the Republic" or 'The Motherof the Turks': Re-Considering the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic Through the Politics of Halide Edip Adıvar" (2008).p.

[453] Basmaz.

[454] Adıvar, *Vurun Kahpeye*.p.42.

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according to Imam's understanding of Islam, the people who will go to heaven are completely different people who do not laugh, have fun, stay comfortable and make people comfortable.[455] On the other hand, Vehbi Dede is a Mevlevi dervish who gives music lessons to Rabia –Imam's granddaughter. A Westernized character compared these two Muslim characters in the novel and stated: "Imam is a completely different religious person compared to Vehbi Dede. He calls you [Peregrini, the character who was an atheist then and converted to Islam later] and even us infidels and does not come if we invite them."[456] The comparison of the Vehbi Dede and Imam is a comparison of Turkish identity and its Ottoman Other as well. In this sense, the path of the Turkish identity is definitely Vehbi Dede's more humanist and tolerant path.

The fact that religious characters such as Imam and the other characters who have the similar opinions are the followers of the Sultan is an indication that this understanding of religion is identified with the Ottoman. For this reason, the interpretation of Islam is one of the main marginalization subjects between the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

Not only *Sinekli Bakkal,* other novels of the early Republican period also address the subject of Islam. Many novels include an unfavorable bigoted character who also has a relation with Ottoman. Examples include Hacı Fettah Efendi in *Vurun Kahpeye*[457], Hacı Ibrahim Efendi in *Tatarcık*[458], Şeyh Emin and Ömer Efendi in *Ankara*[459], Şeyh Abdu in *Miskinler Tekkesi*[460], Hafız Eyüp in *Yeşil Gece*[461]. These characters are associated with the Ottoman and emerge as the other of Turkish identity. Thus, as one of the elements of creating the Ottoman Other for Turkish national identity, Islam is narrated with narrow-mindedly religious, intolerant and rude people. The Islamic

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[455] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Sinekli Bakkal*, 31st ed. (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2019). p.16.

[456] Adıvar.p.88.

[457] Adıvar, *Vurun Kahpeye*.

[458] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Tatarcık* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2018).

[459] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.

[460] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Miskinler Tekkesi* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2014).

[461] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Yeşil Gece* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2015).

characters who have tolerance and wisdom against these caricaturized religious characters represent the Islam of the Turkish national identity. For instance, Vehbi Dede is an ideal Islamic character with his tolerance, knowledge and virtue.

Halide Edip frequently uses the contrast between the tolerant understanding of religion and the bigoted understanding of religion. In *Vurun Kahpeye*, besides Hacı Fettah Efendi's distorted understanding of religion, Aliye's understanding of religion which embodies being fair and honest is highlighted as well. However, since Aliye's distinctive feature is not being religious, it is more correct to compare Hacı Fettah with *Dede*, the good religious character in the novel. For instance, Hacı Fettah Efendi and *Dede*[462] are totally different characters even though they are both religious characters in the novel. Dede has a spiritual face and a beautiful voice, which is a source of inspiration for people.[463] However, Hacı Fettah Efendi is a brutal and dirty person with a bad voice.[464] Thus, the contrast charters present more clearly the ideal interpretation of Islam for Turkish national identity.

Halide Edip also creates a mystic atmosphere that is narrated positively in her novels. Aliye longs for the illuminated ornaments found in Süleymaniye and under the domes of Beyazıt and the times when she was busy with other children during Ramadan in her childhood.[465] This atmosphere in Halide Edip's novels calls to mind the conservative neighborhoods in Peyami Safa's novels, such as Fatih in *Fatih Harbiye* and Cerrahpaşa in *Sözde Kızlar*. These "Muslim" neighborhoods are narrated as peaceful places. For instance, when Nihad returns from the army to Fatih, one of these neighborhoods, he describes the calm atmosphere with these words: "a yellow shrine light in the elongated shadows of the windows, a shrine silence in all the houses."[466] Therefore, Peyami Safa and Halide Edip's novels include positive narratives about

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[462] Dede is a title in Mawlawi order. Halide Edip specifically uses this Word since her good religious characters are generally Mawlawis who are also emphasizing the mysticism.

[463] Adıvar, *Vurun Kahpeye*.p.198.

[464] Adıvar. P.196.

[465] Adıvar.p.85.

[466] Peyami Safa, *Mahşer*, 26th ed. (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2016).p.13.

religion and contain descriptions of religious and communal way of life. They do not exclude religion as a whole. Instead, while Halide Edip criticizes the strict understanding of religion that she associates with the Ottoman Empire, Peyami Safa prefers to associate the positive images of religion with the Turkish and Muslim identity without directly othering the Ottoman Empire. For example, Belma's real name is Hatice and when she decides to return to her own roots, she says, "I love this name very much ... Because it is exactly the name of a Muslim Turkish girl".[467] Turkish and Muslim identities are intertwined in Peyami Safa's novels.

Another example of a positively narrated interpretation of religion is Selim Bey's understanding of Islam in *Handan*. Handan, the main and ideal woman character of the novel, appreciates Selim Bey's understanding of the Islam: "I love the way he talks about religion. God, whom he believes, is not like the god who punished so much, as they said in my childhood."[468] Similarly, in *Fatih Harbiye* (by Peyami Safa), Neriman's father is one of the ideal Islamic characters who are the model for Turkish national identity. Hence, these examples indicate that the dualism of the Islamic interpretation of the early Republican period points out the inconsistencies between Turkish national identity and its Ottoman Other.

Besides the tolerant understanding of the Islam, secularism was also employed in othering "the Ottoman Islam". Azak claims that the Kemalist regime used a new secularist discourse, which promoted a national Islam.[469] Therefore, the new understanding of Islam discussed above should be examined with the state-led secularism in the early Republican period. The state-led secularism had a relationship with the Ottoman Other that frequently narrated the Islam. Azak argued that some of the reforms for the Turkification of Islam removed Arabic language from Islamic practices, such as *ezan*, and these reforms also aimed "to cleanse Turkish culture from the influences of the Arabic language, which was associated with the Ottoman/Islamic

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[467] Peyami Safa, *Sözde Kızlar* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2018).p.195.

[468] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Handan* (Can Yayınları, 2016).p.51.

[469] Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey*.p.49.

past."[470] For this reason, secularism can also be considered as part of the othering of the Ottoman and its Arabic components.

In the novel, there is a secularist narration as well as the new interpretation of Islam. In *Ankara* by Yakup Kadri, Major Hakkı, the idealized character in the first part of the novel, says the following about Sheikh Emin: "Our enemy is not only Europe but also them [bigoted religious people like Sheik Emin]. One day, we will need to fight against them."[471] In the context of the book, Major Hakkı is one of the Turkish soldiers fighting against the Allies (so, he uses the word "enemy" to describe Europe) and he opposes radical Islam as he implies that after the national struggle, there is need to fight against radically religious people. Two Others can be observed in this narration. One is the West and the other is the Ottoman, which includes Islam (or radical Islam as republican intellectuals might say) as a value. Radical Islam means backward, intolerant and exclusionary understanding of Islam in this context. Although the Western Other is not certain since it is the "real" enemy in the period of the national struggle, the Ottoman Other is the more obvious other in this discourse as one of the components of the backwardness and Ottoman past. However, it was not clear whether they would put a new understanding of Islam or secularism in this context.

At first glance, a new interpretation of religion and secularism seem to contradict each other. Nevertheless, the promotion of a modern interpretation of Islam and secularism of the state at the same time do not contradict in practice. Early Republican novels portrayed religious people as individualists, not communitarians. Therefore, it is possible to distinguish between the public sphere and the private sphere. In the public sphere, the state and citizens are secularists; on the other hand, in the private sphere, individuals can be religious in their personal life.

Besides the common features of the radical religious characters in the early Republican novels, there is a divergence in the narration of the ideal religious Turkish character.

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[470] Azak.p.58.

[471] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.42.

One striking point is that almost none of the ideal characters in Yakup Kadri's and Reşat Nuri's novels is religious. Their novels have the same negative narration about radical religious characters; however, they do not include a positive narration of religion in place of negative characters. Therefore, there are no contradictory religious characters in the novels. Even the traditional characters of their novels have no relationship with religion. For instance, *Kiralık Konak* by Yakup Kadri and *Yaprak Dökümü* by Reşat Nuri have traditional characters; however, they are not religious characters. In *Yaprak Dökümü*, Ali Rıza Bey who is depicted as a traditional character is not a religious character and is described in the novel as "an unbelieving man."[472] In *Kiralık Konak*, there is no evidence that Naim Efendi is a religious character, although he is a traditional character as well.[473]

While mentioning traditional characters, it is useful to examine their relationship with the Ottoman Empire. Traditionalism, which can be defined as giving importance to social values, traditions, rules and norms in the early Republican era is not usually described in association with the Ottoman past. This is because the traditional is often praised, and it is undesirable to direct this praise to the Ottoman, the Other of Turkish national identity. Instead, the bond of the traditional is established with values such as being polite, honest, and respectful to people, not with the past, at least the Ottoman past. Focusing on Ali Rıza Bey, the traditional character of *Yaprak Dökümü*, it can be seen that his traditionalism has no relationship with the Ottoman except that it is related to values. To illustrate, Ali Rıza Bey says in the novel that "I am an old man. … I lived believing that people would be happy with things other than money."[474] This kind of traditionalism is reminiscent of Neriman's father in *Sözde Kızlar* by Peyami Safa. However, his traditional character is associated with the East (not Ottoman, again).

Nevertheless, there is an important example in which tradition and Ottoman are associated: Naim Efendi in *Kiralık Konak*. As a traditional character, Naim Efendi is

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[472] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Yaprak Dökümü* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2019).p.11.

[473] Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*.

[474] Güntekin, *Yaprak Dökümü*.p.10.

an Ottoman man with good manners and is described as follows: "The main virtues of those [people like Naim Efendi] are obedience and reverence. All of their manners and moral codes are only the meaning of these two words. However, he had two other fundamental virtues: He was as affectionate as a mother and as meticulous as a widow."[475] Naim Efendi is an important example of a good narrative about an Ottoman man. It indicates that the Ottoman Empire is not othered in all cases. In addition, it shows that there was no consensus among the authors of the early Republican period. While Reşat Nuri's good traditional characters are not associated with the Ottoman Empire, Yakup Kadri's Naim Efendi is both a good traditional character and an Ottoman person at the same time. Therefore, this narration can be accepted as praise for the Ottoman Empire. It is a challenge for the negative narration of the Ottoman Other.

The narration about Ottoman past is partly inclusive and partly exclusive as constructive of Turkish national identity. The inclusion of some parts of the Ottoman past and the dilemma of othering the Ottoman Empire is neglected in the analysis of the construction of Turkish national identity. Therefore, they are important narrations in its periods.

On the other hand, Halide Edip and Peyami Safa have a positive narration of some religious characters (or "good" religious characters) in their novels. At least, the ideal Turkish characters of their novels have some religious components such as Faiz Bey in *Fatih-Harbiye* by Peyami Safa or Vehbi Dede in *Sinekli Bakkal* by Halide Edip.

Ottoman regression is not limited to religion. Underdevelopment and material backwardness are significant features associated with the Ottoman Empire. It is directly and symbolically narrated in the novels of the early Republican period. For instance, Yalçın-Çelik argues that Tacettin neighborhood, an undeveloped neighborhood of Ankara, symbolizes the Ottoman Empire in *Ankara*.[476] In that

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[475] Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*.p.10.

[476] S. Dilek Yalçın Çelik, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu'nun Ankara Romanı Bağlamında Kemalist İdeoloji ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Bir Başkent İnşası," 2014, 15.p.101.

neighborhood of the city, there is no electricity. Also, old customs remain in practice. The developed and undeveloped neighborhoods of the city are compared in the novel, and it makes the distinction between modern Turkey and the old Ottoman Empire clearer:

> Neşet Sabit wanted to go to a mosque and participate a *mevlut* [an Islamic and cultural ritual] ritual in order to feel a sharp distinction of lifestyles in a city and even two close neighborhoods in a city. Tea party with dance and whiskey in Selma Hanım's house was only two or three kilometers away from this mevlut ritual with sherbet [sweetened fruit juice].[477]

This narration creates a contrast with the Turkish national identity. It emphasizes the modernity of Turkey by comparing it with the backwardness of the Ottoman Empire.

Considering that Tacettin neighborhood symbolizes Ottoman Empire, a notable positive narration of that neighborhood can be associated with the Ottoman Empire. It is stated in the novel that Selma Hanım misses her old life, her old neighborhood (Tacettin neighborhood) and neighbors many times when she lives in one of the new neighborhoods of Ankara, Yenişehir. She thinks that there was, at least, a commonality in misery and life was more humanistic in her old neighborhood. [478] It can be inferred that despite all the marginalization, the Ottoman Empire remains a past that is longed for some of its aspects. Tacettin neighborhood, where animals pass through the streets with men beating their wives, is also positively described in terms of commonality and humanistic life of the society. It creates a dilemma while othering the Ottoman Empire.

The narration of the Ottoman other of the Turkish national identity reveals another dilemma regarding its Western Other. While Islam associated with the Ottomans was marginalized, secularism as a Western concept was included in the Turkish national identity. Therefore, the West is used instrumentally in the discourse as follows: although the West is considered as the other when narrated alone, it is not the other

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[477] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.138.

[478] Karaosmanoğlu.p.149.

when taken together with Ottoman, and vice versa, it is part of the Turkish national identity.

The novels of Yakup Kadri can be used to exemplify the strategic use of the West in the narration of the Ottoman other. Although Yakup Kadri opposes the West in many aspects, he prefers the development and secularism of the West to the religion and backwardness associated with the Ottoman Empire. Yakup Kadri's ideal Turkish characters are nationalist and secular. Most of them are educated in the West and know Western languages, for instance, Necdet in *Sodom ve Gomore*.[479] Turkish women in Yakup Kadri's novels are also Western in appearance. The dressing styles of these women are different from those of the Ottoman women and are not described in conservative or Islamic perspective. Also, they are different in lifestyle. Not only can they read a Western theater piece like the women in Halide Edip's novels, but they can also act in a play (such as Yıldız in *Ankara*). They do not hesitate to ride with men (such as Selma Hanım in *Ankara)*. Of course, Western-style characters cannot directly address the Ottoman marginalization in the novels. However, the association of the West with secularism and the Ottoman with religion during the period is the main source of this marginalization. Therefore, Western and secular characters are not only important for determining Turkish identity, but they are also crucial for drawing its boundaries with the Ottoman identity.

Yakup Kadri puts a distance between Turkish identity and religious, mystic tradition. *Nur Baba*, the novel in which he narrates the relations and events taking place in a Bektashi lodge, and then criticizes mysticism, is notable. Although the discourse on Turkish identity is very limited in *Nur Baba*, the marginalization of mysticism and its exclusion from the Turkish national identity can be examined. The novel can be interpreted as a novel that narrates the personal relations of a small society, as well as a novel that focuses on the side of mysticism that influences people and makes them open to mislead.

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[479] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.52.

Yakup Kadri mentions the relationship between religion and national identity in *Nur Baba* in a ritual scene. In the story of the novel, Macit, who participated in the ritual because his beloved woman invited him, is a more rational character who can objectively evaluate what is happening in the Bektashi lodge. Macid is generally uncomfortable with the ritual but finds the musical parts of the ritual beautiful. The only good and meaningful thing is that they sing *nefes* together and harmoniously. *Nefes*, a Bektashi poetry, and its composition, is a special Turkish music for Macit.[480] He thought of the different faces of Turkish nation, which are the pagan Turks, the raider Turks Muslim Turk listening to the legends of Muhammad in the tent of an Arab, the tragedy of Karbala in the palace of a Persian, and fun-loving Turks who lost their identities.[481] According to Macit, he and the other members of the audience in the ritual symbolize the combination of all of these adventures of Turks. Nur Baba symbolizes fun-loving Turks while Macit represents sincere emotional Turks.[482] Macit refers to Nur Baba as a Turk but accuses him of not being sincere. He thinks that he is sincere, which makes him more patriotic. The narration of the scene is important for differentiating religious and national identities. Even if the Turkish identity engaged various religions at various times, it is a unique and independent identity.

This small part of the novel, which mentions the relationship between the nation and religion, is a summary of the general perspective of Yakup Kadri's novels. Because of his perspective that Turkish identity exists independently of religion, Yakup Kadri does not mention any Turkish interpretation of Islam while narrating his ideal Turkish characters, unlike Halide Edip's writings. Yakup Kadri's ideal Turkish characters are not necessarily Muslim or religious. Moreover, their understanding of religion was not mentioned in his works. In this sense, it is possible to say that Yakup Kadri chose the secularism option rather than creating a Turkish Islamic interpretation for the marginalization of the Ottoman Empire in terms of religion.

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[480] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Nur Baba* (İletişim Yayınları, 2016).p.101.

[481] Karaosmanoğlu.p.101.

[482] Karaosmanoğlu.p.101.

Peyami Safa differs from the other authors in his approach to religion. In Peyami Safa's novels, there is no mention of the influence of secularism, and there are not enough examples that allude to Turkish Islam. The author prefers to associate Islam to the East rather than the Ottoman. He also does not marginalize based on religion, so negative narration regarding religion is limited. Although some of Peyami Safa's novel characters criticize religion, they are antagonistic characters or confused characters who choose between the antagonist Western character and the protagonist Eastern character. Eventually, these in-between characters understand the positive aspects of the East and Eastern mysticism and in due course, refute the criticisms of the antagonist characters about the East and Eastern mysticism.

Reşat Nuri's outlook on religion is like that of Yakup Kadri. His novels include bigoted characters who undermine the perception of religion among people. He criticized the bigoted characters by questioning religion, especially in the novels *Yeşil Gece* and *Miskinler Tekkesi.*[483] *Yeşil Gece* is an important novel by Reşat Nuri in which religion is questioned. In the novel, Şahin Efendi, the main character of the novel, struggles with the backwardness of a small village of Anatolia named Sarıova. Religion is one of the main reasons for this backwardness. Besides that, Ottoman, Islam, and backwardness are strongly linked in the novel:

> The fire starting from Somuncuoğlu Madrasa, gradually expanding and burning the whole present time; moving towards the earliest times of the history of the Ottoman Empire, Islam and the prophets. In the places where it passed, magnificently ornate building facades were crumbled, domes were collapsed, nothing remained but piles of debris and skeletons. [484]

The novel references the Ottoman Empire and Islam in relationship to each other. Şahin Efendi is a character who fights against the fire mentioned in the quotation. The fire symbolizes backwardness. Hence, it is in a relationship with Islam; Şahin Efendi has no religion.[485] He is positivist and intelligent. Reşat Nuri often opposes religion

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[483] Güntekin, *Miskinler Tekkesi.*

[484] Güntekin, *Yeşil Gece*.p.33.

[485] Güntekin.p.49.

and science to criticize religious issues and glorifies characters who believe in science, reason and positivism. The main character in *Gökyüzü* is an atheist and does not believe in spiritual events.[486] Şahin Efendi in the novel Yeşil Gece is also a non-believer. To emphasize the role of religion on the backwardness, Reşat Nuri creates bigoted antagonist characters such as Zeynel Hoca, Hafız Remzi, and Eyüp Hoca against protagonist character Şahin Efendi in the novel. These characters are portrayed as evil because of their religion and have negative thoughts about everyone with views different from theirs. For instance, Zeynel Hodja is so malevolent that he wants to see people burning in hell.[487]

The bigoted characters in the novel have another important feature; they support the Ottoman Sultan against Turkish soldiers in Anatolia. The bigoted people in the novel are of the view that the National forces in Anatolia that fought against Greek soldiers during the national struggle constitute a bigger threat to the Ottoman Empire than the Allies. Their main concern is to protect the caliph rather than the nation or homeland. Therefore, they oppose Kuvva-yı Milliye (national forces) and support Greek soldiers in Anatolia for the sake of the Ottoman Sultan or caliph. In *Yeşil Gece*, during the Greek invasion of Anatolia, the only group who felt free were the bigoted people. So much that they could even get into the car of Greek officers.[488]

There are many examples of the bigoted characters who because of their support for the Ottoman Sultan during the national struggle, support the Allied powers against the Turkish soldiers. It is a common phenomenon that religious people support the Ottoman, while secular and intellectual people support the Turkish national struggle. Hacı Fettah Efendi in *Vurun Kahpeye* is one of such characters. The fact that these characters are depicted not only as religious and even bigoted, but also as supporters of the Ottoman Sultan against Turkish nationalist has important implications. Thus,

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[486] Güntekin, *Gökyüzü*.

[487] Güntekin, *Yeşil Gece*.p.27.

[488] Güntekin.

while the Turkish identity gained a secular appearance, Ottoman identity was associated with backwardness.

Even though religion is associated with the Ottoman Empire and is negatively narrated by authors in several novels, there are some examples that are incompatible with such narration. In this regard, the novels of Peyami Safa differ from the other novels of the period.

In the novels of Peyami Safa, the religious and mystical atmosphere that he created while describing the Eastern neighborhoods and the Eastern characters is positively narrated. In this regard, the narration of a religious man in *Sözde Kızlar* is notable. A scene between a *muezzin*, a religious official who calls to pray, and a young girl (and the narrator) can be considered an example of the positive narration of religion. In the scene, the young girl and the narrator worry that their house will burn down following a fire outbreak. She asks the muezzin, "will the fire burn our house too?". She tells the story as follows:

> The man said to me with his most compassionate look: "My daughter, my little one, fires only burn wood. Are we wood? We are human; we have spirituality, why should we be afraid of fire? ... Wherever we are, we can pray to God." You cannot imagine what a great vision these words gave me.[489]

One observes from the quotation that the muezzin is narrated as a warmhearted, wise and spiritual person. Peyami Safa describes religion not as negative, bigoted with restrictive rules but as a peaceful and resistant spirituality in his novels.

Peyami Safa uses peaceful and wise characters to demonstrate the positive side of religion. Abdullah Efendi in *Canan* is one of such characters that contribute to the positive image of religion. The character is described as "a truly devout, a true Muslim,

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[489] Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*.p.132.

a faithful man"[490] Similar to muezzin in *Sözde Kızlar*, Abdullah Efendi is also depicted a wise, peaceful man, and in whose opinion, everything has a reason by God's will.[491]

The positive image of religion also emerges in a different context; in a relationship with national identity. In *Sözde Kızlar*, protagonist male character Fahri cannot endure the immoral and dishonorable people who imitate the West and wants to shout out at them: "You are not like me, you are not from the Turkish and Muslim society, you entered this country like blind snakes that do not show their traces, you are not from us, you are not from any nation..."[492] This description is quite important to define the Self and the Other. Self is defined by the words "me" and "us", while the Other is defined by the word "you". The identity of the Self has two major components: the Turkish and the Muslim. The word "us" implies a national identity as well. Safa says, "you are not from any nation" after using the word "us", then the word "us" should be a nation. Therefore, one can imply that Islam and Islamic society are narrated positively and articulated in the national identity in Peyami Safa's novels.

While positively narrating religion, Safa avoids associating it with the Ottoman Empire, sometimes associating it with the East and/or Anatolia instead. In the same novel, after the young girl tells her story about the muezzin in the previous example, other people in the room talk about true believers in Anatolia.[493] The wording indicates that positively narrated Islam is associated with Anatolia rather than the Ottoman Empire. Thus, Peyami Safa neither praised nor marginalized the Ottoman Empire in his novels.

The examples mentioned above indicate that Peyami Safa has a different perspective on the marginalization of the Ottoman Empire. Although there are no expressions that clearly support the Ottoman Empire, there are also no expressions that marginalize the

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[490] Peyami Safa, *Canan* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2020).p.98.

[491] Safa.p.98.

[492] Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*.p.214.

[493] Safa.p.132.

Empire. Therefore, based on the examples from Peyami Safa's novels, it is possible to say that there was no consensus on the othering of the Ottoman Empire in the period. In addition, there were differences between authors about the ways to other the Ottoman.

## 4.8.    Conclusion

The marginalization of the Ottoman Empire and the approach of the marginalization is important in describing the Turkish identity and the Republican Turkey's position in international affairs. From an international relations perspective, Turkey's efforts to distance itself from Middle Eastern countries and strengthen its relations with the West is revealed in the narrative of the othering of the Ottoman Empire in the early Republican period. For example, while the Turkish identity was associated with modernism, a position itself closer to the West, the Ottoman Empire was associated with regression and religion.

While narrating the Ottoman other of the Turkish national identity, some common features emerge in the novels of the early Republican period. The first feature is that, in general, the Ottoman Empire is either ignored or mentioned negatively when narrating Turkish history in the novels. Nevertheless, some periods of the Ottoman Empire are mentioned positively and associated with Turkish identity in some novels. That "good" period of the Ottoman Empire can change depending on the author or the issue.

Secondly, reference to Ottoman backwardness is one of the common themes of the early Republican novels. The Ottoman Empire is marginalized because it is backward and unmodern. The backwardness and non-modernity of the Ottoman Empire are discussed in the context of gender and religion. There is no consensus on the Ottoman backwardness among authors of the period. Each author's approaches towards religion and gender differ, leading to the emergence of different narration towards Ottoman other of Turkish national identity.

Thirdly, the Ottoman is generally marginalized in terms of multinationalism in the novels of the early Republican period. Since society has been experiencing a transition from an empire to a nation-state, the authors emphasize Turkish identity by excluding other nations under the Ottoman Empire.

Considering the narration of the Ottoman Other, one of the most striking points is that there is no consensus among the writers in the Ottoman (Other) narrative, and the narrative of Turkishness (Self). Instead of a strong Other narrative, there is a narrative of contradictions and differences. Therefore, even if the Turkish identity is decoupled from the Ottoman Empire, it is hard to come across clear lines on every issue.

# CHAPTER 5

## NON-TURKIFIED PEOPLE AS THE OTHER OF TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

In the construction of national ident66ity through the context of self and the other, the narration of identities that are perceived as other can change. For national identities, this may be other nations as well as the past. Indeed, previous chapters discuss how the West and the Ottoman past are narrated as the other in the construction of Turkish national identity. While the West refers to civilization and particular national identities in some cases, the Ottoman refers to the past of the Turkish nation.

The others of Turkish national identity are not limited to the West and the Ottoman Empire. In the novels of the early Republican period, the people living in Anatolia or Istanbul, who do not comport themselves with the ideal Turkish citizen narrative, also constitute the other of the Turkish national identity.[494] Such characters in the novels embody examples of how the ideal Turkish citizen should not be. Therefore, there are essential differences between these characters and ideal Turkish characters, just like Western and Ottoman characters. This difference sharpens the boundaries of the Turkish national identity. For this reason, non-Turkified people are also a remarkable other of the Turkish national identity in the narration of the self and the other.

However, non-Turkified other has an essential difference from the Western and Ottoman other. These are separate identities and it is not possible for those who have these identities to be fully included in the Turkish identity. Although, the people who are narrated as non-Turkified other can be Turk if they transform into Turkish by gaining national consciousness. The otherness of the non-Turkified people derives

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[494] It is possible to find many othered identities in the early Republican period in Turkey. However, this thesis focuses on three of them considering the characters and narrations in the novels of the period.

from their incomplete or deviated identity acquisition process. For this reason, unlike the Western Other and the Ottoman Other, non-Turkified other have the chance to transform into the "Self" by shaping undesirable features, gaining consciousness and awareness necessary to be an ideal Turkish citizen.

Generally, two kinds of non-Turkified others appear in the early Republican period. The first kind is the Anatolian people (mostly, peasants) who do not have national consciousness. The second kind is the economic elites pursuing their interest and do not take notice of the problems of their country. The common feature of both kinds of non-Turkified others is that they do not have national consciousness.

The peasants in Anatolia are generally the subject of novels set in the period of the national struggle. The novels' fiction usually includes an educated main character from Istanbul who comes to Anatolia and participates in the national struggle, uneducated people in the village, and opponents of the Turkish national struggle and supporters of the Ottoman sultan and Allied powers. The fiction is based on the conflict between the main ideal Turkish character and opponents of the Turkish national struggle in the villages. Such novels also include prudent peasants, who support the protagonist, and ignorant villagers who support the antagonist. *Vurun Kahpeye* and *Ateşten Gömek* by Halide Edip, *Yeşil Gece* by Reşat Nuri, *Yaban* by Yakup Kadri are examples of fiction novels in the early Republican period.

Apart from the novels that focus on the national struggle, the fiction of other novels, set in Anatolia, focus on the life and personal relations of the main characters who moved to Anatolia in search of jobs such as teaching or civil service. In these fictions, Anatolia is generally narrated like a hardship location where the characters work by making sacrifices for different reason. The reasons may vary but the meaning of Anatolia for the characters, which is a kind of a hardship region, is almost the same. In some novels, such as *Bir Sürgün*, Anatolia is directly depicted as a place of exile. As a result, even idealist characters who have positive feelings about Anatolian peasants are aware that Anatolia is not a developed place.

Jale Parla terms the fiction of national struggle and mission in Anatolia as "journey" and "ordeal". She claims that the novels using the Anatolian theme share a common structure that includes journey and ordeal.[495] According to this idea, a nationalist character travels from İstanbul to Anatolia and joins the national struggle or serves the region. In Anatolia, the character also has sacred duty for the nation and Atatürk, who is the founding father of Turkey.[496] This is a summary of the journey theme of the novels set in Anatolia.

The theme of ordeal emerges from the narrative of dying for the homeland during the sacred and challenging mission.[497] According to Parla, the stories with tragic ending in the novels have two discourses: the first one is "confrontation with the Anatolian reality" and the second one is "the impossibility of growing under the shadow of the father."[498] The early republican novels that take place in Anatolia also use the common structure highlighted by Parla.

The "national struggle novels" set in Anatolia discursively construct the others of Turkish national identity in Anatolia. For this reason, how these novels describe Anatolia and the people of Anatolia is significant. Although there are positive and negative expressions about Anatolia that vary according to the characters in the novel, it is possible to find some common features in the Anatolian narrative.

a)      For ideal Turkish characters who have never knew and have never been to Anatolia, the region is described with its purity, cleanliness, and goodwill. The people living there lead a simple, quiet life away from the stilted lifestyle in big cities like Istanbul.

b)      For the idealist Turkish characters who went to Anatolia to join the national struggle, some of the characters in Anatolia maintain the above image, while some

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[495] Jale Parla, "From Allegory to Parable: Inscriptions of Anatolia in the Turkish Novel," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 36 (ed 2007): 11–26, https://doi.org/10.1017/S089663460000457X.p.12.

[496] Parla.p.12.

[497] Parla.p.12.

[498] Parla.p.12.

break this image and behave like evil. Whether good or bad, they are generally ignorant.

c)        For "objective" narrator who does not feel particular sympathy for the people of Anatolia, they are evil-minded, self-seeking, and selfish persons besides being ignorant.

Therefore, although the narrative of the people in Anatolia is diversified among the authors of the early Republican period, they are generally seen as ignorant. Besides, specifically negative narrations such as in *Yaban* by Yakup Kadri create confusion over whether to define them as "self" or "other" in the construction of Turkish national identity.

Since non-Turkified people were also considered as prospective citizens, a dilemma arises for the authors and elites of the period. On the one hand, the Anatolian people are the actual people that would constitute the Turkish nation and Anatolia is an essential component of the Turkish national identity. On the other hand, Anatolia does not meet the expectation of elites because of its people, circumstances, and possibilities. For this reason, early Republican novels narrate Anatolia in both inclusionary and exclusionary ways while defining the Turkish national identity.

The dilemma of including and excluding in the narrative of Anatolian and Anatolian people manifests itself in various fields. The places, characters, time, objects and notions can be fields in which Turkish and non-Turkish are separated. Similar to the narration of Western and Ottoman others, non-Turkified others are narrated as a contrast of the ideal characters. Therefore, the differences between the ideal Turkish characters and non-Turkified others are the boundaries of the Self and Other.

The ambiguity of Turkishness is one of the most important reasons for othering Anatolian peasants in the early Republican period. The Turkish national identity is a novel and ongoing process while Turkishness is comparatively older. With the emergence of nationalism in the modern sense in the late Ottoman period, there was a surge in Turkish nationalism as well as the identities of other nations within the empire. Before the modern understanding of Turkishness, Ergül explains it as follows: "There

was no ethnic or nationalist meaning attributed to the term 'Turk' in the modern sense. Instead, the socio-cultural structure of the Muslim Anatolian people, mostly peasants, was underlined by labeling them as Turks, from whom the Ottoman state elites preferred to be distant."[499] She emphasizes the division between the ruling elite and the ruled people as well as the state centrism of the Ottoman Empire.[500] From the perspective of Ottoman elites, Turk means "boorishness, roughness" and also means nomadic in reference to Turkmens.[501] She mentions that the common word among Ottoman elites is "*etrak-i bi idrak* (dumb Turks or the Turks who were unable to understand anything)."[502] This phrase shows that Turks under the Ottoman Empire were perceived as uncivilized and uncultured. However, it should be noted again that the meaning of Turk is cultural and class-based; it is not a national identity in the modern sense.

Still, the term "Turk" carried negative meanings in the early Republican period. The expressions in Yakup Kadri's novel *Yaban* [The Stranger] can give an idea of the meaning of the Turkish word in the period. In the novel, a Turkish officer Ahmet Celal loses his arm and decides to live in a small village in Anatolia. He is not welcomed by peasants, and he soon becomes a "stranger" in the village. The story of the novel is designed as the diary of Ahmet Celal. In other words, the Stranger. He writes his impressions of the village. However, the expressions are generally negative expressions about the village and peasants. Therefore, it is a notable novel that details the perspective of Turkish elites and intellectuals regarding the peasants in a different way when compared to the other novels of the period.

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[499] F. Aslı Ergül, "The Ottoman Identity: Turkish, Muslim or Rum?," *Middle Eastern Studies* 48, no. 4 (2012): 629–45.p.630.

[500] Ergül.p.630.

[501] S. Aksin, 'Osmanlı Devleti Üzerine', in S. Aksin (ed.), Atatürkçü Partiyi Kurmanın Sırası Geldi (Istanbul: Cem Yayinevi, 2002), p. 152. Retrieved from Ergül.p.634.

[502] Ergül.p.634.

A dialog in the novel shows the meaning of the Turk of the time. The Stranger, Ahmet Celal, asks the villagers if they are not Turks. The dialogue continues as follows:

> +We are not Turks, sir.
> -Who are you?
> +We are Islam, alhamdulillah ... Those you say live in Haymana.[503]

This dialog shows that the meaning of Turk refers to nomadic tribes or Turkmens at the time.[504] However, for the Turkish elites like the Stranger in the novel, the word "Turks" does not refer to nomadic tribes. Beyond that, nomadism and nation-state are incompatible with each other. Since ethnonationalism desires a homogenous population in nation-states, nomadic groups constitute an alternative social organization model that challenges state governments' territorial authorities.[505] Therefore, the nomadic people who are called Turks do not refer to the national identity.

On the other hand, the settled people in Anatolia also do not meet the meaning of Turk as a nation.[506] The most important reason is that they do not have national consciousness. Irrespective of whether they are positively or negatively narrated in the early Republican period; they do not have national consciousness in any case. The lack of national consciousness is the main reason for othering Anatolian people by the authors of the period.

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[503] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018). p.153.

[504] For details, see: Emine Erdoğan, "Ankara Yörükleri (1463,1523/30 ve 1571 Tahrirlerine Göre) The Yörüks of Ankara (According to Tahrir Registers of 1463,1523/30 and 1571)," *OTAM(Ankara*, 1992, https://doi.org/10.1501/OTAM_0000000400.

[505] Jamie Levin and Joseph MacKay, "Introduction: Nomad-State Relationships in International Relations," in *Nomad-State Relationships in International Relations: Before and After Borders*, ed. Jamie Levin (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 1–18, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28053-6_1.p.9.

[506] It shoul be noted that the meaning of being a Turk is always changing by time and context. For instance, in Ateşten Gömlek, a novel that take place during the Turkish national struggle, the ideal characters do not accept someone who do not fight against enemies as from the nation. See; Halide Edib Adıvar, *Ateşten Gömlek* (Can Yayınları, 2018). p.98. However, in *Sözde Kızlar*, it has a cultural and religious meaning since being Turkish and being Muslim is intertwined and mentioned together in many times. See; Peyami Safa, *Sözde Kızlar* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2018).p.195, 197,214.

It was considered the duty of the elites to bring national awareness to the people of Anatolia. Therefore, the process of turning the people in Anatolia into a nation was the primary duty of the elites in the early Republican period. Ziya Gökalp directly points out this duty in his writings:

> What do the elites have? What does the public have? The elites have civilization. The people have national culture. So, the elite's going towards the people may be for the following two purposes: 1) To go towards the people in order to receive education of national culture from the people. 2) To go to the people to bring civilization to the people.[507]

This formularization by Ziya Gökalp that offers an interaction between local culture and global civilization turned into a complex process with many problems.

To accomplish this duty, a theme is chosen in a way that explains the distance between the authors and Anatolia. In the early Republican novels, it is a common phenomenon that the idealist nationalist character realizes that there is no "national" culture - as Gökalp claimed - in Anatolia. For this reason, this "national" culture will be invented by the elites for the Anatolian peasants, that is, the prospect nation, who live far from the expectations of the elites of the time. The ideal Turkish characters in the novels serve the purpose of simultaneously embodying Turkish citizens and those defending the nation and the values of the nation at the time.

The invention of national culture by the elites became a part of a top-down national identity building process in Turkey. The efforts of nationalist idealist characters in the novels of the early republican period who move to Anatolia to educate the people reflect the view of the elites and the top-down process as well. The narrative in the novels also imply a hierarchical structure between elites and the people at that time. Accordingly, while the elites are "civilized" people, the peasants in Anatolia are the people who need to be "educated" so they can become civilized members of the nation and citizens. This hierarchical point of view is based on the othering discourse derived

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[507] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 2019. p.43.

from the dichotomy of superiority and inferiority. Such discourse is a typical narration for describing the self and the other.

The superior and inferior dichotomy is often used in post-colonialism and Orientalism literature. According to Said, Orient is considered inferior compared with the West and at least as "in need of corrective study" by the West.[508] The "superior" West and the "inferior" East perception of the West is one of the fundamental dichotomies of Western Orientalism. As Said conceptualized, there is a distinction between "rational, developed, humane, superior" West and "aberrant, undeveloped and inferior" East in Orientalist perspective.[509] Edvard Said's concept of Orientalism and the superior-inferior discourse have been studied and enriched by many scholars. The scholars discuss different types of Orientalism and the concept of Orientalism has now advanced beyond the basic explanation of the hierarchical relationship between the East and the West. Orientalism in Reverse claimed by Sadık Jalal al-'Azm[510] and Internal Orientalism exemplify the expansion of Orientalism research. Since this section is interested in intrastate relationships, the following paragraphs elaborate on the concept of internal Orientalism.

Jansson describes Internal Orientalism as "a discourse that operates within the boundaries of a state, a discourse that involves the othering of a (relatively) weak region by a more powerful region (or regions) within the state".[511] This definition implies a regional weakness and othering by superior and inferior regions. When the difference between the West and the East which is based on superiority – inferiority

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[508] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).p.41.

[509] Said. p.300.

[510] Sadik Jalal al-'Azm, "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse," Matzpen.org/English, July 10, 1981, https://matzpen.org/english/1981-07-10/orientalism-and-orientalism-in-reverse-sadik-jalal-al-azm/.

[511] D. R. Jansson. "Internal orientalism in America: W.J. Cash's The Mind of the South and the spatial construction of American national identity," *Political Geography* 22 , no:3 (2003):293-316.p.296. Retrieved from: Corey Johnson and Amanda Coleman, "The Internal Other: Exploring the Dialectical Relationship Between Regional Exclusion and the Construction of National Identity," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102, no. 4 (2012): 863–80.p. 13.

dichotomy is applied on internal relations within a country, it creates a form of othering as well.

Focusing only on regional differences and weakness may not always explain the othering created by superior/inferior dichotomy in terms of internal Orientalism. In essence, a region that is strong and has the majority can still be marginalized in terms of different characteristics, especially in the process of national identity construction. In the case of Turkey, Istanbul emerges as the internal other of Turkish national identity since it is associated with the Ottoman Empire even though it is not considered as a weak region. Anatolia is considered as a homeland and the self/other dichotomy is reflected in Anatolia/ Istanbul division.

Anatolia is another case that can be used to explain the concept of the internal other. When compared with Istanbul, Anatolia is not othered but is included in national discourses. Anatolia is painted as a homeland and the people of Anatolia are depicted as the nation and citizen of the newly founded nation-state. When Anatolia is considered by itself and not narrated in contrast with Istanbul, the Anatolian narrative is closer to the other narrative than the self. There is a difference between imagined homeland and imagined citizens and the real "homeland" and the real "citizens". Thus, whereas imagined Anatolia emerges as the "self", the real Anatolia remains an internal other even though the majority of the people live there. The weakness that Jansson points out by defining internal other is related to the social and cultural structure of the region in the Turkish case.

In the narration of Anatolia in the early republican novels, the superior-inferior dichotomy that leads to self and other (internal other) differentiation emerges in the relationship between the elites and the Anatolian peasants. The differentiation is a result of the gap between the educated elites and nationalist people of the time and the people in Anatolia who are uneducated, living in a "neglected" and "inferior" place. *Yaban* and other novels that are set in Anatolia draw attention to this gap between Turkish elites and Anatolian peasants in positive and negative ways.

The basis of the gap is not a new phenomenon since it can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire. Ergül claims that there were strict boundaries between the elites and the people in the Ottoman Empire. So, the high officials saw themselves above other ethnic identities, including Turkishness.[512] Arısan argues that they are Western-oriented modernist elite who held the military and civil bureaucracy under their control during World War One.[513] Although these elites made efforts to overcome these boundaries after the foundation of the new state, the gap between elites and the people, predominantly Anatolian peasants, remained.

The gap between the elite and the people can be examined in terms of space since Istanbul and Anatolia have a center-periphery relation. According to Özaslan, the relationship between the center and the province is based on distance. Beyond the administrative meaning, this distance evokes the feeling of being outside in the social life since the Tanzimat Period.[514] Therefore, the gap between elites and the people arises between the center (İstanbul) and periphery (Anatolia).

The center and the province remained distant from each other in the Ottoman period. However, Özaslan claims that with the occupation of Istanbul, in other words, the Ottoman center, territories "outside" of Istanbul, such as Anatolia, were reimagined as motherland or homeland.[515] In the early Republican period, the province turned into a new administrative center when Ankara was declared the capital city of the Turkish Republic on October 13, 1923. Before then, the province had been transformed into

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[512] Feride Aslı Ergül, "The Formation of Turkish National Identity: The Role of the Greek 'Other'" (2009).p,86.

[513] Mehmet Arısan, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and the Republican Imagination: Novels Yaban and Ankara," in *Faces of Republican Turkey: Beyond the Modernization Hypothesis*, ed. Emine Suda, Ateş Uslu, and Emre Korkmaz (İstanbul: Istanbul University Press, 2020), https://doi.org/10.26650/B/SS30.2020.004.p.34

[514] Osman Özarslan, "Masculinities at Night in the Provinces" (2015).p.18-20.

[515] Selim Temo, *Türk Şiirinde Taşra* (İstanbul: Agora, 2011).p.96. Retrieved from Özarslan, "Masculinities at Night in the Provinces."p.20.

the center of the national struggle. Therefore, the elites who had been living in Istanbul faced the province for the first time.

## 5.1.    Anatolian Peasants as The Other of Turkish National Identity

Although Anatolia is declared the homeland of the newly established Turkish nation-state, it took time to become a real homeland. Anatolia which was first perceived as internal other later turned into self. Throughout this process, the gap between the reality and the imagination of Anatolia has been a way of drawing boundaries in the national identity by positioning Anatolia and Anatolian peasants as other. This section covers the transformation of Anatolia from the internal other to self by focusing on the gap between the reality and imagination of Anatolia in the early Republican novels. After, the narration of Anatolia and Anatolian peasants in these novels will be exemplified and elaborated.

## 5.2.    Anatolia: From the Internal Other to Self

Anatolia had not yet transformed from the periphery to the center geographically and culturally in the early Republican period. For this reason, it was not described as a homeland with a nationalist discourse in the first years of the Republic. The novels of the period narrate Anatolia as a periphery. However, the Anatolian narrative eventually transformed in the early Republican period. The completion of this transformation is envisioned in the future, even in novels written at that time (for example, Ankara). Therefore, in the novels of the early republican period, Anatolia's image is "internal other" with its backwardness, primitive people and impossibilities.

Similar to external othering, internal othering is based on Orientalism. Internal othering is adapted from Edward Said's idea of Orientalism, in which he argued that the Orient was narrated as "a mystical, exotic, and, ultimately, disempowered place" from a European point of view.[516] Similar to European's othering of the Orient, the othering can also be within the boundaries of nation-states, that is, an "internal

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[516] Johnson and Coleman, "The Internal Other." p.867.

othering" as part of the internal Orientalism. External and internal Orientalism supports a superior identity at the same time.

Jansson describes internal Orientalism as "a discourse that operates within the boundaries of a state, a discourse that involves the othering of a (relatively) weak region by a more powerful region (or regions) within the state"[517] The othering discourse ignores the differences within the boundaries in order to create a monolithic and dichotomous identity.[518] Not only external others, internal others are also important in defining the monolithic self, which is a particular nation in this case.

Johnson and Coleman enhance the concept of internal othering by revealing its geographical aspect. According to them, the backward regions within the boundaries of a nation-state can be "othered" during the national identity construction process.[519] Internal othering offers specific characteristics to a particular region(s) and marginalizes them in order to support a single/monolithic national identity.[520]

Anatolia as a region can be imagined as an internal other in the early Republican period before it transformed into the self with a national narration. The image of Anatolia in the early Republican period was a backward and neglected place where it is impossible to reach the needs for "modern" life. When it turns into the self, it supports the "homeland" narration which is a modern and developed place.

Ankara as the new capital is redefined as "geocultural unification of post-Ottoman Anatolia" in the early Republican period.[521] Thus, the internal other attains a new meaning and a new definition as the "self". It is possible to observe the change of the meaning in the early Republican novels as well. At first, Anatolia is described as a

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[517] Jansson 2003, p.296. Retrieved from: Johnson and Coleman.p.867.

[518] Johnson and Coleman.p.860.

[519] Johnson and Coleman.

[520] Johnson and Coleman.p.873.

[521] K. T. Evered, "Symbolizing a Modern Anatolia: Ankara as Capital in Turkey's Early Republican Landscape," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 28, no. 2 (January 1, 2008): 326–41, https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201x-2008-009. p.327.

barren, neglected place where ignorant people live, but later it is presented as a natural and beautiful homeland where the nation lives in.

One of the good examples of Anatolian narration as the internal other and then self is *Ankara* by Yakup Kadri. The novel tells the story of a woman who moves to Ankara from Istanbul and lives in Ankara in the 1920's and 1930's. By telling this story, the novel describes the transformation of Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, with a nationalist discourse.

The novel *Ankara* consists of three parts. The main characters of the first part are Selma Hanım and her husband, Ahmet Nazif Bey. The part begins with the relocation of Selma Hanım and Ahmet Nazif Bey from Istanbul to Ankara because of Ahmet Nazif Bey's work in Ankara as the bank chief. He continues to work until the beginning of the national struggle. This part focuses on Ankara's poor living conditions before the Republic.

The second part of the novel takes place during the period of national struggle. In this part, Selma Hanım supports the national struggle by working at the hospitals. She also leaves Ahmet Nazif Bey and marries Major Hakkı Bey.[522] In this part, Ankara is still not defined as a good place to live however, there is an effort to make the people living in it a nation. This can be considered as a transformation period for both Turkey and Anatolia. The perception of Anatolia evolves after the dramatic changes detailed in the third part.

The third part describes the period starting from the foundation of the Republic after the end of the national struggle until the twentieth year of the Republic. Considering that it was first published in 1934, the novel contains some utopian elements, such as the developments in Ankara in the 20th year of the Republic. In the third part, Selma leaves Major Hakkı because he degenerated after the foundation of the Republic and pursued his own interest rather than the national interest. Although he was a good soldier and nationalist during the Turkish Independence War. Then, Selma Hanım

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[522] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).

marries Neşet Sabit who is also a nationalist and an idealist man among the other degenerated people who changed after the war. The novel ends after the twentieth-year anniversary of the Republic.[523] In this part, Ankara turns into the capital of the new nation-state and the center of Anatolia, which has also turned into a homeland. The perception and narration of Anatolia and the people living there are totally different compared to the first part of the novel.

The places and people of the three parts, especially the three husbands with whom Selma Hanım marries, symbolize three different historical periods of Turkey: before, during and after the national struggle. Yakup Kadri designed three sections of the novel and the characters and places of each section both as a historical narrative and a line of development. Comparing the first and the third part of the novel reveals that there is a big difference in terms of development between the narration of Ankara in the first part and in the third part. The transformation of Ankara indicates not only the city's transformation throughout the years of the Republic, but also the transformation of a city and people from the internal other to the self. There is a connection between this transformation and identity building in the early Republican period.

In the first part of the novel, Ankara is depicted as a backward and undeveloped city. Selma Hanım and Ahmet Nazif were living in the Tacettin neighborhood. The Tacettin Neighborhood is a place where noisy, vulgar, rude, and bullied people live in so that it is a common occurrence that a man abuses his wife. There are many animals in the streets; for example, donkey sounds can be heard from the smelly streets of the neighborhood.[524] Also in the first part, Ankara is depicted as a place where it is difficult for a woman migrating from Istanbul to find her needs for the everyday life. Unlike Istanbul, Ankara is not a place that is integrated with the other parts of the world. For instance, Selma Hanım cannot even find a handkerchief in Ankara, which is easily found in Istanbul.[525] Yalçın-Çelik argues in the novel that Ankara is not a city but a

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[523] Karaosmanoğlu.

[524] Karaosmanoğlu.p.16.

[525] Karaosmanoğlu.

place between a village and a town.[526] In short, Ankara is described as a poor and undeveloped city both in terms of its physical conditions and its residents. Considering the narration of the first part of the novel, Ankara and other cities of Anatolia that are less developed than Ankara cannot be categorized as self.

Narrating Ankara in this manner does not correspond to the narration of the homeland in nationalist ideologies. The homeland that is also the self is the place that is exalted and described with positive expressions. Although Ankara and other Anatolian cities are parts of the country, they are described as an "internal other" in reference to the underdevelopment of the cities. The level of the development of the city was described according to Western standards as in the Orientalist discourse. The Orientalist discourse considers the particular region and people living within the entire country; hence it can be accepted as internal Orientalism. Also, the novel is narrated from the perspective of the main characters and in the first chapter, the main characters (Selma Hanım and Nazif Bey) are people who migrated from outside Ankara. The outsiders, that is the Westerners and Turkish elites, determine the standards required to consider a city developed. These standards are also compatible with Western standards, and it is another reason for calling it "internal Orientalism".

Nevertheless, the narration of Ankara, which is defined as an uncivilized and undeveloped city with its vulgar and uncivilized people in the first chapter, changes throughout the novel. Internal Orientalism can be better understood when analyzing the explanation for the development of the city in the second and third parts of the novel. In the second part, the city begins to develop "as the Western cities" and it continues in the third part.

In the second part, Selma Hanım marries Major Hakkı and moves to Yenişehir, another neighborhood of Ankara. The transformations in the physical environment of the city are considered as the primary development areas in this part. There are bright lights in

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[526] S Dilek YALÇIN ÇeliK, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu'nun Ankara Romanı Bağlamında Kemalist İdeoloji ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Bir Başkent İnşası," 2014, 15.p.95.

the houses of the city with electricity.[527] Since it is not common to have a house with electricity, bright lights in city houses indicate a certain level of development for a city at the time. Western customs and entertainment such as dance parties that make people feel in "the far-West" started holding in Turkey as well.[528] Now, the people of Ankara are more cultured and civilized compared with the people described in the first chapter. In addition to electricity and new customs, architecture is another critical area of the development since the development of the city is also exemplified with the new buildings and apartments springing up in the city:

> The new Ankara was developing stunningly. Apartment buildings, houses and official buildings were rising on the field extending from the front of Tashan to Samanpazarı, from Samanpazarı to Cebeci, from Cebeci to Yenisehir, from Yenisehir to Kavaklıdere. While each of them has some shapes and colors according to the knowledge of the constructer and the owner's taste, it was apparent that an exotic architectural style that is dominating almost all of them did not look good for a careful sight. [529]

The similarity of life, traditions, architecture, and urbanism in Ankara with the West, even to the far-West, is considered an adequate level of development for the city. In this regard, the old Ankara is narrated with an internal Orientalist discourse, that it is underdeveloped according to Western standards. The city has transformed expeditiously and so it reaches the set standards in a very short time. However, the rapid transformation creates aesthetic problems in the city. The author explains that this showcases the inexperience and drabness of the early years. It is explained in the novel as follows: "However, fortunately, this trend that emerged due to the inexperience and drabness of the early years suddenly turned into modern architecture."[530] In this narration, the modern architecture of the buildings symbolizes the development and modernization of the city. Ankara has developed rapidly by evolving past its backwardness and has turned into a modern capital city that will

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[527] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.134.

[528] Karaosmanoğlu.p.138.

[529] Karaosmanoğlu.p.127.

[530] Karaosmanoğlu.p.128.

enable its integration with its counterparts in the "West". The Western standards and modernization are the key factors to becoming a developed city in the novel. The criterion is also essential for a city to become the capital city of the homeland - Anatolia.

The point of view that progress can be realized according to Western norms and standards is repeated in different contexts in the novel. For example, a suggestion about house decoration from an engineer from Berlin causes "a new uneasiness for the whole household for weeks" in Selma Hanım and Major Hakkı's home.[531] However, any suggestion of the engineer from Berlin was vital since he represented the West that symbolizes civilization. Therefore, the degenerated nationalist Hakkı Bey implements any suggestions of the Westerners. It is criticized in the novel by a new ideal character Neşet Sabit who tries to find the meaning of civilization in the reality of his country. Hereby, the degenerated character Hakkı Bey is no longer an ideal nationalist character.

Some parts of the second chapter criticize a single line of Western modernization. For instance, Selma Hanım is bored of the "cold" atmosphere of the Yenişehir and misses even Tacettin neighborhood, which was narrated as an undeveloped place in the first part of the novel.[532] This example shows that Ankara still has not completed its transformation and is far from being an ideal developed capital city of Turkey.

Rapid development carried out to follow the single line of Western modernization creates the need for a new perspective that fits the local dynamics of Turkish society. The third part of the novel provides an ideal solution that combines Western modernization and civilization and the country's own cultural elements. The idea of Neşet Sabit, the exemplary character of the early republican era in the novel, serves to westernize and protect Turkey's local culture at the same time.[533] Neşet Sabit's idea

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[531] Karaosmanoğlu.p.128.

[532] Karaosmanoğlu.p.149.

[533] S. Dilek Yalçın Çelik, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu'nun Ankara Romanı Bağlamında Kemalist İdeoloji ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Bir Başkent İnşası," 2014, 15.p.103.

reflects the concern of elites with the aim to create a civilized (that means Westernized most of the time) and nationalist society in Anatolia. Such dualism highlights the transition period of Ankara and Anatolia from the internal other to the self.

In the third part, the rapid development process is complete and Ankara has become a modern Western city. The new outlook of the city is narrated in detail in the novel:

> "…Selma Hanim and Neset Sabit were living in an apartment with a large terrace on the side Kaledibi overlooking Cebeci. The sun is shining inside from morning till night. And since the buildings of the neighborhoods were built in the form of an amphitheater, they did not block the landscape of the buildings behind. Everyone could watch the horizon from the windows of their houses. And while looking at the horizons of Ankara, people do not feel the oddness in their head like before. On the contrary, the green hills, which extend as far as the eye can see, have a mellow immenseness that pleased people. It is because, in the past, this area was empty and uninhabited. Later on, it was covered and by a number of small, white villages and intertwined roads. On these wiggly roads, it was seen that the red and yellow buses were commuting between villages and cities at least three or four times a day. Especially in the summer and on holidays, there would be a surge of cars, motorcycles, bicycles and pedestrians from the city to these villages. Although this side of Ankara was not watery and forested like the Gazi Farm and Etimesgut parties, the vegetable gardens, small corral and grasslands gave them a more peasant beauty. The products of this area were sold in the villager's market in Ankara on two days of the week. Therewithal, many families had the pleasure of supplying their fresh eggs, butter, cream, and vegetables themselves…"[534]

Compared to the first chapter of the novel, the narration of Ankara has entirely changed. Ankara is transformed from a backward and undeveloped city to a developed and modern city and deserves to be the capital of the Republic. The quotation above indicates how the elites of the period imagine the ideal homeland and capital. It is narrated as the self instead of an internal other.

The discourses of the selected authors on Anatolia are similar to Ankara in the early Republican period. However, it is impossible to see the transformation of the narration of the other cities of Anatolia since the novels set in Anatolia are about the national

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[534] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.p.185.

struggle period. Thus, Ankara is one of the rare examples showing the transition and the contrast between pre-republican and post-republican Ankara and Anatolia.

The narrations about Anatolia and Ankara indicate that the perception of the other and self can be pursued in the same novel. As parts of identities, the definitions of self and others are dynamic and changeable. Identities or places treated as the other in one context may be self in another context. For instance, even though the West is narrated as the other of Turkish national identity in many novels of the early republican period, it turns into a component of Turkish national identity in the narration of the Ottoman other. Similarly, even though Ankara is narrated as the other in some parts of *Ankara* by Yakup Kadri, it belongs to the self when narrating Istanbul, the othered city symbolizing the Ottoman Empire during the Turkish War of Independence. The discourses vary even for neighborhoods within a city. For instance, some neighborhoods within Istanbul are accepted as Turkish while some others are completely under the influence of the West.[535] These examples from popular novels of the period are important to understand how identity is constructed and that the meaning of self and the other change over time and depending on the context.

The narration of other places in Anatolia in the early Republican novels is similar to the narration of Ankara in the first part of the novel *Ankara*. However, unlike Ankara, it is impossible to see changes after the Republic in the other parts of Anatolia except for a few examples.[536] Most of the time, the novels set in Anatolia tell a story during the War of Independence, making it impossible to pursue the changes. The dilemma between self and the other does not emerge between pre-Republican and post-Republican periods in the novels. Instead, most of the time, the narrations in the novels point out the gap between the imagination and reality of Anatolia. This gap emerges as an othering area in the narration of Anatolia.

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[535] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017).p.193.

[536] It is not possible to see a detailed narration of transformation of Anatolia however, some novels such as Yeni Turan mentions the expected development of agriculture in Anatolia. See; Halide Edib Adıvar, *Yeni Turan* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2018). p.103.

### 5.2.1. The Gap between Imagination and the Reality of Anatolia

Anatolia, once the periphery, the outside or the other, would later be reimagined as the new center and the self after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey. The new center should also be constructed with its unique features and differences from the previous center, Istanbul, the center of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, the features of the new center are important since because of its prospects to become a homeland for the nation.

The narration of the homeland is significant in national narratives. Kaiser points out the difference between state-making and homeland-making and claims that the primordial homeland image is used by nationalists to show that the nation's unity is rooted in a particular place in the ancient past.[537] The particular place refers to an ancient homeland. These images support the real homeland where the population is territorialized.[538] It is a part of a homeland-making process. According to Kaizer, homeland and homeland-making are dynamic and internal parts of nation-making rather than historical facts. While Koulos agrees with this idea, he points out the difference between Western and non-Western countries. According to Koulos, while the motherland is established within the prevailing political reality in the Western countries, the motherland is conceived based on past myths and future dreams of the nationalists in non-Western countries; therefore, it does not have enough connection with the present.[539] That is, while the prevailing political reality is more dominant in homeland-making in Western countries, future dreams together with historical myths influence homeland-making in non-Western countries.

It is unclear whether the homeland narrative in Turkey converges to the Western or non-Western. The construction of the homeland image in Turkey is based on ignorance

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[537] Robert J. Kaiser, "Homeland Making and the Territorialization of National Identity," in *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World, Daniele Conversi Eds.* (Routledge, 2002).p.230.

[538] Kaiser.

[539] Thanos Koulos, "Nationalism and the Lost Homeland: The Case of Greece," *Nations and Nationalism* 27, no. 2 (2021): 482–96, https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12710.p.87.

and /or misinterpretation of the political reality. In this sense, while the construction resembles Western countries in terms of consideration of the prevailing political reality such as territorializing of population, it is also similar to non-western countries in terms of misinterpretation of historical facts and distinct imagination to create a powerful and unique image of the homeland.

Both homeland and the nation who live in there are imagined in unrealistic ways by nationalists in Turkey in the early Republican period. This imagination was the product of romantic national thoughts which idealized the nation and the homeland. However, this image of nation and homeland and the reality of the people and Anatolia does not always align. Therefore, Anatolia and the people living there have many undesirable features in reality and this reality constitutes the other of Turkish national identity until they change.

The dilemma faced by Anatolian people is a consequence of the gap that exists between the image of the ideal citizen and its reality. The nation-state building itself is a process that fills this gap by transforming the people into this image. Nevertheless, people who have not yet adapted culturally and civically to the Turkish identity create a contrast with the ideal Turkish image, even if they are ethnically Turkish. This contrast draws a boundary between Self and the Other, in other words, those who are Turkish and those who are not yet Turkish.

Yakup Kadri mentions the difficulties and the gap between reality and imagination of Anatolia in his book named *Ergenekon: Milli Mücadele Yazıları [Ergenekon: The Writings on the National Struggle].* He claims that

> It is how empty, how easy, how childish, how ridiculous business to make a declaration of love to the Anatolian peasant from a distance, from the column of an Istanbul newspaper and to make some projects on paper for the welfare and happiness of the people.[540]

[540] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ergenekon*, (İstanbul:1964), p.127. Retrieved from İnci Enginün, "Milli Mücadele Edebiyatında Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu," *Erdem* 1, No. 2 (1985): 477–92.p.487

These expressions confirm the existence of the gap between elites and the people in Anatolia until the Turkish national struggle when the elites saw the people for the first time.

The early Republican novels include many parts that reflect the disappointment of elites when they eventually go to explore Anatolia. Most of the time, there is a pattern in the novels in which an educated and nationalist character goes to a small village of Anatolia with high expectations and feels disappointed after seeing the reality of the "homeland" that s/he had previously imagined. Aliye in *Vurun Kahpeye*[541], Feride in *Çalıkuşu*[542], Zehra in *Acımak*[543] and Ahmet Celal in *Yaban*[544] are examples of these idealist characters in the novels of the period.[545]

The disappointment seen throughout the novels of the period is a consequence of unrealistic expectations about Anatolia. This pattern is repeated in many novels set in Anatolia. An example is *Çalıkuşu* written by Reşat Nuri in 1922. Feride, who lost her mother and father at a young age, grew up in Istanbul with the help of her aunt. She attended the Notre Dame de Sion French High School for Girls. She has been in love with Kamran, her aunt's son, for a long time. After finishing school, she learns that Kamran has a relationship with another girl in France. Upon hearing this, she left home and went to Anatolia to work as a teacher. Feride works in many places in Anatolia. When she was in Anatolia as a teacher, she married her close friend Hayrullah Bey as a formality. In reality, they are like daughter and father instead of husband and wife.

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[541] Adıvar, *Vurun Kahpeye*.

[542] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalıkuşu* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2018).

[543] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Acımak* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2019).

[544] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).

[545] It is also common narration in the fictions of early Republican period, in stories too. For instance, *Şeftali Bahçeleri* [The Peach Orchards] which is written in 1919 by Refik Halit Karay, uses the same narration. In the story, Agah Bey was an intellectual and idealistic character appointed as a civil servant in one of the Anatolian city, Bursa. He was very enthusiastic to change the mindset of the other civil servants and the people of the city but he was dissapointed by the other fun-loving officials' attitudes and peoples recklessness. In time, he started to attend their entertainment activities in the peach orchards and became a fun-lover like the others. For details, see Refik Halit Karay, *Memleket Hikayeleri*, 10th ed. (İnkılap Kitabevi, n.d.).

Hayrullah Bey reads Feride's diaries and he learns that Feride is in love with Kamran. He decides to leave a letter that reveals Feride's love to Kamran before he dies. When he dies, Feride is asked to give this letter to Kamran. Upon reading the letter, Kamran learns about Feride's love and they get married.

This novel, which resembles a love story at first glance, is important with its many narratives about Anatolia where the plot is set. Although the main character seems very idealistic and dedicated, she actually decided to move to Anatolia and dedicate herself to the children there because of her "love pain".[546] This reinforces the claim that Anatolia is generally positioned as a place of deprivation. Nevertheless, these characters have positive expectations of Anatolia before moving. In *Çalıkuşu*, Feride, the main character of the novel, describes her expectations of Anatolia as follows:

> Oh, my mate, I was saying, who knows how beautiful the places I will go are. I know Arabia vaguely. Anatolia is probably more beautiful. The people there are not like us. They were poor, but their hearts were so rich, so rich that none of them would be able to rub in kindness that they did not only to a poor relative's child, even to his enemy.[547]

The quote suggests that Feride has a very optimistic imagination that Anatolia is a beautiful place where kind people live. However, when she moved to Anatolia as a teacher, her first impression of Anatolia was disappointment. She describes the moment when she goes to the minister to be appointed to a small village of Anatolia as a teacher with these words:

> I was brave and cheerful until I found the surveillance door. I was hoping my work would end very easily. A janitor will take me to the minister and as soon as he sees my diploma, he would say "Welcome young lady. We were expecting people like you." And then, he would appoint me to one of the

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[546] Similar to Feride, Kamil in *Bir Akşamdı* by Peyami Safa attends to National Struggle in order to escape from the women around him who are overwhelming him.Peyami Safa, *Bir Akşamdı* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2019). It shows that the idealist characters do not g oto Anatolia with national concerns for all the time. Instead, there can be personal reasons that motivate the characters to go to Anatolia.

[547] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalıkuşu* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2012).p.157.

greenest towns of Anatolia. But when I entered the room, the weather suddenly changed; excitement and fear took me.[548]

These expressions not only reveal the disappointment of the character in the novel when she goes to Anatolia, but it also gives an idea of the expectations and disappointment of the authors.

As a matter of fact, her fear materialized. The place where she is assigned to teach is not a green Anatolian town as she had expected. Instead, her designated place is dull with unfavorable physical conditions in the small village of Anatolia. This image of Anatolia that creates a disappointment throughout the novel is described as follows:

> When someone talked about the village, I remembered the lovely huts with a cheerful view, like dovecotes in the old Bosphorus mansions, among the greenery. However, these houses were all black wrecks that were about to collapse.[549]

The other novels set in Anatolia have many similar narrations. For instance, Yaban also narrates Anatolia with similar negative features. It includes many descriptions of Anatolia and Anatolian people. The next paragraphs elaborate further.

*Yaban* is written from the viewpoint of the "stranger" who comes to Anatolia during the Turkish national struggle, and it has a detailed depiction of Anatolia. This point of view also shows the self and other distinctions explicitly. About Anatolia, Moran mentions that Yakup Kadri used various tools to create a hostile atmosphere about the village. Moran emphasizes that Yakup Kadri associates the nature of Anatolia with being lifeless and sedentary. In addition, Moran claims that Yakup Kadri uses diseases to describe people and the nature of Anatolia. Moreover, the bad smell is another tool

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[548] Güntekin.p.159.

[549] Güntekin.p.214.

Yakup Kadri uses while describing the other. He writes in the novel *Yaban*[550], "the village, the houses and the people smell bad"[551].

In *Yaban*, Ahmet Celal, the stranger, describes Anatolia with the following sentences:

> What am I seeing now? Anatolia... This is the place where muftis [religious functionary] who teach the enemy wisdom, village lords who guide the enemy, town notables who plunder their neighbor's property with every usurpation, adulteress who hide the deserter in their bed, fake devotees who have saddle nose because of syphilis, and zealots chasing boys in the courtyard of the mosque.[552]

These sentences summarize the moral corruption of Anatolia and the disappointment of elites concerning Anatolia.

Reşat Nuri's novels also mention the lifeless and sedentariness of Anatolia. For instance, in *Çalıkuşu*, the school in Anatolia is described as follows:

> At the bottom of the wall on the garden side of the classroom, there was an animal feeder - from very old times- which they did not need to remove, and they had hung a wooden lid on it and made it into a cabinet.[553]

An animal feeder that has been in the same place for a long time indicates the stasis and lifelessness of Anatolia. The people are so carefree that they do not bother to remove it for many years. These are examples of "the lifeless Anatolia" narration in the early Republican novels.

## 5.2.2. The Narration of the non-Turkified Others (in Anatolia) in the Early Republican Novels

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[550] Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış- I* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010). p.209.

[551] It can be inferred that with the other adverse features, the smell is used for describing the other. Remembering that Yakup Kadri also uses the feature of bad smell by describing the English officer in his novel *Sodom ve Gomore*, it can be said that the smell is a powerful feature for describing the other in his novels.

[552] Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*. p.110.

[553] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalıkuşu* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2018).

Whether intentionally or unintentionally, the early Republican novels draw boundaries of the Turkish national identity. Even though these boundaries are not static and are different for each author or even each case, it is certain that they have in common, resources suitable for making inferences about Turkish national identity and its others. Anatolia, where the national struggle novels are set, plays an essential role as a homeland in the narration of non-Turkified others in that period. Jale Parla's arguments on Anatolia in the early Republican novels is notable in this sense:

> Following the War of Independence, Anatolia became a topos (place and a theme) to which practically every Turkish novelist responded according to her/his creative impulses and imaginative bent. They assumed different tones and adopted different perspectives in their employment of the theme. The conclusion they arrived at, however, seems to have been similar: There is something tragic in the father's land, and it inhibits the son's growth.[554]

The tragedy mentioned by Parla has created a conflict between rejection or acceptance of the father's land. In most cases, the conflict occurs at the same time: while they want to see the ideal homeland in Anatolia, they see the reality of Anatolia and Anatolian people. Therefore, the Anatolian people who are "not yet" Turkish people are narrated as the other in the national struggle novels. *Ateşten Gömlek* by Halide Edip is an example of the novels that take place in Anatolia during the Turkish national struggle.

In the novel, Turkish soldiers and ideal Turkish characters İhsan and Peyami go to Anatolia to participate in the Turkish national struggle with Ayşe, whose family was killed by the Greeks during the war. While İhsan and Peyami participated in the war against Allies, Ayşe served as a nurse in the hospitals caring for wounded soldiers. The common feature of these characters is that they place the interest of the nation before their individual lives (as an ideal nationalist character should be). So that, no matter how great the love between İhsan and Ayşe, the love never turns into a romantic relationship because they have to work for their nation.[555] The story of *Ateşten Gömlek*

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[554] Parla, "From Allegory to Parable."p.26.

[555] Adıvar, *Ateşten Gömlek*.

is about the involvement of Peyami, İhsan and Ayşe in the Turkish national struggle and their efforts for the nation, besides the love story between nationalist characters İhsan and Ayşe.

There is another love story in the novel between Kezban and İhsan. Kezban, a villager who also lost her family during the war, wants to be involved in the Turkish national struggle. Like Ayşe, she wants to serve as a nurse to the Turkish soldiers. Kezban is in love with İhsan, but this is an unrequited love because İhsan is in love with Ayşe. In the novel, Mehmet Çavuş, who supports the national struggle and plays an active role by training soldiers, falls in love with Kezban. After learning about Kezban's love for İhsan, Mehmet Çavuş feels angry at İhsan, starts to work against the national struggle and kidnaps Kezban. Besides, he plots a riot in a village and İhsan and Peyami, who were trying to suppress the rebellion, were captured by the villagers. Kezban escapes from Mehmet Çavuş and informs the Turkish army. The help of Kezban saves Peyami and İhsan. After this event, Kezban disappears, and her belongings are found near a stream.[556]

For Parla, it is an allegorical novel that reclaims Anatolia as the homeland.[557] The characters are also allegorical. While Ayşe represents the idea of homeland in the patriot's imagination, which realistically does not exist, Kezban represents the reality of Anatolia.[558] According to these allegories, patriots never reach their ideal homeland, nor do they prefer to live with its reality.

The non-Turkified other of Turkish national identity has some parts which are directly related to Anatolian peasants during the national struggle. For instance, the sentence of one of the idealized Turkish characters, İhsan, shows the otherness of the Anatolian peasants: "We live with these people like we are olive oil and water until now. You will see, Peyami, it will be the army we will create that will make these people [in

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[556] Adıvar.

[557] Parla, "From Allegory to Parable."

[558] Parla.p.15.

Anatolia] own their homeland."[559] These sentences indicate the gap between the people and the elites because it suggests that the people and the elites are separate, like olive oil and water. In this context, the Turks are the elites, while the others and those expected to be Turks are the people in Anatolia.

The authors' way of describing the peasants in Anatolia reveals the gap between elites and people, the ideal nation and the real one. The disappointment and displeasure towards the Anatolian peasants emerge in the narrative of the characters of Anatolia in some of the early Republican novels. For example, Moran draws attention to Yakup Kadri's word preferences while describing Anatolian peasants. Moran claims that it is impossible to find anything "good" about the village in Anatolia in *Yaban*:

> The information given about the village is intended to create a gloomy, even disgusting atmosphere that carries an emotional load that will affect the reader [in *Yaban*]. Such an atmosphere can, of course, be provided by people and events. As a matter of fact, the people, behaviors and emotions in *Yaban* are always ugly and disgusting. We cannot find laughing people; nice, noble behavior; a pure, happy love; a pure friendship among the peasants. In the village, you cannot find a person who is not ugly and dirty, who does not smell bad.[560]

In this regard, the Anatolian people are far from being the Turkish nation, so they are narrated as the other in the novel.

According to Moran, animal is another common metaphor in *Yaban*. He claims that in no other novel has animals been used as much to describe people.[561] Yakup Kadri uses animal metaphors to describe Anatolian peasants and most of the time in a negative way. For instance, Yakup Kadri uses metaphors like "a mole, an angry cat, a crippled goat, a young gorilla, a fox" to describe Anatolian peasants and their reactions in the novel. In addition, Moran claims that Yakup Kadri uses plants as metaphor to support the negative atmosphere. While plants in Anatolia are described with adjectives like

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[559] Adıvar, *Ateşten Gömlek*.p.116.

[560] Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış- I*.211-212.

[561] Moran.p.212.

poor and sluggish, people who resemble these plants are also described with similar features. Yakup Kadri uses metaphors such as "miserable, poor crops, sluggish trees, a peasant woman whose hands are like roots and her body is like an oak stump."[562] Such metaphors support deficiencies and the atrocious atmosphere of Anatolia depicted in the novel.

With all the adverse features described by Yakup Kadri, Anatolian peasants seem like evils in *Yaban*. However, Yakup Kadri does not blame the Anatolian people for having such negative traits. He argues that Turkish intellectuals who have disregarded the people for years are the reason for the situation of Anatolia.[563] The point of view that attributes the ignorance of Anatolian peasants to the elites also hands the responsibility of education to the elites. "The neglected Anatolia" perception creates idealist nationalist characters who try to educate people in Anatolia within a nationalist and Kemalist agenda and contribute to the development of the region in the early Republican novels. These characters are a reflection of the romantic nationalist ideas in the authors' minds.

The effort of elites to make Anatolia a more developed region and make the people belong in the "nation" also implies that the process of national identity building is a top-down process in Turkey as explained in the previous chapters. Therefore, self refers to a nation imagined by the elites rather than the real people in Anatolia. So much so that the real people are associated with the notions belonging to the other than the self.

The inclination of elites to make a nation as they imagined is also expressed in the novels of the period. Even with all the negative narration about Anatolian peasants, the elites are aware that they need these people to make a nation, according to early Republican novels. In the novel *Yaban,* Yakup Kadri directly points out the following:

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[562] Moran.p.212-213.

[563] Moran.p.215.

> Even if we are victorious, the only thing we can save is this desolate land and steep hills. Where is the nation? It does not exist yet and it will be necessary to reconstruct it from these people, Bekir Çavuş, Salih Ağa, Zeynep Kadın, Ismail, and Süleyman.[564]

The novel Yaban and some of the other novels of the period support the idea of nation-making. Aliye in *Vurun Kahpeye* is a character who aims to educate the children with a nationalist perspective. For instance, she teaches them some nationalist songs (anthems) and she walks with the children who hold flags around the village.[565]

When Anatolia was imagined as the self rather than the internal other, the internal other started to change. In this period, Istanbul that symbolized the Ottoman Empire and Western lifestyle became the internal other. A dichotomous discourse was created between Istanbul and Anatolia, global and local/national, the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey.

## 5.3.    Istanbul as the Other of Turkish National Identity

In the early Republican period, two primary internal others contest the national identity building. The first group are the Anatolian peasants who are also the prospective nation mentioned earlier, and the second group are the economic elites who pursue their self-interest in Istanbul. Most of the time, they imitate the West and have strong relationships with the Westerners in the country (even with officers of the Allied Powers). Both groups have lack of national consciousness in common. Therefore, both are also non-Turkified others of Turkish national identity.

Although there are similarities, there is an essential difference between them. Anatolian peasants generally do not support the national struggle either because of their religious concerns or ignorance. In contrast, the economic elites in Istanbul either does not care about national issues or does not support the national struggle because they consider the West superior.

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[564] Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*.p.153.

[565] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Vurun Kahpeye*, 23rd ed. (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2018).p.42.

Unlike Anatolian peasants, the people who belong to the economic elites in Istanbul are highly educated. They know one or more Western languages. They have close relations with Westerners in the country. For this reason, they are narrated in the early Republican novels as almost traitors. They are very similar to Western characters in lifestyle, dressing, culture, so they cannot be differentiated from other Western characters. In *Sodom ve Gomore*, a character asks about the main Turkish character (Leyla) "Is this girl Turkish for the god sake?"[566]

Another difference is that Anatolian people are seen as prospective citizens in the novels of the period. For instance, Yakup Kadri states in *Yaban* that they have made a nation from the Anatolian peasants.[567] However, it is hard to find the similar expectation of the people of the economic elites of Istanbul in the novels. This may be because this class of the society is already educated. Nonetheless, for Anatolian villagers, there is the hope of becoming ideal citizens after receiving nationalist education; however, the people who are in collaboration with the West for their own interest are seen as almost enemies in the novels of the period.

The othering of Istanbul's economic elites is based on two reasons. The first is their closeness to the "West" (and even imitating the West) and the second is their lack of national consciousness. The two reasons are intertwined most of the time. Othered people of Istanbul's economic elites imitate the West and do not care about being a nation in the novels of the period.

There are many examples of othered people from the economic elites in Istanbul in the novels of the period. One of them is *Sodom ve Gomore* by Yakup Kadri. Written in 1928, *Sodom ve Gomore* describes the life of the economic elites in Istanbul during the national struggle. It is almost as if the novel was written to describe this internal other. As a matter of fact, the name *Sodom ve Gomore* (Sodom and Gomorrah) was

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[566] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.175.

[567] Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*.p.153.

chosen to describe the degenerate life and relations of the economic elites in Istanbul of the period that is narrated in the novel.[568]

One of the prominent characteristics of economic elites in *Sodom ve Gomore* is that they were in close relationship with the officers of the occupying powers and with other Westerners. This can be considered as the main reason for their marginalization since this attitude is considered treason. For example, Sami Bey, the father of the main character Leyla, has business relations with foreigners in Istanbul and he supports his daughter's relationship with the foreigners (especially the British officers) to keep his business relations with them. For his personal interest, Sami Bey ignores national interests.[569] In a scene of the novel, British soldiers expropriate the dower of Leyla's friend Nermin during the occupation of Istanbul. He thinks that it is normal for British soldiers to expropriate houses and household goods. He says, "it is a warfare. Who knows what we would do to a defeated country if we were victorious and occupied the country."[570] Sami Bey is a typical character that exemplifies the people of the high society of the time. The other characters have similar attitudes as well. Even Nermin is not concerned about her dower, but everyone's talking about it. Necdet, Leyla's fiancé, who has nationalist ideas, is surprised at their attitude and says, "I wish this feeling would materialize as a national grudge and hatred against the British."[571]

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[568] Sodom and Gomorrah are the cities destroyed by sulfur and fire because of their wickedness in Old and New Testaments as well as in the Quran. The sins of the people of Sodom and Gomorrah is generally associated with homosexuality. For more information, see: "Sodom and Gomorrah | Description, Summary, & Controversy," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed June 27, 2021, https://www.britannica.com/place/Sodom-and-Gomorrah.

[569] In Gizli El, Şeref is one of the character who is highly engaged with the entertainment life of İstanbul and also tries to make profit during the war. It is a common theme in the early Republican period.Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Gizli El* (İnkılap Kitabevi, 2016).

[570] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.27.

[571] Karaosmanoğlu.p.28-29.

Necdet is a character who is partly[572] idealized among the people of the economic elites because he has nationalist ideas, hates against foreigners, especially British people and criticizes the lifestyle of the economic eltes of the time. In the novel, the author criticizes their life by using the character Necdet and creates a contrast between them. For instance, Necdet abhors their parties and wants to escape.[573] These parties are described as full of drunk people who only care about their dress and Turkish women who are dancing in the arms of French officers.[574] Therefore, Necdet takes a walk into the "Turkish" neighborhoods of Istanbul to escape from the parties and people. The walk of Necdet is reminiscent of the walk of Neşet Sabit in *Ankara*, another novel of Yakup Kadri. Like Neşet Sabit running away from the parties and walking to the suburban neigbourhoods of Ankara; Necdet walks in Istanbul.[575] Both of these characters are unhappy with the society that they belong and seek for meaning for their life – and that would be the nation at the end of both novels. Therefore, like Neşet Sabit's in *Ankara*, Necdet's views are important for the self and other narrative.

Necdet believes that "the sewer" of the Western civilization is poured out to Istanbul's economic elites. In his belief, the real occupation lies there; the Westerners have already occupied thethe society of the economic elites. Indeed, the Westerners have spread their unnatural tastes, homosexuality.[576] The sentences attributed to Necdet reveal two more aspects of the othering of Istanbul's economic elites of the time. The first one is Westernization and the other is homosexuality[577] among them (and this is

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[572] I prefer to describe Necdet as partly idealized character because he is portrayed as a weak character since he cannot leave Leyla and go to Anatolia to attend national struggle unlike other idealized characters of the novels of the period.

[573] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.191.

[574] Karaosmanoğlu.p.189.

[575] Karaosmanoğlu.p.193.

[576] Karaosmanoğlu.p.193.

[577] Since homosexuality is explained in detail in the second chapter of thesis, it will be elaborated only within a few paragraphs in here.

also associated with the West). The economic elites' entertainments, clothes, parties, individualist attitudes and priorities are associated with Westernization.

Named *Sodom ve Gomore* (Sodom and Gomorrah), the novel includes many homosexual characters belonging to the high society of Istanbul at the time. It is one of the othering aspects of the economic elites. Considering that gender has always been an important issue for defining identities, even national identities, the wrings on homosexuality is not a surprise for the period as the construction of the national identity continued. There are many homosexual characters like Captain Marlow, Atıf Bey, Miss Fanny Moore, Nermin and Major Will. Since the Western characters are handled in the previous chapter, we next focus on the Turkish homosexual characters in the novel.

Modern national identities promote heterosexuality and certain roles for men and women within the heterosexual binary. Homosexuality is excluded from national identities. Güngör explains the reason behind that procreation: "Marriage and traditional family are crucial building blocks of nations, letting them reproduce themselves. Through these institutions and incentives, sexual regimes encourage citizens to procreate."[578] Therefore, an ideal Turkish citizen is supposed to be heterosexual so he or she can have a traditional family. Considering the family as an institution for the reproduction of the nation, gender roles which exclude homosexuality are important for nation-making.

Early Republican Turkish novels use an exclusionary discourse through homosexuality and adhere to traditional gender roles and family relations. For instance, *Sodom ve Gomore* has many homosexual characters and they are undesirable characters for the nation.[579] Even Halide Edip, who advocated for women rights and women's emancipation, adhered to traditional gender roles in the family. For example,

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[578] Murat Güngör, "Turkish Nationalism and Minority Sexuality: The Case of Women, Prostitutes and Non-Muslims in the Contemporary Turkish Cinema" (Istanbul, Bilgi University, 2007), https://core.ac.uk/reader/157706410.p.14.

[579] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.

in *Raik'in Annesi*, Siret is an idealized woman character and instead foreign governess she educates her children according to national values.[580] In addition, marriage and family is an important theme in the novels of Peyami Safa. The protagonist and antagonist women characters in his novels have different opinions about marriage and family. While protagonist women characters prefer marriage and committed relationships with a man, the antagonist women characters prefer to have a relationship with more than one man at the same time, even they cheat on their husbands (such as *Canan*)[581]. Therefore, ideal women characters of Peyami Safa are educated and faithful to their families, such as Mebrure in *Sözde Kızlar*[582].

In the early Republican novels, educating children as a member of the nation and as citizen is the responsibility of women even though women are supposed to be educated and cultured. Othering homosexuality, heterosexual binary and gender roles in a traditional family are some of the themes as well. Homosexuality is seen among the othered people in Istanbul's economic elites.

Homosexuality is either ignored or negatively narrated in the novels of the early Republican period. Against this background, there is no disagreement between the authors of the period. However, it should be noted that there are diverse opinions about gender roles (especially for women) between authors. For instance, Selma Hanım, the idealized woman of the novel titled *Ankara* does not have a child. Yakup Kadri does not use a discourse that a family should have children and they (mostly women) should educate them according to national values. Even though Selma Hanım and Neşet Sabit are ideal citizens and they are married, they do not have a child in the novel.[583] Indeed, there are no discourses about motherhood in the other novels of Yakup Kadri. Although the authors have the same opinion about the education of women, women's

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[580] Adıvar, Halide Edip. *Raik'in Annesi*.

[581] Safa, *Canan*.

[582] Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*.

[583] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*.

attendance in the public sphere and having a national consciousness, their opinions differ about the private sphere.

Homosexuality is excluded from Turkish national identity not only for procreation of a nation, but also for differentiation with the West. There was a strong association between the West and homosexuality in the early Republican period.[584] In this context, although Turkish nationalism tried to build a unique nation by separating itself from the West and the "negative" aspects of the West, it followed a similar path to the national identity building processes in the West in terms of family and gender roles. According to Peterson, heterosexism is a part of the western tradition of definitive dichotomies such as public-private, masculine-feminine, mind-body, etc. The early Western state-making is related to oppositional gender identities [as female and male] to maintain heterosexual reproduction and hierarchical relations.[585] Turkish nationalism has the same heterosexist point of view in the early Republican period.

Another determining feature of othered people of Istanbul's economic elites is their admiration for the West. Because of this admiration, they imitate the West and want to be Western rather than Turkish. It is an undesirable feature for Turkish nationalism since the admiration of the West results in the glorification of the West and disregard for being Turkish.The economic elites of Istanbul consider the West -most of the time Europe- as a level of civilization and development that every country should reach. For example, Züleyha in *Eski Hastalık* by Reşat Nuri thinks that she should teach the rules and courtesy of the modern society to the citizens in order to make them modern European [citizens].[586] Then she went to Anatolia to teach "the new life" to poor Anatolian women as a "well-bred hot society girl".[587] Almost all the characters who

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[584] Since this subject has been explained in the first chapter, it will not be elaborated here.

[585] V. Spike Peterson, "Political Identities/Nationalism as Heterosexism," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1, no. 1 (January 1999): 34–65, https://doi.org/10.1080/146167499360031.p.41.

[586] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Eski Hastalık* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2010).p.31.

[587] Güntekin.p.34.

belong in the society of the economic elites admire the West, Western culture and even prefer to be Westerner instead of Turkish.

One of the examples is Madam Jimson in *Sodom ve Gomore*. Madam Jimson's father is Turkish. However, she never wants to be called a Turk. When she is called a Turk, she feels angry about it: "Madame Jimson had never been this angry about the things that were mentioned against her honor, her purity, her dignity; as if being a Turk is the biggest disgrace and the dirtiest stain on her."[588] Instead, she wants to be known as English or Australian because of her husband's nationality, even though she was the daughter of a Syrian catholic father.[589] Therefore, the admiration that characters like Madam Jimson, who refrain from being Turkish and want to be known as a Westerner, have for the West is one of the most important reasons for the marginalization of this group.

Being Turkish had a derogatory meaning among the people of Istanbul's economic elites. However, with the change in the meaning of being Turkish and construction of Turkish national identity, the perspective of the economis elites in Istanbul changed over time. For example, Madam Jimson, who did not want to be called a Turk before the Turkish War of Independence, tried to prove that she was a Turk after the successes in the war.[590] Actually, while Madam Jimson claims that she is British, she was mentioned as "the one who is certain to be Turkish"[591] in the novel. It indicates that being ethnically Turkish does not mean being a member of the Turkish nation. The othering of the undesirable characters like Madam Jimson explains this difference.

## 5.4. Conclusion

While defining the others in the process of constructing Turkish national identity, the focus is generally on other ethnic groups within the borders of the nation-state, other

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[588] Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*.p.205.

[589] Karaosmanoğlu.p.205.

[590] Karaosmanoğlu.p.276.

[591] Karaosmanoğlu.p.205.

nations (for example, Western nations) or Turkey's past (i.e., the Ottoman Empire). The "others" discussed in this part of the thesis, on the other hand, involves the "non-Turkified others" who are ethnically Turkish but do not have the qualifications required by the norms of Turkish national identity. It is discussed within the "internal other" concept, which has recently been included in the literature. The existence of such an "other" is only possible by considering the Turkish national identity as cultural, imagined and constructed.

This point of view is a modernist understanding of nationalism that includes constructivism and excludes primordialism approaches that perceive nationalism as a natural part of the human being by prioritizing ethnicity. Like other modern national identities, Turkish national identity is constantly imagined, constructed, and redefined. For this reason, Turkish national identity is not directly related to ethnic Turks because the group of people who do not have a national awareness are not instantly defined as part of the Turkish nation. Therefore, they cannot be accepted as a part of the Turkish nation; indeed, they are others of the Turkish national identity. The set of people who do not have national consciousness also constitute instrumental and pragmatic examples that explain what a Turk is not. Therefore, the part that focuses on the non-Turkified other, which explains how the Turk should not be, is significant and neglected. It is neglected because it is not evaluated as other, which makes a notable contribution to the definition of the Turkish national identity since it informs what the Turk should not be.

The narrations about the ideal Turkish characters and their others attempt to build a national identity in the early Republican period. In accordance with the spirit of the time, those who are marginalized among the characters are people who are ethnically Turkish but have not yet been "Turkified" and do not have a national consciousness. Therefore, these characters have a function in clarifying the Turkish national identity and in drawing its boundaries. To put it more clearly, these are examples that explain how Turkish citizens should not be. Although ethnically Turkish, these characters, who are not portrayed as ideal Turkish characters, are classified as other in this study because of the novel narration about them.

Non-Turkified others appear in most of the early Republican novels. How the characters cooperated with the British and French who were hostile to their homeland or did not support the national struggle is often questioned. They are different from other ethnic groups in Istanbul or Anatolia because they are not expected to support Turkish national struggle for other ethnic groups. Non-Turkified others are precisely the product of this incomprehensibility and anger, and therefore they are depicted with many unacceptable features. All of these features draw the boundaries of the Turkish national identity.

Non-Turkified people, as the other of the Turkish national identity, have been portrayed in two main categories in the early Republican novels: the economic elites in Istanbul and peasants in Anatolia. While these two groups have lack of national awareness in common, they have many differences.

The first group of non-Turkified other that is analyzed throughout the chapter is the economic elites in Istanbul. This group consists of those who live in Istanbul, are educated, belong to a high class, work closely with Westerners by prioritizing their individual interests, and lead a Western lifestyle. This group, especially described in the novels *Sodom ve Gomore* and *Sözde Kızlar*, has been criticized for collaborating with the West, distancing themselves from their own culture, adopting a Western lifestyle, and even seeing their own culture as inferior. They are examples of what a Turk should not be. This emphasizes the importance of creating a unique culture and differentiating from other identities in the literature of nationalism.

The second group is the uneducated, ignorant, malevolent and self-interested villagers in Anatolia. This group, especially described in *Yaban, Ateşten Gömlek* and *Vurun Kahpeye*, has been criticized for collaborating with the Allied Powers during the national struggle for the sake of Sultan (and Kalifate), not being civilized and open-minded. They are also examples of what a Turk should not be. Their features can be understood as the undesired features for a Turkish citizen.

The common aspects of these two groups, which are socio-economically opposite to each other, are that they do not have a national consciousness, as well as being in

cooperation with the elements that threatened the Turkish nation at the time (the Sultan and the Allied powers). Within these groups, although they are not in cooperation, there are characters that cannot be considered Turkish because they do not have national consciousness. The most important difference between these two groups is that the villagers in Anatolia are thought to have no national consciousness due to their ignorance, while the economic elites in Istanbul is thought to cooperate with the Westerners because they are corrupt even though they are educated. For this reason, romantic Anatolian narratives and expressions describing the reality of Anatolia are intertwined.

Anatolia is described as the essence of homeland and culture in the Turkish national identity, at least in the elites' perspective. However, the reality implies the opposite, that is, Anatolian villagers are well-intentioned and naive people with high morals, who think about their nation, as described throughout the chapter. There is need for an explanation that will overcome the contradiction and enhance the image of Anatolia as a homeland. The explanation is that the Ottomans, another "other" of Anatolia's Turkish national identity, are to be blamed for the neglect of this region by Turkish intellectuals for years. Therefore, even though Anatolia is described as the other, it is a place where the original is to be discovered for Turkish intellectuals, where the essence of Turkish culture is found. A place that accepts the responsibility to educate the resident villagers. This is the reason why the people living in Anatolia are perceived as "prospective citizens".

**CONCLUSION**

While theorizing international relations, new subjects and new fields of study begin to become a part of the discipline. This thesis contributes to the discipline by using works of literature as a field of study to explore nation state building process in the early Turkish republic. The main purpose of the thesis is to reveal how the others, who have a constructive role in the national identity building process, which also affects Turkish foreign policy, are discussed in the literary texts of the early Republican period. Accordingly, the study examined three core "Others" of Turkish national identity.

The thesis argues that the narration of Turkish national identity through its main others is not singular and homogenous. Instead, there exist diversity, heterogeneity and controversies among the popular novelists of that period, namely Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Peyami Safa. This has some impacts on how they define the self, which is Turkish national identity. It can be argued that Turkish national identity is not defined with agreed features and consistent narrations.

This thesis also found that the narration on the self and other of a national identity (in this case, Turkish national identity) can change by the context and time. The most concrete example in this thesis is the positioning of the West. It is narrated as the other especially in the novels of Turkish national struggle. However, it is narrated as part of the Turkish national identity while the Ottoman other of Turkish national identity is narrated. The authors of the novels draw contrast between "the developed and modern West" and "the undeveloped and backward Ottoman Empire". The implication of this for IR scholarship is that the change of the others of the national identity can affect foreign policy preferences.

In Turkish foreign policy, there are many debates on foreign policy shifts. For instance, some governments pursue pro-Western foreign policy while others try to diversify the foreign policy directions of Turkey. Even a ruling party can adopt different foreign

policy preferences by time. For instance, AKP government pursued pro-Western foreign policy especially in 2000s. However, after the 2010s, the same ruling party expressed intentions to join Shanghai Cooperation Organisation instead of the European Union. In 2000s, Turkey is defined as a Western or European country, therefore the West constituted a part of the definition of the self for Turkey. However, it is positioned as the other with time.

This thesis attempts to contribute the meaning of the others in national identity construction process. The early Republican period is an intense period regarding national identity building which makes this period especially ideal for this study.

The first part of the thesis after the introduction discusses the conceptualization of the thesis. It mainly deals with the concept of other used throughout the thesis. Additionally, the nation, nationalism and nation state building are briefly explained. Accordingly, this thesis considers nationalism as a modern ideology and nations and national identities as constructed. Turkish national identity and the selected others of it were introduced in the first part. The three others of Turkish national identity were defined: The Western other, the Ottoman other and the non-Turkified other.

The first other analyzed in this study is the Western other of the Turkish national identity. The West is one of the most important construction instruments for understanding the spirit of the time in terms of Turkish foreign policy in the early Republican period. Therefore, it is possible to trace the relations with the West in the novels of the period. The popular authors of the period considered the West as both a part of the Turkish identity (self) because they wanted to see Turkey as a Western country, and as an enemy (Other) of Turkey, especially in the novels about the War of Independence. While they admired the West for its science, technology, development, and modernization, they also rejected it for reasons such as materialism and western values. The coexistence of these two situations—excluding and including the West in Turkish national identity at the same time- constitutes the greatest contradiction of the Western narrative in the early Republican novels. By emphasizing these contradictions, the second chapter of this thesis tried to explain that Turkey's national

identity construction did not proceed in a uniform and linear manner. Secondly, there are differentiations both within the different (and sometimes the same) novels of the authors as well as among the authors about what the Turkish identity is, how the ideal Turkish citizen should be, and the relations with the West according to the identity perceptions of the authors. These differences, on the other hand, show that the Turkish national identity construction process -even in the early Republican period- was not a homogeneous but a heterogeneous process.

In the third part of the thesis, the Ottoman other, one of the most important others of the Turkish national identity, has been examined. Although the Ottoman other does not contain as many contradictions as the Western other, some features of the Ottoman Empire are still not excluded from the Turkish national identity. Nevertheless, the writers have more in common in terms of othering the Ottoman Empire.

In particular, subjects such as religion, the position of women in society, discussions about gender, and the position of the Turkish nation in the Ottoman Empire are discussed in the Ottoman narratives of the early Republican period novels. However, there are disagreements among writers, especially on religion and secularism or on how Turkish women differed from Ottoman women.

Another striking point in this section is that the contradictory narrative of the Western other continues through the narration of the Ottoman other. Namely, when writers marginalize the Ottoman Empire by describing the Ottoman Empire as backward and undeveloped state, it is seen that they consider being Western against the Ottoman Empire as a part of Turkish identity. In other words, the West can become a part of both the self and the other contextually.

In the fourth part of the thesis, another other of the Turkish national identity, non-Turkified others, is analyzed. Since it is a different and new conceptualization comparing the first two others, this chapter introduces the non-Turkified others and the reasons of the classification of others as non-Turkified people both in Anatolia and Istanbul. Legitimizing the concept is based on the using of others in the national identity building process., as in the other chapters Accordingly, the other is used to

describe what is not included in Turkish national identity. Therefore, non-Turkified others have also been used as an effective instrument to define what the Turkish nation identity is not in the early Republican period novels.

Non-Turkified others was analyzed in two categories. The first category is the Anatolian peasants and the second category is the economic elites living in Istanbul. The common feature of these two categories is that the people of these categories do not possess national consciousness even though they are ethnically Turkish. They pursue their self-interests and ignore the interests of their nation and society. Therefore, they are far from being a "citizen" of the nation-state.

Anatolian peasants are narrated especially in Yaban and in the novels about the Turkish national struggle as the other of Turkish national identity. This first category is usually associated with features that are undesirable for Turkish identity, such as ignorance, laziness, dirtiness or being uncivilized. In addition, supporting the sultan or caliphate of Ottoman Empire and Allies during the Turkish national struggle, or being completely uninterested in the war and pursuing personal interests instead of communal interests are among the characteristics of the Anatolian peasants othered in the novels of the period. The main problemat of the Anatolian peasants is not having a national consciousness. Therefore, they still stand a chance of becoming ideal Turkish citizens when they grow a national consciousness, and this was considered as the duty of the elites.

The economic elites in Istanbul is described in the early Republican period novels with features such as being fond of entertainment and pleasure, thinking of their own interests, emulating and imitating the West by belittling their own society, and being immoral. In addition, the most prominent feature of these people is that they do not have a national consciousness, as is the case with Anatolian peasants. This was highly criticized in the novels of the period, especially during the national struggle, due to their indifference to the war and their continued entertainment and even their efforts to profit from the war.

One of the most striking features of the high society in Istanbul, besides being selfish and self-interested people, is their cooperation with the Western invading soldiers and officials. This, unlike the Anatolian villagers, caused this group to be described as traitors of the nation and collaborators with the West.

Turkish literature offers a good resource for social sciences and international relations. Without forgetting that these texts are fictional and accepting that they are instruments to reach the society, it is possible to study the works of literature for the purpose of social sciences. In this thesis, the novels of popular writers of the early Republican period were analyzed for the purpose of understanding national identity construction. It focuses on the narratives of the three basic others during the construction of Turkish nation identity. The contradictions, diversity and heterogeneity in these narratives are fundamental findings of the thesis. Accordingly, the difficulty of determining singular and agreed features and meanings about identities and national identities have also emerged in Turkish national identity in the early Republican period.

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———— "Osmanlı Mirası ve Türk Dış Politikası Üzerine." In *Yeni Dönemde Türk Dış Politikası*, edited by Osman Bahadır Dinçer, Habibe Özdal, and Hacıali Necefoğlu, 47-54. Uluslararası IV. Türk Dış Politikası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri. Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2010.

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## A. CURRICULUM VITAE

1.  **Family name:** AKCALI YILMAZ

2.  **First name:** Öznur

3.  **Nationality:** Turkish

4.  **Education:**

| Institution (Date From-Date To) | Degree(s) or Diploma(s) Obtained |
|---|---|
| Middle East Technical University (2015-2022) | PhD, International Relations |
| Middle East Technical University (2013-2015) | Master of Science, Political Science and Public Administration |
| TOBB University of Economics and Technology (2010-2013) | Bachelor of Science, International Relations (Double Major) |
| TOBB University of Economics and Technology (2008-2013) | Bachelor of Arts, Turkish Language and Literature |

5.  **Language skills:** Indicate competence on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 - excellent; 5 - basic)

| Language | Reading | Speaking | Writing |
|---|---|---|---|
| Turkish | Mother tongue | | |
| English | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| German | 5 | 5 | 5 |

6.  **Other skills:** Full computer literacy

7.  **Publications:**

**Scholarly Articles:**

Ertuğrul, Kürşad and Öznur Akcalı Yılmaz. "Otherness of Turkey in European Integration" *Turkish Studies* 19:1 2018, p.48-71.

**Master's Thesis:**

Using "The Other" In Foreign Policy Making: An Analysis of Turkey-EU Relations between 2002 and 2014. Middle East Technical University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

**Book Reviews:**

Akcalı Yılmaz, Öznur. "Marksizm ve Uluslararası. İlişkiler Kuramları & Tarihsel Materyalizm ve Uluslararası İlişkiler" Marxism and International Relations Theories & Historical Materialism and International Relations] [by Yalvaç, Faruk (ed.)] *Uluslararası İlişkiler* Vol. 16, No. 63, 2019, p. 141-143.

Akcalı, Öznur. "Çağdaş Sanat ve Kültüralizm [Contemporary Art and Culturalism] [by Artun, Ali (ed.)]" *Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika* Vol. 10, No.7, 2014, p.169-173.

Akcalı, Öznur "Avrupa Birliği'ni Türkiye'den Okumak: Kültür, Kimlik ve Medya [Reading the European Union from Turkey: Culture, Identity and Media] [by Kaymas, Serhat]" *Uluslararası İlişkiler* Vol. 11, No:43, Güz 2014, p. 189-191.

**Papers:**

Akcalı Yılmaz, Öznur "Rising Populism in the EU and Its Impacts on the EU's Foreign Policy" International Conference on International Migration in the XXIst CENTURY-III 2018.

Akcalı Yılmaz, Öznur. "Geri Kabul Anlaşması, Vize Serbestliği ve AB'nin Türkiye'deki Dönüştürücü Gücü" [Readmission Agreement, Visa Liberalization and the EU's Transformative Power in Turkey] International Conference on International Migration in the XXIst CENTURY-III 2018.

Akcalı, Öznur. "Social Movements and Theoretical Underpinnings: The Solidarity and a Critique of Constructivism" 2nd Bilkent IR Graduate Student Conference 2015.

Akcalı, Öznur. "Brexit: A New Mode of Differentiated Integration?" Ege University 14th Students' Conference on International Relations, 2016.

**Conferences & Seminars**

**Participant:** Effective Education, 2018, Middle East Technical University

**Participant:** "(Re-)Conceptualizing or (Re-)Theorizing how the EU faces New Realities", Spring School, 11-14 March 2019.

**Participant:** Model European Union Mainz, Summer School, 22-26 June 2022.

**Honors & Activities**

- METU Publication Encouragement Award

- TÜBİTAK Scholarship (for both MSc and PhD)

- KYK Top 100 Scholarship (for BA)

- Ranked as the 6th student in the university entrance exam in Turkey, ÖSS (taken by more than 1.5 million students) in 2008

# B. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra, uluslararası ilişkileri oldukça değiştirecek bir dönüşüm ortaya çıkmış ve imparatorluklar yıkılarak yerini ulus devletlere bırakmıştır. Bu değişim dünyadaki diğer imparatorlukları olduğu gibi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu da etkilemiş ve çok uluslu yapıdaki Osmanlı İmparatorluğu yıkılarak pek çok yeni ulus devlet ortaya çıkmıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun devamı niteliğinde ise modern bir ulus devlet olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kurulmuştur. Bu önemli değişimin toplum ve siyaset açısında sonuçları olmuştur.

Öncelikle çok uluslu bir imparatoruktan ulus devlete geçiş, yeni bir kimlik ortaya koymuştur. Osmanlı kimliğinden Türk kimliğine geçiş, aynı süreçleri yaşayan ve yeni kurulan ulus devletlerde olduğu gibi hızlı bir ulus kimlik inşa sürecini beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu süreç, ulusal anlatılar, milli tarih anlatısı, bu kimliği destekleyici kurumlar, yasalar ve söylemler aracılığıyla sürdürülmüştür. Ulus kimliklerin anlamı, özellikle biz ve öteki karşıtlığı üzerinden kurulan milli anlatılarla ortaya koyulur. Biz ve öteki kavramları, kimliklerin (ve ulus kimliklerin) önemli karşıt unsurları olduğundan, Türk ulus kimlik inşa sürecinde de biz kavramı Türk ulusunu, öteki kavramı da Türk olmayan gibi oldukça geniş bir anlamla nitelendiren kavramlardır. Bunun yanında Türklüğün ne olduğu, Türklerin özellikleri, milli tarihi, Türk kadının ya da erkeğinin nasıl davranması gerektiği, ideal Türk vatandaşının görevleri ve toplumsal sorumlulukları gibi konular Türk ulus kimliği ile ilişkili olarak anlatılırken Türk ulusuna atfedilmek istenmeyen olumsuz kavramlar, Türk vatandaşının nasıl olmaması gerektiği gibi konular ise ötekilerle ilişkilendirilerek anlatılır.

Türk ulus kimliğinin tek bir ötekisi yoktur; Türk olmayan kavramı çok geniş bir kavram olmakla beraber bu ötekiler diğer uluslar olabileceği gibi, geçmişte bir dönem de öteki olarak konumlandırılabilmektedir. Ötekilerin anlatısı, hangi unsurların hangi özelliklerle ötekileştirildiği, hangi özellikler Türk ulus kimliğinin bir parçası olarak görülürken hangi özelliklerin başka uluslara ya da unsurlara atfedildiği zaman içerisinde ve kişilere, ideolojilere ve bağlama göre değişmektedir. Ulus kimlik inşa

sürecinin uzun zamana yayılan, sürekli olarak devam eden ve sürekli yeniden inşa edilen, dolayısıyla anlamı sürekli olarak zaman içinde ve kişiden kişiye göre değişebilen bir süreç olduğu düşünüldüğünde, öteki kavramlarındaki farklılık ve değişimler daha anlaşılır olmaktadır.

Bütün bunlar düşünüldüğünde Türk ulus kimliğinin ne ve nasıl olması gerektiği ile görüşler çeşitlenir ve değişirken, Türk ulus kimliğinin ötekileri ve ötekilerine dair özellikler de çeşitlenip değişir. Yine de erken Cumhuriyet döneminde öne çıkan ulus kimliğe dair bazı özellikler ve bazı ortak ötekiler bulmak mümkündür. Bu tezin amacı ve temel çıkış noktası, Türk ulus kimliğinin erken Cumhuriyet döneminde nasıl inşa edildiği ve bunun romanlarda nasıl ele alındığıdır. Bunu da en temel kimlik inşa unsurlarından biri olan "öteki"leri analiz ederek anlamaya çalışır.

Bunu yaparken tez, üç temel hipotez üzerinden ilerler. Bunlardan ilki, öncelikle, edebiyatın kimliksel ideolojiler bakımından, incelenebilecek bir alan olduğudur. Özellikle artan sayıdaki disiplinlerarası çalışmaların bir devamı niteliğindeki bu tez, edebiyatın kimlik ve ideoloji konularını çalışmak için uygun bir alan olduğunu göstermeye çalışmaktadır. İkinci olarak, öteki anlatısının da Türk ulus kimliğinin anlamı gibi çeşitlendiği ve yazarlar arasında öteki anlatıları arasında farklılıklar oluştuğu varsayılmaktadır. Üçüncü olarak ise, öteki anlatılarının kendi içerisinde çelişkiler barındırdığı ve öteki'ye atfedilen bazı özelliklerin zaman zaman Türk ulus kimliğinin bir parçası olarak da anlatılabileceği de bu tezin varsayımları arasındadır.

Özellikle ulus kimlik inşa edilen bir kavram olarak ele alındığında, bu inşa edilen kavramın, ona atfedilen özelliklerle birlikte halka benimsetilmesi önem taşımaktadır. Yani ulus kimliği inşa etmek, aynı zamanda bunu halka benimseterek kitleleri ulusa dönüştürmek anlamına da gelmektedir. Popüler kültür unsurları, sanat, edebiyat, basın ve diğer bütün kurumlar, siyasi ideolojilerin bir parçası haline gelebilmektedir. Türk ulus kimlik inşası sürecinde de bu unsurlar kullanılmış ve özellikle Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında hızlı bir kimlik inşası sürecine girilmiştir.

Türk ulus kimlik inşası sürecinin yazarlar tarafından bilinçli ya da bilinçsiz olarak edebiyat eserlerinin de konuları arasında olduğu görülür. Uluslararası İlişkiler

disiplininde son dönemlerde yeni çalışma alanları ortaya çıkmaktadır. Alana yeni bakış açıları kazandırmak için disiplinlerarası çalışmalar önem kazanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada da erken Cumhuriyet dönemi romanları bir çalışma alanı olarak seçilmiş ve romanlarda Türk ulus kimliği ve bu kimliğin ötekilerinin nasıl anlatıldığı açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada incelenen yazarlar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Halide Edip Adıvar ve Peyami Safa'dır. (Peyami Safa'nın Server Bedi, Çömez gibi mahlaslarla yazdığı kitaplar inceleme dışı bırakılmıştır.) Bu yazarların seçilmesinin sebebi, bu kişilerin dönemin en popüler roman yazarları olmasıdır. Ayrıca Türk edebiyatının önemli yazarlarından olan bu yazarlar, bilinirliğini ve popülerliğini günümüzde halen devam ettirmektedir. Bu yazarların roman dışındaki eserleri incelenmemiştir. Özellikle tür olarak romanın tercih edilmesinin çeşitli sebepleri vardır: İlk olarak roman, modern bir tür olarak, halka en çok ulaşan türlerden biridir. Dolayısıyla romanların, kimliksel ideolojilerin kasıtlı ya da kasıtsız olarak halka ulaştırılmasında etkin bir araç olduğu söylenebilir. İkinci olarak, roman bir kurmaca metindir. Bu bakımdan romandaki kurgulanmış olay örgüsü yazara bir özgürlük alanı tanır. Kurmaca olmayan türlere göre, düşünceyi karakterler aracılığıyla daha dolaylı fakat belki de daha etkili bir şekilde aktarmayı sağlar. Üçüncü olarak, diğer kurmaca türlerden farklı olarak roman uzun ve ayrıntılı anlatım içeren bir türdür. Bu nedenle, bir kimliksel ideoloji, roman karakterlerinin günlük yaşam pratiklerinde okuyucuya aktarılabilir. Ayrıca, karakterlerin düşünceleri, hangi kimliği benimsedikleri ve o kimlikteki bir karakterin bir başka kimlikle ilişkilendirilen karakterlerle ilişkileri, günlük yaşamları gibi konular oldukça detaylı anlatılabilmektedir. Bu da bu detaylar arasında karakterlerin ideolojik ve kimliksel seçimlerini, düşüncelerini anlamaya ve o dönemin toplumsal ilişkilerini açıklamaya yardımcı olmaktadır. Roman, bütün bu sebeplerle, ulus kimlik inşa sürecinin halka aktarılması bakımından elverişli bir türdür. Burada romanın kurgusal bir tür olduğu ve tarihi belgeler gibi kesin bilgiler vermediği göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Ancak roman türünün ideolojik bir araca dönüşebileceği ve roman konularının yazıldığı dönemindeki siyasi, toplumsal ve ekonomik koşullardan etkileneceği bilinen bir gerçektir.

Çalışmada incelenecek romanlar ve tarih aralığı seçilirken başlangıç olarak roman türündeki ilk eserlerin verilmeye başlandığı tarihler, bitiş olarak da Türk ulus kimlik inşa süreci bakımından önemli tarihler göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Bu farklılaşmanın sebebi, Türk ulus kimlik inşa sürecinin Cumhuriyetin ilanından önce başlamasıdır. Halide Edip'in ilk romanı Heyula, 1909 tarihinde basılmıştır. Türk ulus kimlik inşasının başlangıcının net olarak belirlenmesinin mümkün olmaması ve Cumhuriyet'in ilanından önce başlaması göz önünde bulundurularak, bu tezde incelenen zaman dilimi 1909'dan başlatılmıştır. Bitiş tarihi ise 1950 olarak belirlenmiştir. Esasında seçilen yazarların kitaplarının basım tarihi, ölümlerinden sonra bile devam ederek, 1960'lara kadar uzanmaktadır. Ancak bu yazarların 1950'den sonra basılan romanları incelemeye alınmamıştır. Basım tarihinin temel alınmasındaki sebep, kimlik inşasında önemli olan konunun bu romanların halka ulaşması olduğudur. 1950 ile sınırlandırılmasındaki temel sebep ise, bu dönemden ortaya çıkan iç ve dış gelişmelerle ulus kimlik inşa sürecinin farklılaşması ve Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarındaki önemini kaybetmesidir.

Tezin yaptığı incelemenin 1950 tarihiyle sınırlandırılmasının en önemli iç nedeni, bu tarihte Cumhuriyet'in kurucu partisi olan ve o tarihe kadar iktidarda olan CHP'nin seçimi kaybederek Demokrat Parti'nin iktidara gelmesidir. Bu tez, erken Cumhuriyet dönemini konu aldığından, bitiş noktası olarak bunu siyasi olarak çalışma CHP iktidarı dönemi ile sınırlandırmıştır.

Bunun yanında, dönemin dış gelişmelerine bakıldığında 1950'li yıllarda Soğuk Savaş'ın etkisinin hissedildiği dönemdir. Soğuk Savaş'ın etkisiyle, Batılı bir ülke olarak kabul görmek isteyen Türkiye, bu yönde adımlar atmış ve 1952 yılında NATO üyesi olmuştur. Dolayısıyla 1950'li yıllar, Türkiye'nin Batılı olma konusundaki endişelerinin azaldığı bir dönemdir. Dolayısıyla hem iç hem de dış gelişmelere göre, özellikle CHP'nin iktidarda olduğu ve Kamalist ideolojinin etkin olduğu yılları inceleyen bu tez, 1950'den sonrasını incelememektedir.

Metodolojik olarak ise bu çalışma, romanların incelenmesi için metin analizi ve romandaki söylemlerin incelenmesi için söylem analizi metotlarından faydalanmıştır. Bunu yaparken özellikle romanın kurgusu, idealize edilmiş karakterler, Türk kimliğine

ve ötekileştirilen diğer unsurlara yönelik söylemler, karakterlerin hangi kimliklerle ilişkilendirildiği ve bu karakterlerin birbiriyle olan ilişkileri üzerinde durulmuştur. İdealize edilen Türk karakterler ve bu karakterlerin seçilen ötekilerle ilgili düşünceleri, Türk ulus kimliğinin nasıl olduğu ve bazı kimlikleri ve kavramları nasıl ötekileştirdiği ile ilgili en çok fikir veren anlatı olmuştur. Nitekim idealize edilmiş Türk kadını ya da Türk erkeğinin romanlarda işlenişi, aslında bir Türk vatandaşının nasıl davranması, nasıl düşünmesi, ideolojinin ne olması ve ötekileştirilen kimlikler hakkındaki genel düşüncesinin ne olması gerektiğine dair fikir vermek için tasarlanmıştır. Bunun yanında diğer karakterlerin, mekanların, olay örgüsünün de incelenmesiyle Türk ulus kimliğinin ötekileri üzerine inceleme yapılmıştır. Dolayısıyla çalışma boyunca, romanlarda geçen anlatıların ne anlama geldiği ve bunun Türk ulus kimlik inşasında nasıl bir rolünün olduğu seçilen ötekilerin anlatıları üzerinden tartışılmıştır.

Her ne kadar romanlar, dönemin toplumsal yapısından ve siyasi ve ekonomik olaylarından etkilense de her roman aynı derecede toplumsal ya da kimliksel konuları içermemektedir. Bu nedenle, seçilen romanlar arasında da bazılarının ideolojik olarak Türk ulus kimlik inşası açısından daha çok konu içerdiği görülürken, bazı romanların, kişisel hikayeler ve bireysel anlatılar bakımından daha zengin olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bu nedenle Sözde Kızlar, Sodom ve Gomore ya da Ateşten Gömlek gibi ulus kimlik açısından daha çok konu içeren bazı romanlar üzerinde daha çok durulurken Bir Tereddüdün Romanı, Yolpalas Cinayeti gibi daha çok aşk hikayeleri, bireysel trajediler gibi konuları içeren romanlar inceleme dışı bırakılmıştır. Bu roman içeriklerinin tezde incelenen Türk ulus kimliğinin ötekileri bakımından romanların sunduğu içeriğin doğal sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Yukarıda belirtilen kapsam ve sınırlılıklar birlikte bu tez ulus kimlik inşasının ötekiler üzerinden nasıl gerçekleştirildiğini seçilen yazarların 1950'ye kadar olan romanlarındaki anlatılara bakarak anlamaya çalışır. Bunun için öncelikle bu tez biz ve öteki ayrımının çıkış noktasını, bunun kimlik inşasında nasıl kullanıldığını ve öteki anlatısının nasıl inşa unsuruna dönüştüğünü açıklamaya çalışır. Öteki kavramı, post-kolonyal teorilerle uluslararası ilişkilere girmiştir ve ulus kimlik inşasında da öteki, diğer uluslar olabildiği gibi, o ulusun geçmişindeki bir dönem ya da kendi iç unsurları

(iç öteki) olabilmektedir. Tezin girişten sonraki ilk ana bölümü de tezin kavramsal çerçevesini açıklamaya çalışmış ve biz-öteki ikiliği, öteki kavramı, ulus kimlik, milliyetçilik ve ulus kimlik inşası gibi tezin içerdiği temel kavramları ele almıştır. Buna göre tez, ulus kimliği inşa edilen bir kavram olarak ele aldığından milliyetçilik kuramlarının modern yaklaşımlarını temel almaktadır, ancak tezde ulus kimlik inşa süreci açıklanırken spesifik bir milliyetçilik teorisi üzerinden gidilmemiştir. Bunun yanında, tezin asıl amacı ulus kimliğin belli bir milliyetçilik teorisine göre inşa edildiğini kanıtlamaktan öte, bu inşa sürecinde "öteki"lerin kimliğin kurucu unsurlarından biri olarak romanlarda da kendisini gösterdiği ve popüler kültürün kimlik inşa sürecindeki etkisine odaklanmaktadır. Bunun yanında bu ilk bölümde, tez boyunca incelenen ve Türk ulus kimliğinin seçilen üç temel ötekisi olan Batı ötekisi, Osmanlı ötekisi ve Türkleştirilmemiş öteki kavramlarına giriş yapılmıştır.

Tezin ikinci ana bölümü, Türk ulus kimliğinin Batı ötekisini ele almıştır. Bu bölümde özellikle yazarların romanlarındaki Batı'ya dair anlatılarda ortaya çıkan ikilemler üzerinde durulmuştur. Buna göre, Batı hem medeniyet hem de gelişmişlik bakımından örnek alınan bir konumda olmasına ve Türkiye'nin dış politikasında da olduğu gibi Batılı bir ülke olarak konumlandırılmak istenmesine rağmen Batı'ya dair pek çok olumsuz anlatı ve söylem de romanlarda yer almaktadır. Bu da Batı'nın Türk ulus kimliğinin ötekisi olarak ele alınmasının en temel sebeplerindendir. Bu ötekileştirme genellikle Batı'daki eğlenceye düşkünlük, gösteriş merakı, Batı'nın ruhsuz olması, madde ile ilişkilendirilmesi ya da Batı'daki pratiklerin insancıl olmaması gibi konular üzerinde yapılmaktadır. Bunun yanında, bu ötekileştirilme yapılırken Batılı insanlar ve Batı'ya özenen ve Batı'yı taklit eden insanlar üzerinden yapılmaktadır. Roman karakterleri arasında Batılı karakterlerden çok Batı taklitçisi karakterler yer almaktadır ve bu kişiler üzerinden Batı'nın ne ifade ettiği, Batı'nın ve Batılılaşmanın Türkiye'deki anlamı açıklanmaktadır. Batı'yı taklit eden karakterler hakkında idealize edilmiş Türk karakterlerin yorumları özellikle Batı ve Batılılaşmaya dair olumsuz anlatıların kaynağı olmuştur.

Batı ötekileştirilirken, yazarlar arasında Batı'nın ötekileştirilme biçimi farklılık göstermektedir. Örneğin Peyami Safa, Batı'nın maddeciliği üzerinde dururken Yakup

Kadri Batı'nın sömürgeciliğini öne çıkarabilmektedir. Benzer şekilde, Batılı kavramların anlayış biçimleri de yazarlar arasında farklılaşmaktadır. Örneğin, Halide Edip'in romanlarında çizdiği modern Türk kadını imajı ile Yakup Kadri'nin anlattığı modern Türk kadını imajı arasında büyük farklar bulunmaktadır. Bunun yanında Batı'nın bağlamsal olarak bazı durumlarda, özellikle Osmanlı ötekisi anlatılırken ilerici ve gelişmiş olmak bakımından Türk ulus kimliğinin bir parçası olarak görüldüğü (Türkiye'nin Batılı olması) bazı durumlarda ise materyalist ve ahlaki endişesi olmayan bir Batı anlatısıyla Batının öteki olarak anlatıldığı görülmektedir. Yani hem yazarlar arasındaki farklılıklar hem de bağlamsal farklılıklar, Batı ötekisini oldukça çeşitli kılmaktadır. Batı ötekisinin anlatımındaki bütün bu çelişki ve çeşitlilikler, aynı zamanda Türk ulus kimlik inşasının tekil ve homojen olmadığının göstergesidir. Bu da tezin başlangıçta sunduğu hipotezleri destekler niteliktedir.

Tezin üçüncü ana bölümünün konusu ise Türk ulus kimliğinin Osmanlı ötekisidir. Osmanlı ötekisi, sekülerizm, gericilik ve geri kalmışlık, kadının toplumdaki statüsü, milli tarih anlatısı gibi temalar üzerinden incelenmiştir. Özellikle, diğer öteki anlatılarında olduğu gibi, idealize edilmiş Türk karakterlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu tarihsel olarak nasıl anlattığı ya da Osmanlı devleti ve toplumu ile ilişkilendirilen kişi, mekân ve olayların nasıl ele alındığı incelenmiştir. Din ve bununla ilişkili olarak kadının toplumdaki konumu, Türk ulus kimliğinin Osmanlı ötekisinin anlatımındaki önemli konular arasındadır. Bu konuda da genellikle Osmanlı din ve gericilikle ilişkilendirilerek ötekileştirilirken, daha önce ötekileştirilen Batı, sekülerizm ve ilericilikle ilişkilendirilerek Türk ulus kimliğinin bir parçası olarak sunulmuştur. Batı ötekisinin anlatımındaki kadar çelişki ve çeşitlilik olmasa da incelenen romanlarda Osmanlı anlatısı üzerinde de bazı farklılıklar tespit edilmiştir.

Osmanlı ötekisi, erken Cumhuriyet döneminin seçilen romanlarında, Türk ulusunun milli tarih anlatımında tek parça olarak ele alınmamıştır. Bunun yerine Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ilk dönemleri ve son dönemleri farklı anlatılmıştır. İlk dönemleri Türk tarihi içinde anlatılırken daha sonraları Osmanlı'nın çok uluslulğuyla birlikte Türk etkisinin azaldığı dönemler olarak anlatılmıştır. Hem devlet yönetiminde hem de toplumsal alanda başka etnik unsurların öne çıkması olumsuz olarak anlatılmıştır.

Dikkat çeken bir diğer nokta da anlatılarda Osmanlı kimliği ile Türk kimliğinin ayrıştırılmasıdır. Özellikle seçilen yazarların ilk dönem eserlerinde Türk olmak ve Osmanlı olmak arasındaki ayrım daha net ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Tezin dördüncü ana bölümü, tezin orijinal kavramlarından olan Türkleştirilmemiş (non-Turkified) ötekileri konu alır. Bu bölümde Türkleştirilmemiş öteki, etnik olarak Türk olsa bile Türk ulusunun bir parçası olarak görülmeyen ve Türkiye vatandaşlarının sahip olması gereken özelliklere -özellikle de milli bilince- sahip olmayan kişileri kapsar. Bu kişiler, iki alt kategoride incelenmiştir. Bunlardan ilki Anadolu'daki köylülerdir. Bu kişilerin öne çıkan özellikleri arasında eğitimsiz olmaları, medeni olmamaları, kendi çıkarlarını gütmeleri, bencil olmaları, Millî Mücadele sırasında Osmanlı Padişahı ve aynı zamanda halifeyi desteklemeleri, İtilaf güçlerinin yanında yer almaları gibi özellikler bulunmaktadır. Bütün bu özellikler arasında en öne çıkanı ise milli bilinçten uzak olmalarıdır ki bu görev de elitlerin görevi olarak görülmüştür.

Anadolu köylülerinin anlatımında da diğer ötekilerde olduğu gibi çelişkiler bulunmaktadır. Bu çelişkilerin temel sebebi ise, Anadolu'nun elitler için vatan ve Anadolu'daki köylülerin vatandaş olarak kurgulanmasıdır. Oysa erken Cumhuriyet dönemi romanlarında, yolu bir şekilde (görevlendirilmiş bir memur olarak, Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda cepheye giden asker olarak ya da cepheye yardıma giden hemşire olarak) Anadolu'ya düşmüş olan aydınlar, hayal ettikleri gibi bir ulus ve halk görmezler. Romanlardaki idealist karakterlerin başlarda sergiledikleri Anadolu'ya dair bütün romantik ve milliyetçi düşünceler, Anadolu'daya gittiklerinde gördükleri ve yaşadıkları gerçeklik ile çatışma halindedir. Örneğin, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu'nun Yaban romanında olduğu gibi ulusun geleceğini ve egemenliğini, yani Anadolu'da görmeyi beklediği halkın kendisini "kurtarmak" için cephede savaşan ve kolunu kaybeden bir eski asker, Anadolu'nun bir köyüne kendileri için savaştığı halkın içinde yaşamak için geldiğinde askerlikten kaçmaya çalışan gençlerle karşılaşmıştır. Bu da Anadolu'daki beklenti ve gerçeklik arasındaki farkın en belirgin örneklerinden biridir. Benzer şekilde, Halide Edip Adıvar'ın Vurun Kahpeye romanındaki tüm milli duygularla Anadolu'ya giden ve idealist bir öğretmen olan baş karakter Aliye, orada kendi yaptığı fedakarlığın ve idealist düşüncelerinin karşılığında

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kendisini dışlayan, kendisinin açığını arayan, onu suçlayan ve kendisini istemeyen kişilerle karşılaşmıştır. Bu da Anadolu'nun ve henüz Türkleştirilmemiş Anadolu'daki köylülerin Türk ulus kimliğinde öteki olarak anlatılmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır. Ancak bu anlatı, gelecekte ulus olacak Anadolu köylüsüne empati güden bir yaklaşımla yapılmıştır. Bu kişilerin cahil ve bilgisiz kalmasının, milli bilinçten bu denli uzak olmasının sorumluluğu, elitlere ve elitlerin yıllarca Anadolu'yu ihmal etmesine yüklenmiştir. (Bu nedenle de onlara milli bilinç kazandırma ve bu bilinçsiz topluluktan milli bilinci yüksek bir ulus ortaya çıkarma işi de elitlerin görevi olarak görülmüştür.)

İkinci kategoride ise İstanbul'daki yüksek sosyete yer almaktadır. İstanbul'daki yüksek sosyete anlatısı, Türk Edebiyatının Tanzimat döneminden beri romanlarda kendine yer bulan alafranga karakterlerin erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki uzantısı olarak değerlendirilebilir. Sodom ve Gomore, Sözde Kızlar, Eski Hastalık gibi romanlarda anlatılan bu kişilerin de temel özellikleri, tıpkı Anadolu köylülerinde olduğu gibi milli bilinçten yoksun olmaları olsa da bu kişiler eğitimli olmaları bakımından Anadolu'daki köylülerden farklılaşır. Eğitimli oldukları halde Millî mücadeleye destek vermemeleri ve hatta Millî mücadele döneminde kendi çıkarları gereği İstanbul'daki işgal güçlerinin asker ve görevlileriyle iyi ilişkiler içinde kalarak savaştan kar etmeye çalışmaktadırlar. Bu durum da onların erken Cumhuriyet dönemi romanlarında vatan haini ve işbirlikçi olarak görülmelerine sebep olur. Romanlarda İstanbul'daki yüksek sosyetenin anlatımında, bu kişilerin eğlenceye düşkünlüğü, düşük ahlaki normları, bencillikleri ve kendi çıkarlarının peşinde olmaları (ve böylelikle savaş ve yoksulluk içinde olan toplumun geri kalanını önemsememeleri) üzerinde durulmuştur ve bu olumsuz özellikler, Türk ulus kimliğinden dışlanmıştır.

Sonuç olarak bu tez, erken Cumhuriyet döneminin popüler yazarları olan Halide Edip Adıvar, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu ve Peyami Safa'nın 1950'ye kadar yazdıkları romanları üzerinde Türk ulus kimliğinin ötekilerinin anlatılarını incelemiştir. Buna göre Batı ötekisi, Osmanlı ötekisi ve Türkleştirilmemiş ötekiler özelinde incelenen anlatılarda tezin temel hipotezleri araştırılmıştır. Bu hipotezlerden ilki, edebiyat eserlerinde ve özellikle kurgusal türlerin en önemlilerinden biri olan romanda, ulus kimlik inşa sürecine dair anlatılar

bulunabileceği ve bunun ulus kimlik inşa sürecine katkısının incelenebileceğidir. Seçilen yazarların incelenen döneme ait romanlarında da bunlara dair çok sayıda örnek bulunmuştur. Bu örnekler aynı zamanda, edebiyatın uluslararası ilişkiler ve siyaset bilimi için iyi bir çalışma alanı olduğunu gösterir niteliktedir.

İkinci olarak, tezin bir diğer hipotezi, Türk ulus kimliğinin herkesçe aynı kabul edilen tekil ve homojen anlamı olmadığı gibi, öteki anlatılarında da çeşitlilik ve yazarlar arasında farklılık olduğudur. Bunun da romanlardaki öteki anlatıları incelendiğinde doğrulandığı görülmektedir. Belirlenen üç ötekinin de romanlardaki anlamı ve anlatımı yazardan yazara ve hatta yazarların farklı romanlarındaki bağlama göre değişebilmektedir. Bu da tezin kimlik ve öteki üzerine var olan literatüre katkılarından biri olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Son olarak, tezin hipotezlerinden bir diğeri de her ötekinin anlatımında kendi içerisinde birtakım çelişkiler barındırdığıdır. Romanlardaki öteki anlatıları incelendiğinde öteki olarak konumlandırılan kimliklerin aslında her şeyiyle dışlanmadığı, bazı durumlarda Türk ulus kimliğinin bir parçası olarak görülmek istendiği ya da öteki'ye atfedilen bazı özelliklerin Türk ulus kimliğinin de bir parçası olarak görülmek istendiği durumlar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çelişkiler de ötekilerin bazen övgü ile anlatılmasına ya da bağlam değiştiğinde daha önce olumsuz olarak anlatılan özelliklerin olumlu olarak ele alınmasına neden oluşur. Dolayısıyla tezin bir diğer hipotezlerinden olan ötekilerin anlatımının (ve anlamının) çelişkili olması hipotezi de tezin bulgularından biridir.

Yukarıda açıklanan sonuçlarla birlikte tezin, Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Siyaset Bilimi literatürlerine, kimlik ve ulus kimlik inşası alanındaki çalışmalara katkı sağlaması hedeflenmektedir. Özellikle sayısı artmaya başlayan disiplinlerarası çalışmalardan biri olarak farklı alanların perspektif ve konularının bir araya geldiğinde anlamlı çalışmalar ortaya çıkarabileceğini göstermesi umulmaktadır. Edebiyat metinleri arasında romanlar, her ne kadar kurgusal metinler olsa da toplumsal hayata dair her şeyi içerebilen, geniş anlatı imkânı sunması bakımından üzerinde daha çok çalışmaya değer bir türdür. Bu çalışmada da romanlar üzerinde incelenen konulardan çıkarılan

sonuçların, disiplinlerarası bir çalışma olarak Uluslararası İlişkilere katkı sağlaması beklenmektedir.

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**YAZARIN /** AUTHOR

**Soyadı** / Surname : AKCALI YILMAZ

**Adı** / Name : Öznur

**Bölümü** / Department : Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations

**TEZİN ADI /** TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ITS OTHERS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN NOVELS

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